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INDEX

13

	Page.
"ZEISS-STIFTUNG"—Leopold scher ...	167
OF THE POLISH NATION AND OF ISH PILGRIMS, THE—Adam Mick- icz ...	64, 193, 256
CULTURAL DEMONSTRATIONS— jadas Datta, M.A. ...	562
INIUM INDUSTRY IN INDIA—Prof. G. Shah, M.A., B. Sc., M.S.C.I. 21,	204
OUNT AND DISTRIBUTION OF INCOMES THE PUNJAB, THE—Prof. Bal- rishna ...	311
A BASIS FOR THE APPRECIATION F WORKS OF—William Rothenstein	125
THE WAY TO—Samarendra Nath Gupta ...	509
AT, THE EXHIBITION OF THE ORIENTAL —Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab) ...	438
BASIS FOR THE APPRECIATION OF WORKS OF ART, A—William Rothenstein ...	125
ELL-METAL INDUSTRY OF BENGAL, THE—Radhakamal Mukherji, M.A. ...	501
ACK ANTELOPE AND THE ARYAVARTA, A NOTE ON THE—Kashi-Prasad Jayaswal, B.A., (Oxon.), Barrister-at- Law ...	329
ADET TRAINING AT AMERICAN UNIVER- SITIES—Sudhindra Bose, M.A. ...	396
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CHAIRS AND READERSHIPS—X. Y. Z. ...	76
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY SERMON, A— Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	571
AVES AT BADAMI, THE—Rev. Arthur R. Slater ...	13
EREMONIAL RITES OF KASHMIRI MU- SALMANS—Mukundi Lal ...	661
ERTAIN POEMS OF KABIR—Kalimohan Ghosh and Ezra Pound ...	611
COMMENT AND CRITICISM ...	100
COMMUNAL LIFE IN INDIA—Rabindra Nath Tagore and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S. ...	655
CONDITION OF INDIANS IN FIJI, THE— ...	35
CCA UNIVERSITY SCHEME, THE— Pareshnath Banerjee, B.A., B.L. ...	188

	Page.
DEATH THE REVEALER—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	663
DISCOVERER OF IRON-ORES FOR THE TATA IRON AND STEEL WORKS, THE— B. L. MITTER ...	555
EDINBURGH INDIAN ASSOCIATION—Sayed Mohamed Zaki ...	552
EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES—B. S. Sarma ...	499
EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA, NOTES ON THE—Kumar Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L. ...	493, 644
ELECTIVE CALIPHATE IN MEDINA, THE— S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Lecturer, Cal- cutta University ...	517
EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH COLONIES —Ram Narain Sharma, L.M.S. ...	77
ENGINEERING EDUCATION IN AMERICA— Jagannath Khanna ...	301
EXHIBITION OF ORIENTAL Art, THE— Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab.) ...	438
FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE ...	318
FITNESS OF INDIANS FOR HIGHER EM- PLOYMENT, THE—The late Mr. A. O. Hume ...	55
FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA, THE— Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee, M.A., P.R.S., &c., Author of "History of Indian Shipping" ...	446
GENERAL SHOOTING OF COOLIES IN BRITISH GUIANA BY THE POLICE—R. N. Sharma, L.M.S. ...	636
HARDWAR AND ITS GURUKULA—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	330
HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CONJEEVER- AM, II.—Mukandi Lal ...	26
HINDU POLITY, AN INTRODUCTION TO —Kashi Prasad JAYASWAL, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law ...	535
HINDU UNIVERSITY: SOME REFLEC- TIONS, THE—BHAI PARMANAND, ...	32
ICHCHHARAM SURYARAM DESAI: AN APPRECIATION—Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B. ...	274

	Page.		Page.
INCOMES IN THE PUNJAB, THE AMOUNT AND DISTRIBUTION OF—Prof. Bal-krishna ...	311	OUR NATION DAY CELEBRATION IN P CALIFORNIA—T. N. Das, M.A. ...	
INDIA AND THE WORLD MOVEMENT—Prof. Har Dayal, M.A., Lecturer, Stan-ford University ...	185	PALI LANGUAGE, A REFLECTION ON THE —Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya Sastri	
INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE, THE—Doctor	564	PARVATI DEVI, HEADMISTRESS OF THE HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CONJEEVER-AM—Mukandi Lal ...	
INDIAN MUSIC, THEORY OF—S. N. KAR-NAD ...	165	PHONETICS OF BENGALI, THE—J. D. An-derson, I.C.S. (Retired), Reader in Bengali, Cambridge University ...	182
INDIAN PEASANT, THE—X. Y. Z. ...	506	POLISH NATION AND OF THE POLISH PILGRIMS, ACTS OF THE—Adam Mic-kiewicz ...	64, 193
INDIAN IN FIJI, THE ...	322	PRIMARY EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS—Jagannath Khanna ...	
INDIANS IN FIJI, THE CONDITION OF ...	35	PROBLEMS OF OUR EDUCATION—Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, M.A. ...	
INDUSTRIALISM IN ENGLAND—Wilfred Wellock ...	136	PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN INDIA, THE—N. C. Mehta, B.A. (Cantab.) ...	
INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF ENGLAND, THE—Wilfred Wellock ...	262	PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION OF 1886, THE— ...	
IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF AURANGZIB IN THE DECCAN—E. Watts ...	143	PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION AT MAD-RAS, THE—S. K. ...	
IS THE PRICE LEVEL CONTROLLABLE?—H. K. Rakshit ...	545	PURPOSES OF ART, THE—Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy ...	
JESUS CHRIST AND BIRSA—Prof. Homersham Cox, M.A. ...	398	QUR'AN, THE—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Calcutta University Lecturer ...	
JUDICIAL BRANCH OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE PROVINCIAL JUDICI-AL SERVICE, THE— ...	89	RABINDRANATH TAGORE—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	
KASHMIRI MUSALMANS, CEREMONIAL RITES OF—Mukandi Lal ...	611	RABINDRANATH TAGORE, To—Mrs. F. Seymour ...	
MADAME POGOSKY AND THE RUSSIAN PEASANT INDUSTRIES—P. A. Mairer ...	6	RACE CONFLICT—Rabindra Nath Tagore ...	
MASQUE OF LEARNING, THE—W. ...	557	RELATIVE CLAIMS OF THE FACTORY, THE WORKSHOP AND THE COTTAGE INDUSTRY IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF INDIA—Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A. ...	
MOHAMED AND THE QUR'AN—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Lecturer, Calcutta University ...	172, 276	RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA, THE—Prof. Radha-kamal Mukerjee, M.A. ...	
MUSALMANS OF KASHMIR, THE—Mukandi Lal ...	547	RESEARCHES OF PROF. P. C. RAY AND HIS PUPILS, THE— ...	
MUSICAL SOUL OF EAST AND WEST, THE—Alfred Westharp, Mus. Doc ...	149	REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS—Prof. J. N. Sarkar, M.A., O. C. Gangoly, B.A., S. V. Mukerjee, B.A., (Oxon.), Mahes Chandra Ghosh, B.A., B.T., K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., Dr. I. M. Mallick, M.A., M.D., Prof. Benoy-kumar Sarkar, M.A., Bijoy Chandra Mazumdar, B.A., M.R.A.S., Probodha Chandra Chattopadhyay, M.A., Miss Hilda M. Howsin, Prof. P. G. Shah, M.A., etc., etc. ...	93, 212, 345, 472, 575
NEED OF A SCIENCE OF MORALS, THE—Wilfred Wellock ...	598		
NEW SPIRIT IN ENGLAND, THE—R. N. Ainger, Barrister-at-Law ...	37		
NOTES. 101, 222, 351, 479, 578, 675			
ON READING THE TRANSLATION OF GITANJALI—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	397		
OPTIMISM—Prof. Har Dayal, M.A. ...	8		
ORATIONS OF GHATA-NAGPUR, THE—Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L. ...	566, 639		
ORIENTAL ART, THE EXHIBITION OF THE —Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab.) ...	438		
ORIENTALIA—S. Kumar ...	574		
OTTOMAN—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at Law, Lecturer Calcutta University ...	651		

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

v

	Page.		Page.
ERASWATI YATRA, A—Myron H. Phelps ...	385	SURVIVAL of CIVILISATION—Pramatha Nath Bose, B.Sc. (London), late of the Geological Survey ...	427
SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL FROM EXECUTIVE DUTIES AND THE BETTER TRAINING OF JUDICIAL OFFICERS—Pravashchandra Mitter, M.A., B.L. ...	336	TATA IRON AND STEEL WORKS AT SAKCHEE, THE—Kshirod Kumar Roy	279
SIR THOMAS MUNRO—Politicus ...	613	THEORY OF INDIAN MUSIC—S. N. Karnad ...	165
SOCIAL ASPECT OF MODERN EDUCATION, THE—Dr. C. S. Thakar, ...	39	TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE—Mrs. Mayce F. Seymour ...	597
SOCIAL SERVICE IN INDIA—P. O. Philip B.A., of the National Missionary Society of India ...	380	TURK AND HIS GREAT CAPITAL, THE—Sundara Raja ...	390
SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING KESHUB CHUNDER SEN—Rev. J. T. Sunderland, M.A. ...	608	UPON MANTELPIECES—Prof. P. E. Richards, B.A. (Oxon.) ...	375
SOME THOUGHTS ON THE DISTINY OF INDIA—John S. Hoyland ...	648	WAY TO ART, THE—Samarendra Nath Gupta ...	509
SOUTH AMERICA, Notes on—Prof. Satis Chandra Basu, M.A. (Nebraska) ...	307	WESTERN INDUSTRIALISM: ITS LESSONS FOR INDIA—Wilfred Wellock ...	369
SRIKANGAM ON THE CAUVERY—S. T. H. ...	627	WHY I DISBELIEVE IN SOCIALISM—Wilfred Wellock ...	524
STAGES AND EPOCHS OF CIVILIZATION—Pramatha Nath Bose, B. Sc. (London) ...	249	WITH RABINDRA IN ENGLAND—C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	70
STRANGLING OF PERSIA, THE—Hilda M. Howsin ...	43	WORD FOR THE TURKS, A— ...	324
		WORLD'S AWAKENING, THE—Wilfred Wellock ...	I
		YOUNG BENGALI WRITER, A—Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A. ...	156

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page.		Page.
ASOKAN PILLAR ON THE WAY TO HUMAYUN'S TOMB, DELHI ...	334	DAUGHTERS OF CHARLES I, (in colors)—By Van Dyck ...	149
BABUS APURBARANJAN, BIJAYKRISHNA, PROBODHKUMAR, ROHINIRANJAN ...	583	DINNER AFTER THE DAY'S MARCH ...	388
BABU SANAT KUMAR HALDAR ...	584	ENTRANCE TO MOSQUE AND TOMB OF AURANGZIB ...	146
BADAMI CAVES ...	13—20	"FLOWER-RADHIKA"—By Abanindra Nath Tagore ...	444
BELL-METAL INDUSTRY OF BENGAL ...	502-505	FRONT OF THE OLD FORT BUILT ON THE SITE OF INDRAPRASTHA ...	333
BELOW MINALI; IN THE VALLEY OF THE RIAS... ...	385	GANESHA TEMPLE ...	629
BHOVENDRA NATH SEN, THE LATE PROFESSOR ...	583	GATE LEADING INTO THE FORT, AURANGABAD ...	144
BIRTH OF KRISHNA ...	445	GAURI SHANKAR DE, THE LATE PROFESSOR ...	582
BOSPORUS, THE ...	392	GIRLS OF THE HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CONJEEVERAM ...	27—30
CARTOONS ...	123	GODS AND GODDESSES OF THE MADURA TEMPLE ...	633
CARVINGS ON THE TEMPLE PILLARS ...	632	GOKAL BRATA—By Nanda Lal Bose ...	440
CHANDAVARKAR, SIR N. G., ...	115	GOPURAM ...	631
"COMPANY, FIRE!" ...	396	GOVERNMENT LABORATORY AT SAKCHI ...	579
COPPER-GILT IMAGE OF BARUNA ...	439		
COPPER-GILT IMAGE OF THOUSAND-ARMED AVALOKITESWARA... ...	439		

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page.		Page.
GREAT ARCH OF THE QUTAB MINAR ...	334	ORAON OLD MEN ...	567
GURUKULA IN THE MANDI STATE AT THE BHADWANI REST-HOUSE. ...	388	ORAON PANCHAYET HOLDING THEIR DELIBERATIONS ...	568
HALL OF THOUSAND PILLERS, THE ...	631	ORAON THRESHING PADDY ...	569
HAZRAT-BAL MOSLEM SHRINE, KASHMIR ...	549	ORAON WAR DANCE ...	569
HIMALAYAN PALACE ...	387	ORAON WOMEN RETURNING WITH WATER FROM THE VILLAGE SPRING ...	568
HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CONJEEVERAM, REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF PUPILS OF THE HOME OF THE KASHMIRI MUSALMANS ...	163	ORAON WOMEN ON A JOURNEY ...	647
ICHCHHARAM SURYARAM DESAI ...	548	ORAON YOUNG MAN, TYPE OF ...	568
INCENSE-BURNER ...	275	OUTER GATEWAY ...	630
INNER SHRINE AND MOSQUE AT ROZA ...	442	PAN CHUKKI, AURANGABAD ...	146
IN QUEST OF THE BELOVED (in colors)—By Samarendranath Gupta ...	148	PANDIT RAMAVATAR SARMA ...	115
JUMMA MASJID, SRINAGAR ...	597	PARVATI DEVI, SM. ...	262
"KACH AND DEVAYANI" (in colours)—By Ashit Kumar Halder ...	551	PILLAR AT THE QUTAB SET UP BY A VAISHNAVITE KING OF DELHI ABOUT THE 5TH CENTURY A.D. ...	335
KEY TO DIAGNOSIS FROM THE EYE ...	369	PORT AND SOME FINE BUILDINGS OF CONSTANTINOPLE ...	390
MADONNA OF THE MAGNIFICAT (in colours)—By BOTICELLI ...	112	RAMESWARAM ...	641
MADONNA OF THE TUB, THE (in colours)—By Raphael ...	493	RECORD OF THE HIGH COST OF LIVING ...	546
MAHATMA MUNSHI RAMA ...	I	RIVER BANK AT BENARES LOOKING TOWARDS TULSI DAS'S HOUSE ...	332
MECCA GATE, AURANGABAD ...	335	RIVER GANGES AT BENARES ...	331
MINALI VALLEY; A SCENE IN KULU ...	145	SAKUNTALA (in colors)—By Sailendra Nath Das ...	125
MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA ...	386	SALES AT THE MOSLEM FAIR OF HAZARAT-BAL ...	55
MR. D. L. ROY ...	391	SIR THOMAS MUNRO ...	61
MR. HAR KISHEN LAL ...	683	SIVA TEMPLE ...	62
MR. J. GHOSHAL ...	117	SRIRANGAM, THE TEMPLE CITY OF ...	63
MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE ...	682	SOME OF THE FREIGHT-CARRIERS OF THE HIMALAYAS ...	3
MR. MYRON H. PHELPS ...	119	SRISH CHANDRA BASU, RAY BAHADUR STARTING FOR THE ANNUAL ENCAMPMENT ...	38
MR. MYRON H. PHELPS ...	161	STATUE OF THE LATE JUSTICE M. G. RANADE—By G. K. Mhatre ...	58
MR. P. N. BOSE, B.SC. ...	556	TATA IRON AND STEEL WORKS ...	280—28
MR. ROBY DATTA ...	158	TEMPLE CITY OF SRIRANGAM, THE THUNDER-CLOUD—By Kshitindra Nath Mazumdar ...	628
MR. SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA ...	58	TOMB OF ASAF JAH, ROZA ...	14
MR. S. V. RAMAMURTI, I.C.S. ...	111	TOMB OF AURANGZIB AND MARBLE SCREEN ...	14
MR. W. ROTHENSTEIN AND MR. RABINDRA NATH TAGORE ...	127	TOMB OF AURANGZIB'S WIFE AT AURANGABAD ...	14
MUDHOLKAR, RAO BAHADUR R. N., ...	121	TOMB OF THE SAINT AT ROZA ...	14
NIVEDITA, THE LATE SISTER ...	586	TURNER, SIR WILLIAM, K.C.B. ...	55-9
OLD PERSIAN PAINTING ...	440	UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH ...	30
ORAONS BLOWING THE BHENR... ...	641	VIVEKANANDA, THE LATE SWAMI ...	101
ORAONS BOILING SUGAR-CANE JUICE ...	643		
ORAON BOYS WITH BOWS AND ARROWS ...	568		
ORAON CART OR SAGAR ...	640		
ORAON DANCE ...	570		
ORAON HUT ...	639		
ORAON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS... ...	642		
ORAON OIL-MILL ...	643		

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page.		Page.
AINGAR, R. N., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.—		HAR DAYAL, M.A.—	
The New Spirit in England ...	37	Optimism ...	8
ANDERSON, J. D., I.C.S. (Retired), Reader		India and the World Movement ...	185
in Bengali, Cambridge University.—		The Indian Peasant ...	506
The Phonetics of Bengali ...	182, 415	HOWSIN, HILDA M.—	
ANDREWS, REV. C. F., M.A.—		The Strangling of Persia ...	43
With Rabindra in England ...	70	England's Dilemma ...	576
A Young Bengali Writer ...	156	Hoyland, John S.—	
Hardwar and its Gurukula ...	330	Some thoughts on the Destiny of	
On Reading the Translation of		India ...	648
Gitanjali ...	397	HUME, A. O.	
A Cambridge University Sermon ...	571	The Fitness of Indians for Higher	
Death the Revealer ...	663	Employment ...	55
Rabindra Nath Tagore ...	668	JAYASWAL, KASHI PRASHAD, B.A.,	
BALKRISHNA, PROF.—		(OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.—	
The Amount and Distribution of		A Note on the Black Antelope	
Incomes in the Punjab ...	311	and the Aryavarta ...	329
BANERJEE, PARESH NATH, B.A., B.L.—		An Introduction to Hindu Polity ...	535, 664
The Dacca University Scheme ...	188	JHAVERI, K. M., M.A., LL.B.—	
BASU, SATIS CHANDRA, M.A., (NEBRAS-		Ichharam Suryaram Desai : an ap-	
KA)—		preciation ...	274
Notes on South America ...	307	Reviews of Gujarati Books.	
SHATTACHARYA, VIDHUSHEKHAR SASTRI		KARNAD, S. N.—	
A Reflection on the Pali Language ...	529	Theory of Indian Music ...	165
JOSE, PRAMATHA NATH, B. SC.		KATSCHER, LEOPOLD—	
(LONDON), LATE OF THE GEOLOGICAL		Abbe's Zeiss-Stiftung ...	167
SURVEY—		KHANNA, JAGANNATH—	
Stages and Epochs of Civilizations ...	249	Engineering Education in America ...	301
Survival of Civilization ...	427	Primary Education in American	
JOSE, SUDHINDRA, M.A.—		Schools ...	634
Cadet Training at American Uni-		KHODA BUKSH, S., M.A., B.C.L. (OXON),	
versities ...	396	BARRISTER-AT-LAW, Lecturer,	
CHATTOPADHYAYA, PRABODHA CHANDRA, M.A.		Calcutta University—	
Review of a Book.		Mohamed and the Quran ...	172, 276
GOOMARASWAMY, DR. A. K.—		The Quran ...	417
The Purposes of Art ...	605	The Elective Caliphate in Medina ...	517
OX, PROF. HOMERSHAM, M.A.		Othman ...	651
Jesus Christ and Birsā ...	398	KUMAR, S.—	
DAS, T. N., M.A.—		Orientalia ...	574
Our Nation Day Celebration in		LAW, KUMAR NARENDRANATH, M.A., B.L.—	
California ...	210	Notes on the Educational History	
ATTIA, DWIJADAS, M.A.—		of India ...	493, 644
Agricultural Demonstrations ...	562	MAIRET, P. A.—	
ANGOLY, O. C., B.A.—		Madame Pogosky and the Russian	
Reviews of Books ...		Peasant Industries ...	6
GHOSH, KALIMOHAN—		MALLICK, DR. I. M., M.A., M.D.—	
Certain Poems of Kabir ...	611	Reviews of Books.	
GHOSH, MAHES CHANDRA, B.A., B.T.		MAZUMDAR, BIJOY CHANDRA, B.L., M.R.A.S.—	
Reviews of Books		Reviews of Books.	
GUPTA, SAMARENDRA NATH—			
The Way to Art ...	509		

	Page.		Page.
MEHTA, N. C., B.A. (Contab).—		ROY, KHIROD KUMAR—	
The Progress of Co-operation in India ...	291	The Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchee ...	279
MICKIEWICZ, ADAM—		ROY, SARAT CHANDRA, M.A., B.L.—	
The Acts of the Polish Nation and of Polish Pilgrims ...	64, 193, 256	The Orāons of Chota-Nagpur ...	566, 639
MITTER, B.L.—		Reviews of Books.	
The Discoverer of Iron-ores for the Tata Iron and Steel Works ...	555	SARKAR, PROF. BENOY KUMAR, M.A.—	
MITTER, PRAVASH CHANDRA, M.A., B.L.—		Reviews of Books.	
Separation of Judicial from Executive Duties and the Better Training of Judicial officers ...	336	SARKAR, PROF. J. N., M.A., P.R.S.—	
MOOKERJEE, RADHA KUMUD, M.A., P.R.S., AUTHOR OF <i>History of Indian Shipping</i> —		Reviews of books.	
The Fundamental Unity of India ...	446	Communal Life in India ...	655
MUKANDI LAL—		SARMA, B. S.—	
Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram Parvati Devi, the Head Mistress of the Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram ...	160	Education in the Philippines ...	409
The Musalmans of Kashmir ...	547	SEYMOUR, MAYCE F.—	
The Ceremonial rites of Kashmiri Musalmans ...	661	To Rabindranath Tagore ...	597
MUKERJEE, RADHA KAMAL, M.A.—		SEN, ARUN, B.A. (CANTAB.)—	
The Religious Element in the Arts and Crafts of India ...	271	The Exhibition of Oriental Art ...	438
Problems of our Education ...	415	SHAH, PROF. P. G., M.A., B.SC., M.S.C.I.—	
The Bell-metal Industry of Bengal ...	501	Aluminium Industry in India ...	21, 204
The Relative claims of the Factory, the Work-Shop and the Cottage Industry in the Economic Life of India ...	621	Review of a Book.	
MUKHERJEE, S.V., B.A. (Oxon.)—		SHARMA, Ram Narain, L. M. S.—	
Reviews of Books.		Emigration to the British Colonies ...	77
PARMANAND, BHAI—		General shooting of coolies in British Guiana by the Police ...	634
The Hindu University: some reflections ...	32	SLATER, REV. ARTHUR R.—	
PHELPS, MYRON H.—		The Caves at Badami ...	141
A Saraswati Yatra ...	385	Srirangam on the Cauvery ...	63
PHILIP, P. O., B.A., OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF INDIA.—		SUNDARA RAJA—	
Social Service in India ...	380	The Turk and his Great Capital ...	39
POUND, EZRA—		SUNDERLAND, REV. J. T.—	
Certain Poems of Kabir ...	661	Some thoughts concerning Keshub Chunder Sen—	60
RAKSHIT, H. K.—		TAGORE, RABINDRANATH—	
Is the Price Level Controllable? ...	545	Race Conflict ...	42
RICHARDS, Prof. P.E., B.A. (Oxon.)—		Communal Life in India ...	65
Upon Mantelpieces ...	375	THAKAR, DR. C. S.—	
ROTHENSTEIN, WILLIAM—		The Social Aspect of Modern Education ...	30
A Basis for the Appreciation of Works of Art ...	125	WATTS, E.—	
		In the footsteps of Aurangzib in the Deccan ...	14
		WESTHARP, ALFRED, MUS. DOC.—	
		The Musical Soul of East and West ...	14
		WILFRED WELLOCK.—	
		The World's Awakening ...	12
		Industrialism in England ...	12
		The Industrial Policy of England ...	26
		Western Industrialism: its lessons for India ...	30
		Why I disbelieve in Socialism ...	524
		The Need of a Science of Morals ...	598
		ZAKI, SAYED MOHAMED —	
		Edinburgh Indian Association ...	552
		Etc. Etc. Etc.	



THE MADONNA OF THE TUB.

By Raphael.

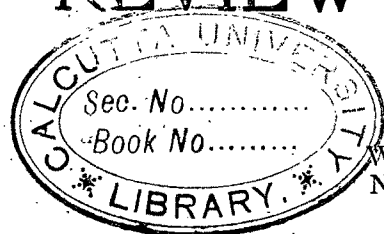
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THE WORLD'S AWAKENING

NOT one country alone but the whole world is awakening. Mankind universally is developing a new self-consciousness. From one end of the earth to the other, signs of a new birth are manifest. A new and grand vision of life has come upon all the nations of the earth, almost as if it were a mighty picture spread out around the dome of the vast illimitable sky; and with its coming a new hope has been kindled in the heart of every people. What it is, this awakening, no one has yet ventured to say, or even to hazard an opinion, as indeed only a few have so much as noticed that it is world-wide. That any special-significance is to be attached to, or any unity of purpose to be observed in, the movements which are taking place in countries so diverse in their civilisation as those of the East and those of the West, is a thought that seems not to have occurred to many. But the existence of such movements is significant, for nothing that happens in the domain of human character and development is the result of accident. Changes in the external world can and do cause many changes in the life of human beings; but no external change can of itself transform the inner life of men, modify their character, their aspirations, desires, loves and hates. A flood or an earthquake may compel men and women to change their place of abode, or even to change their occupation; but no such event could ever compel them to change their gods, their friends, their loves, their religion, their philosophy of life. A change in external conditions does indirectly affect a man's out-

look upon life, even cause him to modify his philosophy of life: but only through thought; for no man can predict the nature and extent of such modification; and what will weaken the faith of one man will often strengthen that of another, and what will lead to a development of character in one case will often lead to dissipation and the loss of hope and enthusiasm in another. It all depends upon the person; and in any case the changes which take place are not direct and calculable, like those which take place in the lower orders of nature, where individuality and thought are almost nil, but are indirect and incalculable, being the outcome of thought directed and governed by a religion, a philosophy, a purpose or an ideal.

Consequently, it is not to mere external happenings that we must look for an explanation of the awakening that is taking place all over the world at the present time, but to the heart of mankind itself, to the divine aspirations which have been kindled, the longings which have been growing perhaps for many years, in the hearts of men and women of every race.

What we may owe to external circumstance, however, is the stimulus which the manifestation of hidden desires and longings by one people gives to another, for indeed no influence which acts upon the mind and heart of man is so strong as the expression of feeling, whether through art, or through conduct generally, which is born of thought and experience. Thus while it may with justice be said that the world-wide character of the modern awakening is due to the stimulus

which one nation's efforts give to another, it is nevertheless true to say that had not each nation which is to-day aspiring after greater possibilities of spiritual development, been inwardly conscious of a new spiritual reality and possibility, and desirous of attaining a fuller, grander and profounder spiritual life, not one of them would have turned so much as a hair's breadth from the beaten track of its life, or looked with anything but cold curiosity and distrust upon what was happening in the world about it.

The great struggle that is going on in the world at the present moment is a paramount proof that human nature is one; that mankind the world over is possessed of the same exalted spiritual desires, aspirations and instincts, and is essentially a great family, possessing all the possibilities of great brotherhood; that men everywhere, in every clime and under all conditions, aspire after a more perfect life, after beauty, goodness, freedom, spiritual fullness and satisfaction.

But in considering the great modern awakening which is everywhere manifest, we are led to ask: What is its nature and significance? What does it portend? In answer to these questions we are compelled to admit at once that, outwardly regarded, it does not mean the same in every country. But inwardly regarded, I believe, it can in all cases be said to be a spiritual awakening, a sign of the approach of a new social era, of a changed conception of man, and of the meaning and boundaries of spiritual life. In some countries it is political freedom that is being sought; in others it is economic freedom; while in others, again, as in England, for instance, it is freedom from the tyranny of enormous wealth and power, of misused liberty, both political and economic, that is being chiefly sought. But behind all this specific agitation, prompting and directing it, is a deep spiritual feeling and longing, a recognition that man is a spiritual being, who ought to be allowed to develop freely and fully; behind it also there is a new idealism presupposed, a feeling, scarcely strong enough as yet to be called a belief, that social fellowship is a spiritual asset and a veritable part of spiritual life. Indeed, to my mind, the distinguishing feature of the twentieth century

is the discovery that man is a spiritual being, and that fellowship is life.

To many, this last statement will no doubt sound very strange, especially when we remember that in most of the great religions man is held to be a son of God, a being in whom Deity takes a personal interest. But the explanation, I think, lies here, that in the majority of cases this view is a theoretical conclusion rather than a realised fact; a theological deduction rather than a practical belief. For, as regards a practical life, how many men really regard all their fellow men as brothers, as spiritual beings, equally with themselves, and in fellowship with whom they can have real spiritual life? How many priests and ministers of religion, for instance, do this? For answer we are compelled to admit that scarcely any do, and this is the case whether we consider the Christians of England, the Brahmins of India, the Confucians of China or the Mohammedans of Turkey. In England it is the case that, on the whole, the priesthood, the clergy, etc., regard themselves as a superior social class, quite superior as a class to the great peasant and industrial classes, with whom they associate as little as possible, and rarely indeed as spiritual equals. Then, too, as most Indians know, and as perhaps few Englishmen realise, the English missionary who goes to carry the Gospel of Christ to the "heathen", never dreams of acknowledging his converts as brethren, in the real sense of the term, any more than an English Lord or Bishop would think of regarding a humble farm labourer as his spiritual equal. Pride of person, of race or of class, which is a selfish and materialistic element, is stronger than love, the desire for true fellowship, which is a spiritual element. Thus, staggering though the thought may be, I believe that the modern world is only just beginning to discover that man is a spiritual being in fellowship with whom real spiritual life is possible.

Now, strange as it may seem, all things, even the most commonplace and apparent, have to be discovered. Existences and realities which in our ignorance we have probably thought had been recognised and appreciated from the first beginnings of civilisation, are, as a matter of fact, discoveries, and many of them of a compa-

relatively late period. If we consider physical beauty, the beauty of Nature, for instance, we have to admit that not many are aware of its existence. There are thousands of people who live amidst glorious natural surroundings who do not know what it is to be inspired by beauty, by Nature. And of those who do appreciate natural beauty there is not one but who on reflection will be able to remember the time when they first become really conscious of such beauty. The appreciation of natural beauty, as of every spiritual reality whatsoever, is a culture and not a gift, a power that is developed by thought and observation.

No greater mistake could be made than that of thinking the world is the same for everybody, for, as a matter of fact, every man lives in a world of his own. The world is not made up of realities which all at once perceive, or which have the same value and significance for everybody. One man sees what another does not see, and one man values highly what another does not appreciate at all. We cannot point to any reality and say what its precise objective value is; we can only say what its value is for us. Another person will see in it less or more than we do. Consequently we are compelled to acknowledge that the world is a far more wonderful realm of reality than is commonly thought, so wonderful that we are always discovering something new in it, and something that had apparently been there from the commencement of time.

Considering such facts as these, therefore, it will perhaps not seem so very unreasonable to say that man as a spiritual being is only just beginning to be discovered. It has been held for centuries that man possessed a soul, but only latterly has it been recognised that he is a soul, and that he is capable of great spiritual refinement, beauty and power, so great beauty and power that it is a delight, real life, to live in his presence, in fellowship with him. If this discovery had been made sooner than the present century it were impossible that we could do or tolerate others doing, the inhuman and immoral things that are done, and often in the name of religion, to-day. Were it not that we are so essentially materialistic, we should abhor, and should not be able to tolerate for another day, the

iniquities of Modern Commercialism, while the existence of Caste, of class feeling and class distinctions in every nation under the sun, from the most barbaric to the most highly civilised, would be a thing of the past.

Now the significance of the modern movement to which I have already referred, lies in the fact that it is the vindication, and stands for the spiritual elevation, of the poor man, being the recognition that man as man, quite independently of his social position, is a spiritual being, and is worthy of the love, respect, devotion and fellowship of every human being with whom he comes in contact, of whatever race or social standing. This view of man is precisely the Christian view, for Christ, in spite of convention, and in opposition to the attitude and practices of the Jewish priesthood, espoused the cause of the poor man, literally exalted him as a spiritual being, and even showed his spiritual superiority over the average rich man, who, by reason of his many earthly encumbrances, was not able to develop so fine a spirit as was the poor man. The poor man has to work hard, both for his own maintenance and for that of others; but as a solace for his hard life, he is trained to rest in the love and sympathy of those near and dear to him; but the rich man, not working thus and having his mind wholly taken up with material and selfish ends, naturally relies more on external things and does not cause to be developed those finer spiritual qualities and essences which are invariably to be found in the poor. Thus Christ's love was essentially democratic, being manifested to all men quite independently of their social position; it was the love of man as man, of man for those eternally divine qualities and manifestations which exalt him to the only true aristocracy, the aristocracy of virtue and love, to which every man and woman in the vast universe may belong. And democratic love is far away removed from that love which is limited by purely local, external and accidental conditions, and which is manifested within a narrow and prescribed area, as to the members of a particular and secluded class. The burden of this new feeling that is being kindled in the hearts of the people of all nations, and that is spreading through the earth

like a flame, is that the essences and qualities which make human nature truly beautiful and supremely loveable can be, and, indeed, are, developed, quite as much among poor people as among rich. And it is because this democratic love and conception of man is growing that the glory of wealth, of position, of high birth, etc., is passing away. Man as man is at last coming into his own; and enlightened humanity the world over is protesting against the continuance of the overlordship of an artificially produced aristocracy, no matter whether it be the aristocracy of a select priesthood, of wealth or of birth and privilege.

Everywhere there are to be seen indications that workingmen, the common people, are rising in revolt against the dictatorship and the tyranny of the wealthy and the privileged, and are beginning to claim for themselves the right to rule their own lives, and thus to live as men, freely, fully, spiritually. At last the workingman has discovered that he is indeed a spiritual being, a living soul, a being who possesses one supreme right, that of self-development. And the fact that the desire for social and spiritual emancipation is becoming worldwide, is a guarantee that the modern movement will be, to some degree at least, successful. For although the specific needs of the different countries taking part in such movement are not the same, the fundamental cause of such agitation as there is, is the same; and once this fact is realised, a great stimulus will be given to the movement all the world over. As I said in a former article, no nation has yet been able to withstand the materialism which follows in the wake of great commercial prosperity; and it is one of the pre-eminent questions of the present time, whether the great nations of the West,—England, the United States of America, Germany, etc.,—will be able to withstand it. But owing to the fact that the struggle for liberty, for social and spiritual emancipation is fast becoming worldwide, there is great reason to hope that they will, and that the cause of the common people, of the great mass of humanity, will be successful. This great and glorious movement for the spiritual exaltation and emancipation of the whole human race is one of the grandest sights the world has yet

witnessed, and ought to gladden and inspire all those who have the welfare of humanity at heart. Thanks to steam and electricity, and to a cheap Press, thought and the news of events can be so quickly transmitted to the uttermost parts of the earth, that the doings, and victories of one country can be used to stimulate the activities and enthusiasm of another. And those forces will be utilised to the fullest extent.

Thus I contend that the ideal of a universal brotherhood is presupposed in all the modern movements which have for their object the freeing of the people from the thralldom in which so many of them are to be found. Among the common people everywhere I believe there is growing a distrust of Government and all authority whatsoever that is based on the power of the sword; a hatred of war; a strong and genuine feeling of good-will towards struggling humanity the world over. The despicable thirst for blood, born of subservience to base, ignorant and selfish leaders, tyrants, maintainers of the old social order, which even yet is to be found in Western countries like England and Germany no less than elsewhere, is fast becoming extinct, naturally vanishing in consequence of the discovery that war is chiefly an Official, and Class, agency; that the perpetrators of warfare are often a nation's greatest enemies; that the cause and welfare of the people of every nation will have to be enhanced, if at all, by quite other means than physical warfare.

So far as England is concerned the tendency towards democracy and a belief in universal brotherhood is evidenced by the existence of (1) a determined demand for social and political reform; (2) a growing hatred of wealth-seeking and of the materialism which has made industry so inhuman, so spiritually disastrous; (3) a widespread desire for a purer and more vigorous morality, and for a broader conception of life; (4) a strong revolt against class feeling of every description, against caste, and against bureaucratic government; (5) an increasing demand for a more rapid substitution of democratic for patriarchal government in our Colonies and Dependencies, and for the absolute cessation of the practice of exploiting backward races; (6) a growing hatred of warfare, and the recogni-

tion of the humanity of "foreign" peoples; (7) the discovery that liberty is the supreme condition of human development; the greatest-need, and the one inalienable right, of man.

Indeed, the English people are beginning to realise that man is not the despicable, sin-laden and spiritually impotent being that the monks, and later, the Puritans, thought him to be, but is capable of profound spiritual culture and beauty. And, it is because they are doing this that they are beginning to disbelieve in war, and that they are demanding more humane social conditions, more leisure and wealth whereby to cultivate the spirit, to live more thoughtfully, deeply, spiritually. But the growth of that idealism, of the desire for a fuller conception and realisation of spiritual life, is not confined to England, nor to the West, but is manifest in almost every civilised country throughout the world.

And what do these facts portend? They are an undoubted indication that mighty social changes are inevitable and imminent, that a new era in the history of humanity is about to dawn. It is for this reason that a great responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the reformers of every country, for it is their duty, their tremendous task to guide the movement that is taking root; to see that the high spiritual ideals are kept to the front, and to prevent materialism and selfishness, the desire for luxury, wealth and power from gaining the ascendant. Vast social changes of one sort and another are in the near future inevitable; but there is no guarantee that if left to themselves these will make in a spiritual direction: it all depends upon the leaders of the movement, upon the ideals that are kept before the minds of the people.

For all those who have the spiritual and social well-being of humanity at heart, the present is a great opportunity, one of those rare occasions which only one out of many generations is permitted to see. Rightly guided there is no saying what spiritual achievements the present and following generation may not make. What is chiefly required is that the leaders fully realise what immense possibilities are open to them, and what are the ideals which they ought to seek to establish in the hearts and minds of the people. That done, nothing

can prevent the attainment of victory, the social deliverance and spiritual advancement of the people.

And what an unexampled opportunity this social and spiritual awakening of the people offers to the religious institutions, the Churches, the priests and ministers of religion, of our time. If these latter could only be led to see the inner meaning, the spiritual significance of this awakening, the unreasonableness and inadequacy for the present age of their own narrow, abstract idealism, as well as the prestige which co-operation with the forces making for the spiritual emancipation of the people would give to the institutions they represent, we are convinced that they would wholeheartedly throw in their lot with the reformers. But the Churches of all lands, and the priesthood as a class, are so strongly attached to established authority of every kind, to the wealthy and idle classes, that it is almost impossible to hope that the priestly class will join in the movement. But whether they do so or not, we believe that in this case the cause of the people is the cause of God; and we also believe that if the priesthood stands aside from and refuses to aid such cause, the institutions they themselves belong to will forfeit forever the sympathy and support of the great majority of the people.

As regards England, I am convinced that nothing can save her from the materialism, and from the fear which materialism gives rise to, but love, the ideal of brotherhood, a broader conception of spiritual life, the belief that man is a spiritual being and that fellowship with man is life. In my last article I showed the condition of fear into which England had sunk as the result of materialism and a too narrow conception of spiritual life. What England is needing in order to escape from such fear and such materialism, is precisely what Jerusalem was needing two thousand years ago: the inspiration of a new social and spiritual ideal. Such an ideal was supplied by Christ. But the Jews rejected that ideal. Will England do the same? So far as established authority, the official element in the State, the Church and the wealthy classes, are concerned, there seems to be no hope that the social ideal and teachings contained in Christianity will ever be received. But in

regard to the nation at large I believe that the spirit and ideal of Christianity are gaining in popularity year by year. Soon they will have become so powerful that they will give rise to a confident hope and belief in the rejuvenation of our social life, and when that day comes, hope will drive out fear, and the ideal of universal brotherhood will begin to manifest itself, not in the mind alone, but in the actual every-day world. As was the case with Jerusalem in Christ's day, so is it the case with England to-day, it is not religion that is lacking, but the Christian morality, the humane idealism which alone can make religion beautiful and attractive.

The prevailing materialism, social tyranny and injustice, will continue just so long as we retain our physical view of man and our narrow conceptions of spiritual life. The physical and spiritual thralldom which are the outcome of a devitalising materialism are literally destroying the manhood and impoverishing the life of the entire modern world; and only the love of man, the development of a grander social ideal can save the nations from social chaos and disaster, from revolution and bloodshed. But happily there are signs of a great spiri-

tual awakening. Man is becoming for man a new creature, the source of a new and more abundant life, a veritable spiritual possession. And whereas in a materialistic life the object of work, of commerce, etc., is to make wealth, even at the expense of man, in a spiritual life it is to make and ennoble man, to beautify and perfect the human spirit, to deepen and multiply social relationships, and thus to further, increase and intensify spiritual life. Consequently, with the discovery of the spiritual value of man we believe that the way has been opened to a new idealism, an idealism which will be the salvation of the modern world. In the acceptance of this idealism there is to be found the hope of the future well-being of the entire human race, the only effective means of spiritualising life, of making possible the attainment of that grand attitude of existence where want, and hatred, and human strife are done away, and where love and peace, social service and heroic endeavour are the rule and law of life. And such idealism we believe is the real inspiration behind the finest efforts and movements of our time.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

MADAME POGOSKY AND THE RUSSIAN PEASANT INDUSTRIES

SQUEEZED in among those wealthy emporia of Old Bond Street that cater for the richest private customers of London, where the stream of private motors and carriages is most turbid and noisy and where spruce footmen and liveried shopmen are waiting at every door, there is a little shop full of beautiful things of a rare and surprising quality. Woven stuffs, simple and harmonious in colour, form a rich and quiet background for a gay luxuriance of intricate embroideries, an amazing mist of marvellously figured lace, jewels, enamel and silver work—even children's toys, bright playthings—wooden horses with wheels instead of legs. And in everything there is a quality for which you will search in vain amongst the much costlier

goods exposed for sale all along that thoroughfare of opulence—for these things are all evidently the work of human hands and the imaginations of human hearts. They are the work of Russian peasants.

Inside the little shop, amongst these treasures, is the Russian lady who has collected them there. She and her helpers are busy selling them to the steady stream of customers, and she talks of her wares with a love and a knowledge we do not see in the usual dealers—and naturally so, for this is not so much her business as the work and enthusiasm of her life. She is Madame Pogosky of the Russian peasant industries, and she believes she has a message for India.

It was her special genius to love the

Russian peasant, misunderstood and despised by the ruling classes in Russia; and almost entirely unknown to them. Because she loved, she came to know their genius and their great wealth of traditional wisdom. The progressive classes of people, students, officials and professionals, told her that the peasants were idle, thriftless, ignorant and that whatever crafts they may once have known were now forgotten by them, since factories had cheapened out of existence the labour of human hands and heads, and used complicated, stupid machines instead. But she did not believe them; and now, after 18 years of work with the peasants she says they are "splendid, industrious workers." She has worked with them, she has found them material when they wanted it, she has found a market for their work, and this is her verdict;—they are 'splendid workers,' and as to their ignorance she says that "as a woman of ripe age, I find I am unable to *teach* them." And hers is the work of no sentimental visionary: you cannot keep a shop in Bond Street for long without a sound business basis.

Wherever there is a true peasant community there is true handiwork and there is little true handiwork anywhere else. These Russian peasants are tillers of the soil. Through the long Russian winters they work at their crafts, not with the shallow cleverness of an art school teaching but with the inherited skill of generations and with their own natural love of good workmanship. They make everything for use and decorate it for beauty, and so their handiwork has the supreme quality of obedience to nature. These are simple merits, though great ones, and they might be expected to avail little in competition with the mechanical finish of the produce of our machine-made civilization, but they are qualities that do tell more and more, even in the commercial sphere. The big firms who have carried on or exploited cottage industries in Ireland, Scotland and elsewhere, as well as Madame Pogosky who has assisted and developed them in Russia, have found that they can be made to pay. We are getting weary of the soulless work of factories and commercial travellers: paltry designs even at competitive prices are beginning to pall upon us; and real work is more and more recognised by its touch of the

human hand, its quality, which is inimitable by any concatenation of cog-wheels. In many places little movements are afoot to save the few crafts that commercialism has not robbed and ruined; and the ethical and national—and international—importance of these endeavours, too great for present discussion, may be known by all who will trouble to study the matter.

The commercialism which has been so disastrous to the peasants and their industries can never save them, but it is to the enterprise of those who are business people (and something more besides) that we must look for their only hope of rescue. Madame Pogosky's successful experiment shows this most clearly, and so do her experiences in Russia, where Government action was attempted, especially in relation to the lace industries, with disastrous results. The Russian Government, having no belief in the capability of the peasants, but anxious to save some part of their industry in lace making, sought to meet the difficulty by establishing schools to teach lace-making. They equipped a small army of newly-taught teachers who, instead of developing the indigenous craft, founded a new and very different industry, ignoring the native ability that they never looked for, and almost completing the ruin of the peasants' market by competition. This has an analogy in the factory methods of much of the Swadeshi work in India, and also in the work taught in India by missionaries, of which Madame Pogosky saw some at the Indian Exhibition in London, and of which she says:—

"It was pitiful to me to see Indian women 'exhibited' to the public making torchon lace,—a thing which is not even a paying craft and has nothing beautiful and nothing Indian about it."

Will India have a Madame Pogosky? She has shown what one devoted worker can do in Russia—not much in comparison with the need of so vast a country, but much in itself, and it must lead to much more. India has a peasantry with a greater inheritance of handicraft skill than Russia, but even more misunderstood by its ruling classes and already nearly as badly invaded by industrialism. In India, as in Russia, the progressive people are mostly under the delusion that the handicrafts and village industries are dead, or nearly so, and they

are inclined to welcome the scourge of commercialism, altogether mistaking its true nature.

Madame Pogosky has made known her hopes concerning Indian crafts in a lecture to the Theosophical Society, now to be published in India, from which I have already quoted. She says:—

"I know too little about India to dare to speak of it, but my idea would be to have first a try. If my intuition is right, and there are far away forgotten corners in India, one who has eyes should study what the natives do and how. If they have no chance to sell what they do, and cannot afford to do these things for themselves, there is a chance to open a market for them. If they do things not so beautifully as they used to do, perhaps for want of good materials, then there is a way to supply good materials and the produced goods would improve at once."

Her intuition is right, as we know. Quite apart from the crafts which have been more or less commercialised, apart from the true native work which has been more or less changed, and often degraded, by the dealers who now over-run most of India, there are genuine village industries in India. And they could be revived and helped by the right methods, by one who really knows, or can get to know, the true conditions necessary to the workers and the dangers most necessary to be avoided. It is not an easy work to do. It needs a knowledge, not only of

handicrafts, but of commerce, and probably of international commerce also, to some extent. And above all, it needs enthusiasm and genuine sympathy with Indian life as it survives most pure and unchanged. But to the enthusiast with these qualifications, who will take up such a labour in India, there will be great revelations of beauty and usefulness, and there should be no financial loss. It is in the interests of government in the truest sense, for a peasantry divorced from its traditional crafts always loses its discipline of life and tends to discontent and disorder. It is in the interests of nationalism, for only the handicrafts are truly national, industrial products ultimately losing all human, as well as national character.

And the possibilities must be tremendous. In Russia, beautiful work was obtained again from places which had been given up as hopeless. A little sympathy and encouragement, and some solid help, revived the most surprising beauties of industry. And "India has but recently been the grandest handicraft country in the world," says Madame Pogosky, "the heart cannot be demoralised as quickly as the lower brain,—it beats still."

P. A. MAIRET.

OPTIMISM

THE future of India hangs in the balance. The forces of darkness and of light are struggling to possess her for centuries. Will her people advance and work and be men? Or will they sink and vegetate and deteriorate? This is the question that faces all thinking persons in India. Already we hear prophets of woe talking of a dying race. We have worthy public men assuring us that a "divine dispensation" has condemned India to languish in ignorance and helplessness for at least several centuries. We have advocates of social reforms who proclaim that India's economic problem cannot be solved before certain reforms have been effected. We have religious apostles declaring that there is no

hope for India till she is Christianized. Quacks and cranks, too, of varying degrees of intelligence abound in this age of transition. All are sincere. All work according to their best lights. And all do some good. But they all put off into the far distant future the realization of India's dearest hopes. They neglect the economic situation, and hold out no prospects of a speedy termination of famines and plagues, illiteracy and inefficiency. Thus the minds of the earnest young men are overwhelmed with sorrow and despair. Is there such a weary road to travel? Will India remain asleep so long? Their hearts sink at the thought. This beloved land of ours, this unfortunate victim of fate and chance, when

will it come by its own? Pessimism finds an easy entrance into minds bewildered by the contradictory teachings of our leaders. Hope dies out and with it enthusiasm. No one wishes to sacrifice his life and happiness for a will-o'-the-wisp. An ideal, which is not even within the range of practical politics, can excite no zeal. It is too academic and theoretical to appeal to the people. The question of India's destiny in the twentieth century is one of the burning problems of the day. Pessimism with regard to the immediate future paralyzes our energy and destroys the movements which have been built up with so much sacrifice and suffering.

Will India's economic problem be solved in the near future? This is the question. Or shall we and our great-grand-children have to wait for centuries before that final consummation is reached? The wise men of India should answer this inquiry.

The pessimists, who would teach our young men that India has "a Himalaya to cut through" before she can enjoy economic prosperity, take a very low view of the capacity of the people for progressive action. They say that we are a very servile and degraded people. We have no character: we lack vigour and strength: we are disunited: we are ignorant: we cannot work together: our best men are stupid and selfish: our women are uneducated and indifferent: we are centuries behind Europe: we have no common spirit and no ability for the management of our affairs. And the obstacles in our way are immense: the other countries of the world are very powerful: they are determined to preserve their superiority over us: they are very skilful in promoting their interests. In this unequal conflict, how can we hope for success soon? How can we hope for it at all, say some.

Surely a strong case can be made out for the pessimist, if we omit to consider the situation from the standpoint of scientific sociology. When a person is unfortunate, every one turns against him. Even so it is with India. The present, with its misery and darkness, weighs so heavily on the spirit that many cannot see the future, which *must* grow out of it.

I propose to show in this essay that the

economic problem of India will be solved before the century is several decades old. I have arrived at this conclusion after a dispassionate study of the forces that are at work in India. I have not allowed my own feelings to influence my judgment. I have tried to apply the method of modern sociology to India, and deduced certain conclusions that should for ever dispel all pessimism from the minds of all social workers. Reason teaches us optimism: the heart points in the same direction. Where the head and the heart unite in their testimony, there is no room for doubt.

What is the silver lining on the cloud of India's future? Let us enumerate and discuss the various forces that represent latent vitality.

(1) *The Indian States.* Many people forget that one-third of India is comprised within the territories of our own States. And there are two independent States in the country. In the States, our energies are not cabined, cribbed, and confined. There is scope for initiative and public spirit. The social organization is not so hopelessly broken up as it is in British India. The people are not cowards and slaves; they preserve some of their native pride and self-respect. Manly sports and exercises are not forgotten there. The natural social atmosphere of oriental society permits free growth to some extent. The States have life, vigour, virility. The institutions called the States or Durbars may be in many instances decrepit, disorganized, inefficient and corrupt. But the Durbar is not the people. And the Durbars too are making up. The States are rapidly falling into line with the modern movements of progress. Enlightened princes and ministers are trying to do something like their duty towards those whom they squeeze and tax and govern. There is a flutter in the dovescots of Princedom, for the rajahs recognize that they must either advance or retrograde. They must conserve and increase their prestige and influence, or they are doomed to helplessness and inertia. Foreign travel, which is an expensive luxury for most states at present, at least opens the eyes of some princes to the possibilities of development. The graduates of British Universities, not finding suitable careers within British India,

are overflowing "into the yellow-coloured area." This process must develop with lapse of time. The passing away of the old generation of indolent, corrupt, and ignorant ministers at the courts now leaves the stage free for the new educated class to exercise its talent in administration, and the people are everywhere sympathetic towards their rulers. Thus the states present a field for honest, unselfish work which is almost unexplored up till now. While 70 millions of our countrymen live in the states, no young Alexander of patriotism need despair that there are no realms for him to conquer.

There is an immense amount of work to be done by independent publicmen in the states. It is an erroneous impression that one must be an official to do good in a state. Officials are important but they are not all-important. Capable and judicious journalists can help in building up a healthy, progressive public life in the states. Living issues rouse the intelligence and social spirit of a people. The dead, academic discussions of the congresses and newspapers of British India cannot galvanize this corpse of a slavish population into life.

Within twenty years, the states will have established sound systems of public education and finance. Popular education will lead to a demand for free political institutions. The despotism of the princes will be curbed. So it has been in Europe: so it shall be in India. The organic growth and development of the states should occupy us for the next decade.

(2) *The Religious Orders.* Next to the states, the old religious orders are the most independent organized autonomous social bodies within the community. Many of them never come in touch with "politics." They have spirit and vitality. They know how to govern themselves. They feel that they are children of the soil and love their motherland. Their sturdy self-assertive pride should be directed into active channels. They preserve the breath of life that should be breathed into the other parts of the social whole. While a community can preserve even the remnants of organization and autonomous activity, there is no reason for pessimism. The *gyoti* is not extinguished: fan it into flame by your devotion.

It is sad to reflect that the modern religious organizations like the samajes of various kinds that exist among us have not been able to preserve their free and independent life. The hand of death is already upon them. They only serve to spread the poison of servility and moral cowardice more quickly along the arteries of the social system. They talk of dharma, but fear is in their hearts. They sing hymns to God, but really obey force. They desire *mukti*, but hug their chains. They should learn a lesson from the old religious organizations.

(3) *The Rise of the Middle Class.* During the last fifty years, the growth of a compact middle-class has been one of the most remarkable phenomena of our society. It is a very composite and curious class. It depends for its very existence on the good will of the British rulers of India. It is their creation. All its organs and organizations have been established and developed by the British. It is self-conscious and alert. It is a sword that cuts both ways. When its members are cowardly and avaricious, they ruin the country. But when even a few of them display some courage and enthusiasm, they wield far greater influence than rajas and landlords. The combination of Western culture and Western ideas of public duty forms an irresistible weapon. Where only the culture is imbibed, we have a sickly, loathsome, vile product, the job-hunting graduate or the licentious barrister-at-law.

This terrible middle-class will make or mar the country. And the chances are that it will make rather than mar. Permanent contact with Europe keeps alive notions of dignity and self-respect in this class. Its ranks are being constantly recruited from the colleges. Circumstances will force it to find its way into industry and commerce in co-operation with Indian or European capital. Its organization, represented by bar clubs, conferences, the lower civil service, the Samajes and Congresses, cannot be dissolved without upsetting the entire machinery of governments. This unassailable organization will enable it to work even during times of stress and strife. It is shielded by the Government itself.

This middle-class will furnish the leaders

of India. The leadership of society is being transferred from the aristocracy to this middle-class. Even princes solicit the favour of this class for recognition and public appreciation, for it controls the newspapers and literature of the country. The disappearance of the old leadership, based on land and rank, is one of the healthiest signs of the times. A great revolution is being worked out within our community, a silent revolution of forces and tendencies and structure. Intellect is superseding wealth as the guiding force. The public men of India are the *rājās* of today, and their influence will grow from year to year. Their word will have more power than the decrees of a maharaja. The New India of the twentieth century will be different in this respect from the India of the Sikhs and the Marhattas.

The rich classes have always been the marplots of social revolutions. They cannot live in storms and whirlwinds. Cowardice is second nature to them, for their heart is not in ideals but in their lands and money-bags. It is a misfortune for a society to choose its leaders from this class. This circumstance has been one of the main causes of the downfall of previous political organizations in the country. Let not the rich be your masters. They are useful and valuable as allies of the intellectual class, but they should not be allowed to control movements or formulate plans for development. Property always seeks to defend itself first, and then cares for the public welfare. The Brahman must be above the Vaishya.

The increase of this middle class cannot be checked by any contrivance. It is a great problem for us to direct its energies into right channels.

(4) *The People.* The people of India, as a whole, are strong and manly. Some parts of the country are physically degenerate, and physical degeneracy among nations always spells moral and intellectual decay. These sections of the country cannot play an active part in the process of regeneration. They are useless for all purposes at present.

But then there remain 120,000,000 people, who are virile and stalwart peasants, fit to rank with the world's finest stock. They number more than the entire population of the Roman Empire as estimated by Gibbon. Surely while this immense reserve of strength

remains unexhausted, sighs and lamentation are rather premature. The simple habits of our peasantry are a great national asset. Simplicity is a nation's armour, which shall not fail it in the day of trial.

(5) *The Women.* In our women we have a hitherto unutilized source of vitality and power. Our women are of course in a state of subjection, but so are women all over the world. In this respect, there is not much to choose between the East and the West. Apart from this universal curse and its consequences, the women of India are eminently fitted to play a prominent part in the coming change. They are loyal to persons, and this is the next best virtue after loyalty to principles. They are conservative in many respects, and healthy conservatism is today a sign of individuality among less-advanced communities attacked by the aggressive semi-civilization of Europe. Hindu women are also very simple in their habits. They will not work spontaneously for the public good, because they are not very intelligent; but they will work through the influence of personality. Every young man should be a missionary of public spirit to his wife, and he will have a very willing convert. The young husbands of India have an enormous responsibility to discharge towards their wives in this respect.

(6) *The Muhammadans.* Some pessimists speak of "the soul-killing" Hindu-Muhammadan question. But I do not see many difficulties in the problem, which *will solve itself through the force of circumstances.* Historical evolution does more than our restless impatience in these great movements of progress. The orator or the journalist is only the fly on the wheel of time. The diffusion of Western education among the Muhammadans will inevitably bring the leaders of the two communities together by eradicating intolerance and prejudice. The type of character that is being moulded in the Central Hindu College and the Aligarh College is fundamentally the same. A Hindu and a Muhammadan graduate can understand each other much better than a mullah and a pundit. The union of the cultured classes of these communities will be organic and permanent this time. Hitherto it has been merely mechanical and political. Western education will do what Akbar attempted in his days.

Some critics may point out that Western education seems to widen the gulf rather than to bridge it. They are short-sighted and hasty in their judgment. The noise of a few selfish barristers-at-law and place-seekers cannot defeat the will of the Spirit of the age. The eddies and whirlpools are inevitable, but the direction of the current is unmistakable. There may be some bitterness and misunderstanding due to wrong tactics on both sides. But the same force that takes students of both communities to Oxford and Harvard will make them friends at Hyderabad and Bhopal. We in India lack the capacity of sound generalization in sociology. We do not see far enough ahead.

"For all is well, though faith and form
Be sundered in the night of fear;
Well roars the storm to those that hear
A deeper voice across the storm,
Proclaiming social truth shall spread and justice."

The leaders of the two communities will learn that their social and intellectual life must be different from that of the masses, Hindu and Muhammadan. For the great unifying force of Western culture and manners is obliterating all barriers between the educated Hindu and Muhammadan. The people will keep to the old ways, but the educated men and women of both communities will be drawn together by common social habits and tastes. Already this fusion is taking place in our Bar-rooms. What has a Muhammadan barrister-at-law in common with the hāfiz and the hāji? Let us realize the fact that the educated class in India is fast becoming a caste, a new Brahmanhood and Sayyadhood, an aristocracy of talent and wealth, bound together by common standards of conduct.

Let us not seek to solve the problems of the twentieth century by picturing to ourselves the India of the eighteenth. This educated class, which is affiliated to the middle classes of Europe and America, will lead the people towards education and

freedom step by step. Japan has advanced along the same lines. The Hindu upper classes will give up their silly love of the antiquated debris of their past, and the Muhammadan leaders will laugh at their own superstitions and social codes. For the mighty steam-roller of modern science is pulverizing these old-world systems and organizations into atoms, and the educated classes of all Asiatic countries draw their inspiration not from Bagdad or Benares or Peking, but from Paris and Berlin and London and New York. Anon the light will reach the masses too, but a century is required for that consummation. In the meantime, let Hindu and Muhammadan forget their out-of-date customs and institutions, and form the freemasonry of culture which Western education must establish.

This is the *necessary* process of development for the Hindu and Muhammadan upper and middle-classes. European culture will find them together in spite of themselves. What the Time-Spirit joins together, no man can put asunder—and no government too.

Our brief analysis leads us to the conclusion that all the forces are making for the unity and regeneration of India. We are parts of a larger whole, the laws of whose activity must be understood. No one can take up the code of Manu or the *shariat* of Islam today, and say, "We shall advance along this path."

India will not grow by making a cess-pool of itself and breeding the worms and reptiles of antiquity in the twentieth century. She must join the march of the world, and she cannot help doing so. Thus there is no cause for despair. There are sources of vitality in our community, which must be utilized, and the methods of Western civilization must be followed. To all who fear and tremble, I would say, "In due time ye shall reap, *if ye faint not*."

HAR DAYAL.

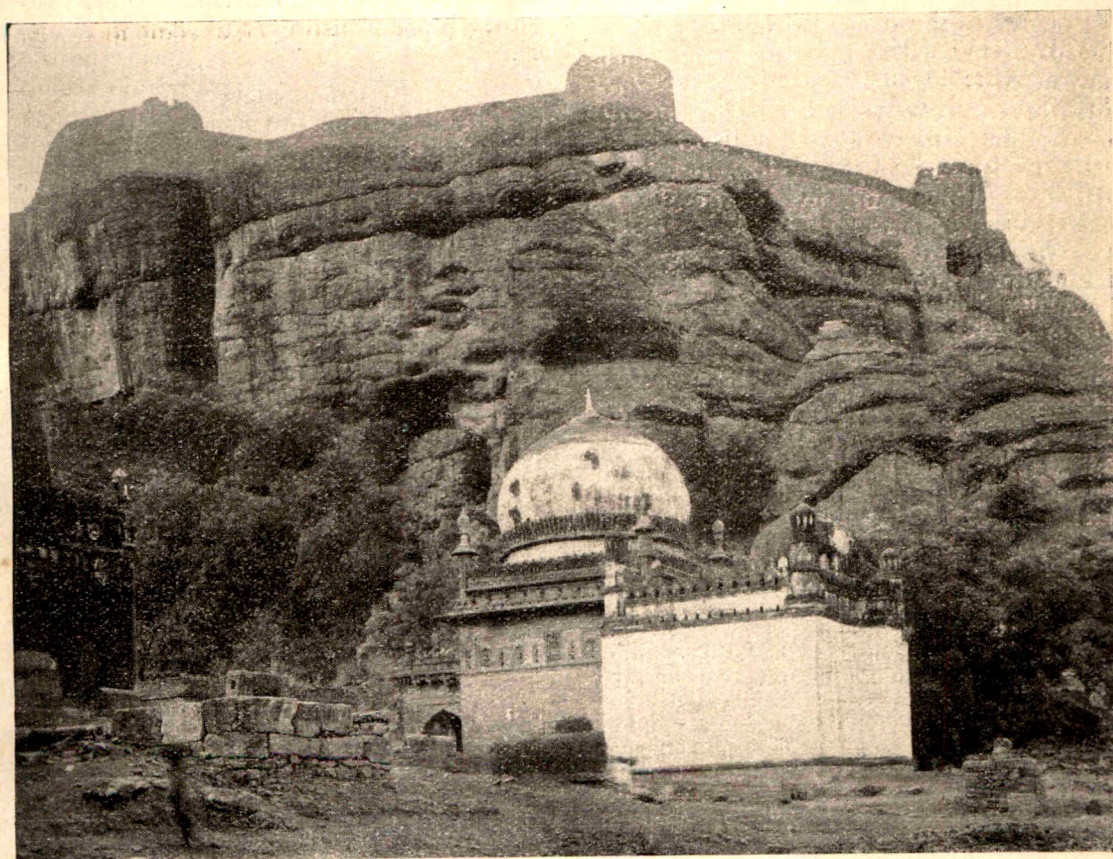
THE CAVES AT BADAMI

IMPORTANT STONE SCULPTURES IN THE DACCAN.

BY REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER.

THE rock caves of Elephanta, Ellora and Ajanta are well-known by virtue of the fact that they have been freely visited and described by travellers who have supplied many photos of the striking caves

in the interest shown in Hindu art and Dr. Coomaraswami, Mr. Havell, and others are doing much to introduce not only to Westerners but to Indians the beauties of the art of former days. Some of the finest



Badami Caves.—The Fort at Badami.

and carvings to the illustrated papers. Archæologists have also been keenly interested in these wonderful works of art, and have done much to make their striking features known to the public. In these days there is a considerable revival

art specimens have been procured from temples, but the great rock caves of India also produce examples which do no discredit to the best work of the Indian artists. Some of the more familiar figures of the caves above referred to have become well-known,

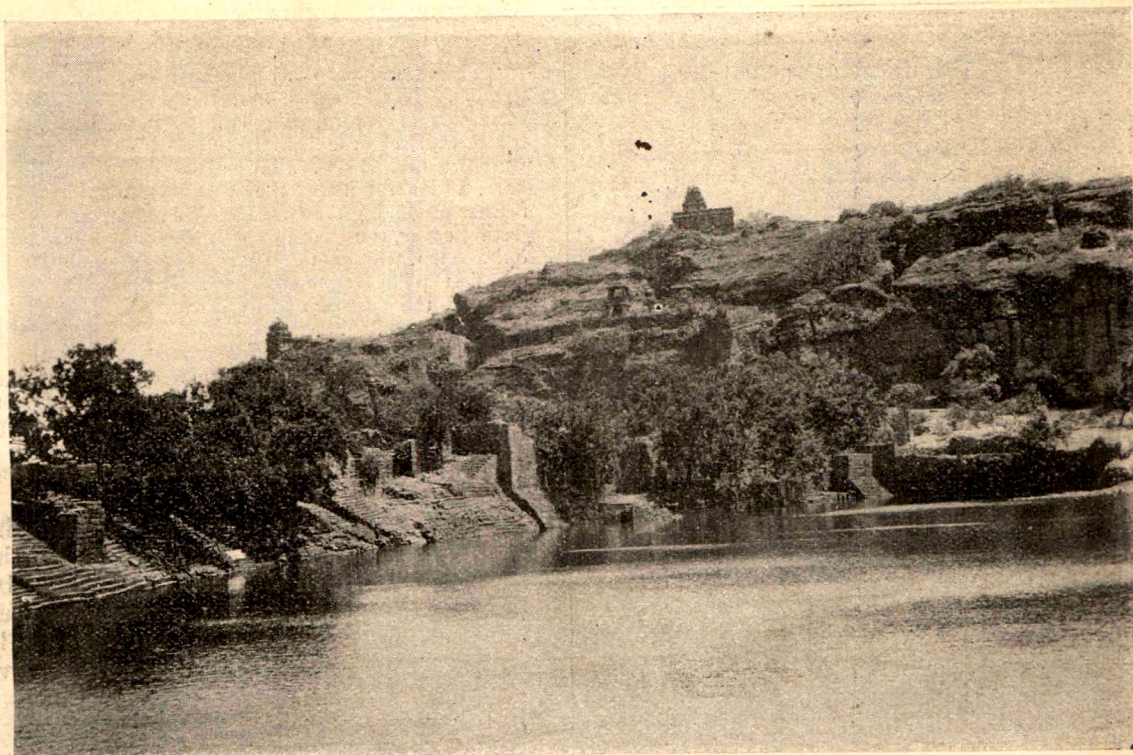
but, though the rock caves of Badami are not so great in extent as these, they contain some very fine instances of workmanship as may be seen from the accompanying pictures. Moreover, the Caves of Badami are of greatest importance from an archaeological point of view because they have provided what was long desired, a fixed definite date for the construction of one of them. On the other sculptures there is no date that can be definitely deciphered, and the absence of a date led the archaeologists into difficulties. Theories were advanced to explain the periods at which the various caves in different parts of India were probably made but it was always felt to be unsatisfactory. The discovery of a definite date on one of the stones of the No. 3 Caves at Badami has led to a great change in the view of archaeologists respecting the dates when these were completed. This inscription declares the cave to have been made in the twelfth year of the well-known king, Kirtivarman First in the "five hundredth year after the inauguration of the Saka King". The date therefore is A. D. 578. Fergusson, commenting on this date, says,—

"Admitting, which I think its architecture renders nearly certain, that it is the earliest of the three, still they are so like one another, that the latest may be assumed to have been excavated within the limits of the next century, say A. D. 575 to 680. Comparing the architecture of this group with that known as the central or Rameswara group at Ellora, it is so nearly identical, that though it may be slightly more modern it can hardly now be doubted that they too, including perhaps the cave known as the Ravan-ka-khai, ... must have been excavated in the 7th century. Instead, therefore, of the sequence formerly adopted, we are forced to fall back on that marvellous picture of religious toleration described by the Chinese pilgrim, as exhibited at Allahabad in the year 643 A. D. On that occasion the king, Harsha Siladitya, distributed alms or gifts to ten thousand priests, the first day in honour of Buddha, the second of Aditya the Sun, and the third in honour of Iswara or Siva; and the eighteen kings who assisted at this splendid quinquennial festival seem to have promiscuously honoured equally these three divinities. With this toleration at headquarters, we ought not to be surprised if we find the temples of different religions overlapping one another to some extent."

It has previously been accepted as a reliable theory, that the caves of the respective faiths were made in the period when these faiths were predominant in the land. Thus, according to the empirical or real knowledge of the history of the period during which they were supposed to be excavated, they were arranged in sequences. Thus in

the caves of Ellora, the Buddhist was assumed to have preceded the Brahmanical, and the latter was succeeded by the Jain. The close similarity between the four caves at Badami, one Saiva, two Brahmanical, one Jain, has convinced Fergusson and other scholars that all must have been excavated within the period A. D. 575—680. A comparison with the Ellora Caves, seems to confirm this conclusion. This, too, is a tentative view, and archaeologists will welcome any new light which may help toward solving the problems associated with the construction of these caves. That Badami has provided the one definite date gives it a great importance but the fineness of the workmanship is a sufficient reason for paying the place a visit even at some inconvenience.

Fortunately the place can be easily reached. Badami town is some four miles from the Railway station but this distance is easily covered by the tongas which can easily be arranged for by communication with the Station Master. Joining Hotgi, on the main line from Madras to Bombay, to Gadag on the line running from Hubli to Bezwada, is a line passing, for the most part, through unattractive country. The train service is unluckily one of the slowest in India but the traveller by this line to Badami is also able to visit the wonderful city of Bijapur. The town of Badami once held a position of no mean importance in the history of the early Hindu kingdoms, few vestiges of that former greatness remaining to witness to it. History relates that the town was taken from the possession of the Pallavas by Pulisheki First in the sixth century, and was made into the capital of the Chalukyan kingdom by him. It was evident that the unique position of the town appealed to him as affording a splendid defence against any enemies who might try to overthrow him. There is an inscription recording the date when the fort was built, dated 1339, in the reign of Harihara of Vijayanagar. Some say the forts date from remote ages, even before the Christian era, but there is little to support such a claim. In all probability the town remained in the possession of the kings of Vijayanagar till the sixteenth century. In 1746 Badami was ceded to the Peshwa but it did not pass to the Mahrattas till ten years later.



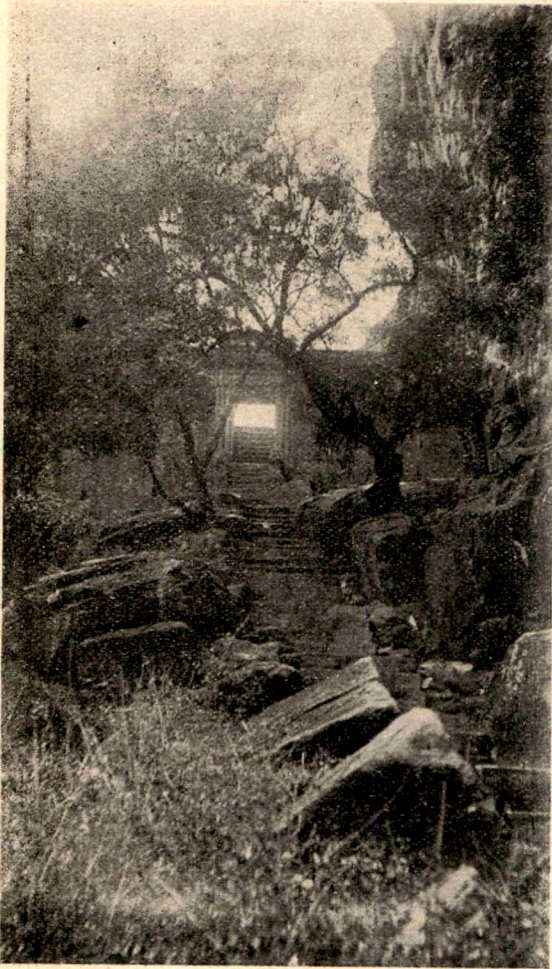
Badami Caves.—View of the Tank at Badami looking to the North Fort.

From the time when the Mahrattas took over the town the whole history is one of cruelty and bloodshed. Haider Ali took Badami in 1776 but it was surrendered to the allied forces of the Nizam and the Peshwa in 1786 after a memorable siege of four months. When Tipu captured the place he made the forts much stronger and when the allied forces arrived they had difficulty in capturing the forts. At first their operations were not successful but

"It was determined to try the effect of an escalade. On the morning of the 29th of May 20,000 infantry of the confederate army were drawn up for that service. The garrison consisting of upwards of 3500 men manned the works to oppose them; and when the assailants advanced, which they did with great resolution, they found the ditch and covered way full of mines which were fired and proved exceedingly destructive; but the Mahrattas and Mughals vying with each other rushed forward in a most impetuous though tumultuous manner, applied ladders, mounted the walls in various places, and except the slight check sustained at the citadel, carried all before them within the town. The garrison fled to the forts above and rolled down huge stones upon their assailants whose casualties were numerous, but the garrison becoming intimidated at their furious and persevering attack offered to surrender if their lives were spared, a condition which was immediately granted."—*History by Grant Duff.*

The fort on the north hill is defended

by a ditch 50 feet deep. From several points on this rock the traveller may obtain an excellent view of the small town which lies below. There are also several temples of interest in the vicinity of the fort, and Muhammadan mosques containing a number of inscriptions. But it is to the south hill, that the traveller will turn his steps with the greatest interest, for on the west face of it are to be seen the celebrated rock temples, the importance of which has already been pointed out. The two forts are about 240 feet above the level of the surrounding ground so that they form quite a striking feature of the landscape. The two forts were built on huge rocks with narrow chasms, from 30 to 100 feet deep, which were carefully filled with strong and hard masonry whenever they opened through the rock and it formed a front to the fort which added greatly to its strength. Over these rocks at irregular intervals were placed bastions, differing in size, joined by loop-holed walls of masonry. In these bastions were placed the ordnance which defended the town. The interior of the fort was bare, uneven, and rocky, and except for a few store-rooms and magazines,



Badami Cave—Steps from No. II to No. III Cave. contained no buildings. The water supply was but scanty, being brought by a conduit from a large cistern outside the town through the north-east side of the hill and on through the masonry into a reservoir built in one of the chasms. The southern one is especially well fortified against attack, for the rock was sheer and cut off from the main hill by a chasm 60 feet deep and 30 feet wide. It is at the base of this rock that the visitor must wend his way in order to inspect the caves, which are "of singular interest from their architectural details and sculptures". These caves have been described by several archæologists, and the writer is indebted to Mr. Burgess, the great authority on the architecture of Western India, and for many years in charge of the

Government Archæological Survey. Referring to the caves as a whole he says,—

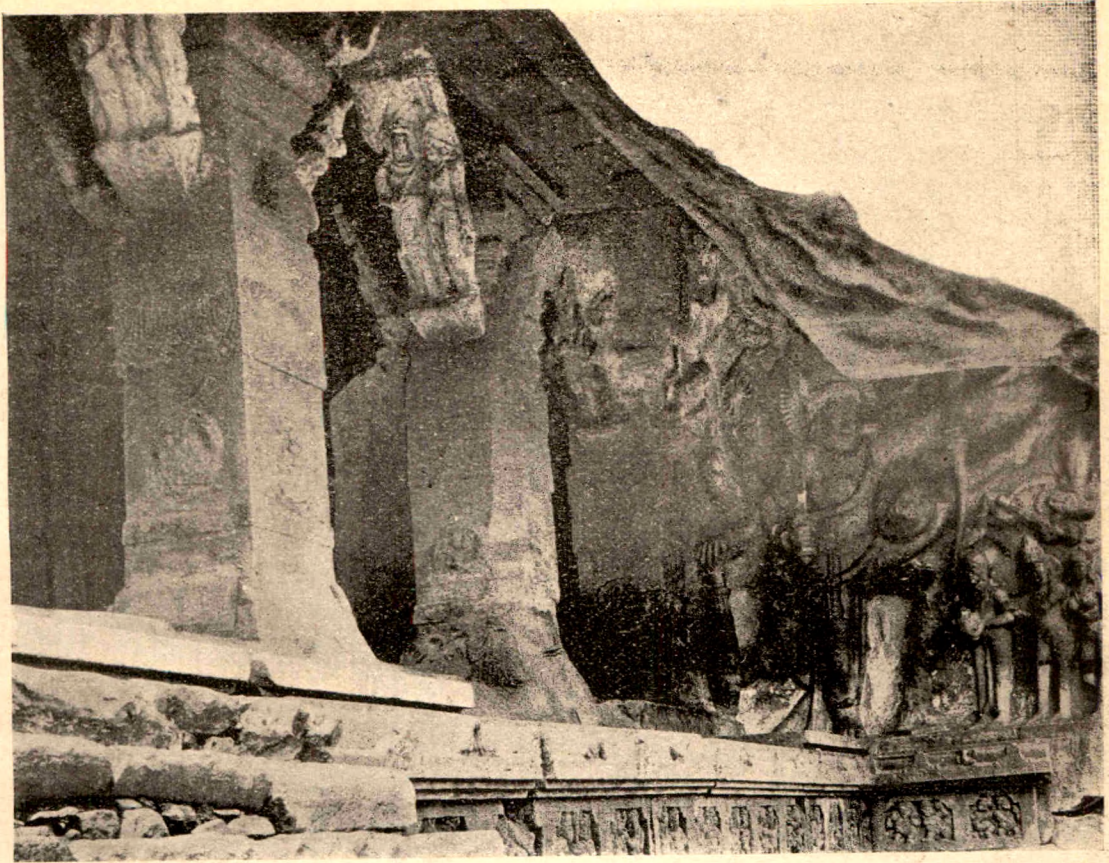
"They stand as to arrangement of parts, between the Buddhist viharas and the later Brahmanical examples at Ellora, Elephanta, and Salsette. The front wall of the Buddhist vihara, with its small windows and doors, admitted too little light; and so here, while retaining the verandah in front, and further protecting the cave from rain and sun by projecting caves, the front of the Shala, or hall was made quite open, except the spaces between the walls and the first pillars from each end. In the sculptures, at least of the second and third caves, Vishnu occupies the most prominent place. In style they vary much in details, but can scarcely differ much in age; and as the third contains an inscription of Mangaleswara, dated Shaka 500, 578 A. D., we cannot be far wrong if attributing them all to the 6th century. The importance of this date can scarcely be overestimated, as it is the first of the kind yet discovered in a Brahmanical cave".

The first cave is about 30 feet from the ground. Two of the four pillars in the facade have been broken, apparently by lightning, and are now supported by wooden blocks. On the right of the cave is a finely carved figure of Siva (see illustration) five

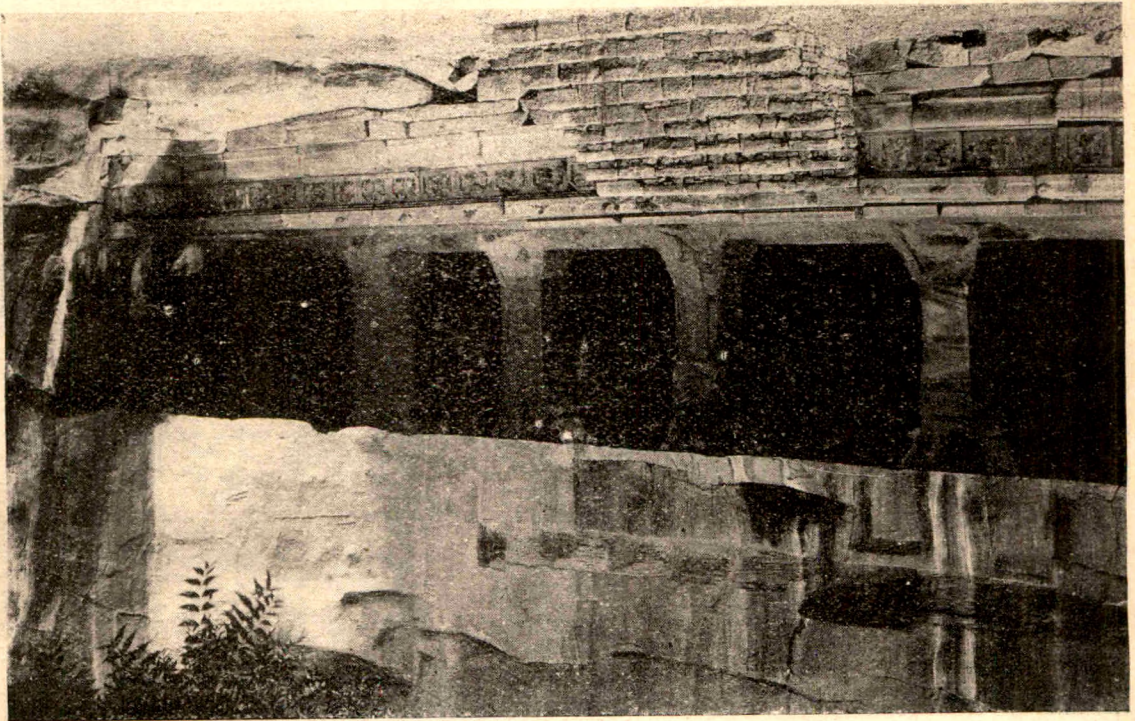


Badami Caves.—The Dance of Siva, outside No. I, Cave.

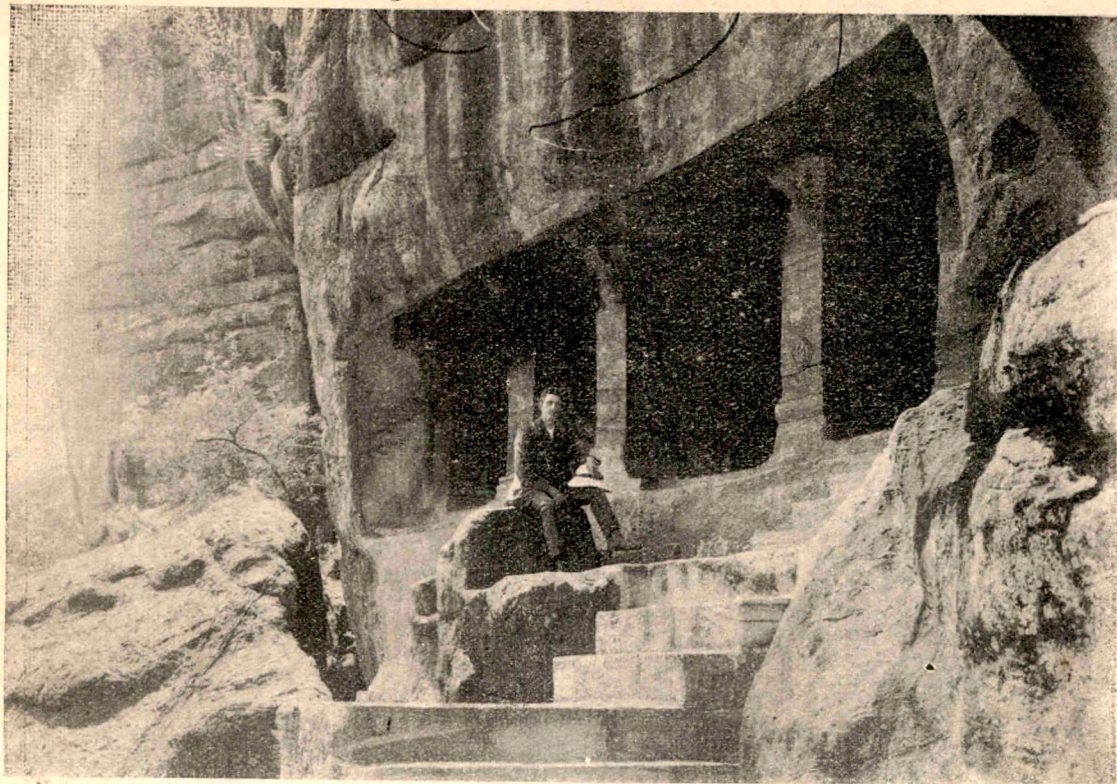
feet high with eighteen arms. Beyond this facade there is a verandah, on the left of which is seen a figure of Vishnu or Hari-hara, holding in his four hands the usual symbols, while on the right is one of Lakshmi, with an attendant. The whole rests on a stylobate along the front of which there are many Ganas, the dwarf attendants of



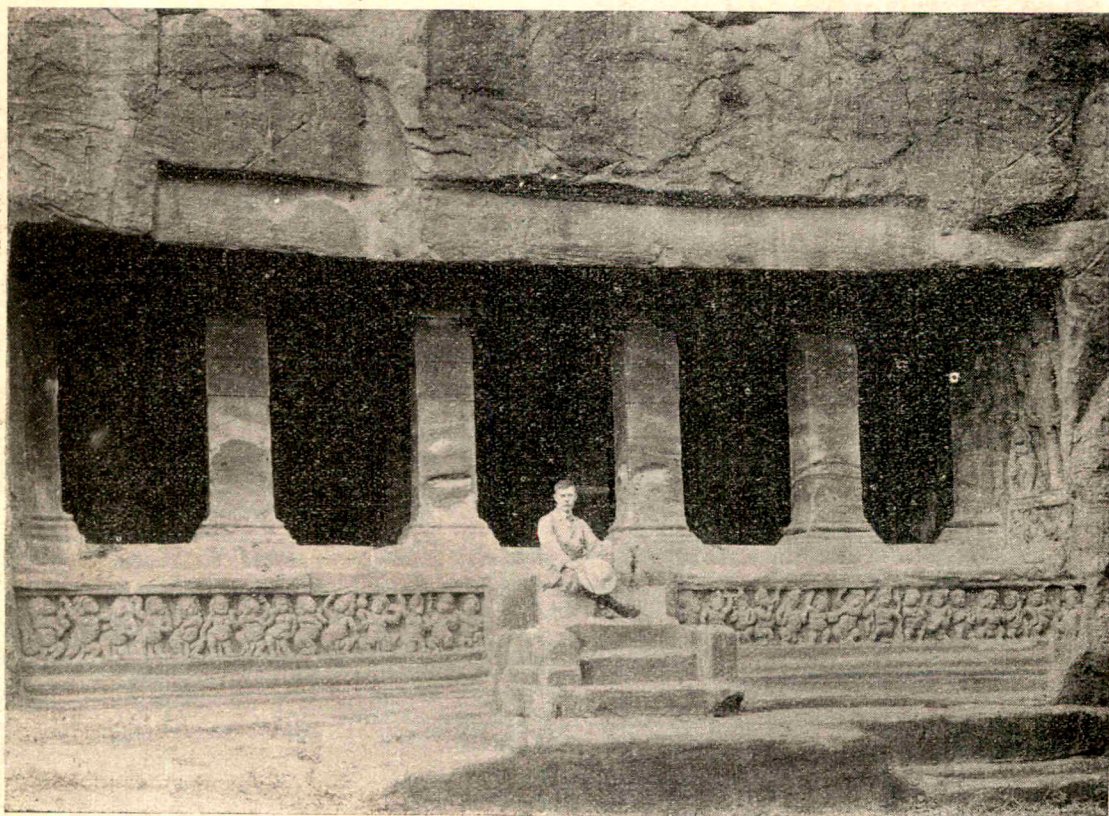
Badami Caves—Vishnu as Dwarf, outside No. III Cave.



Badami-Caves—Exterior of No. III Cave.



Badami Caves.—The Jain Cave No. IV.



Badami Caves—No. II Cave.

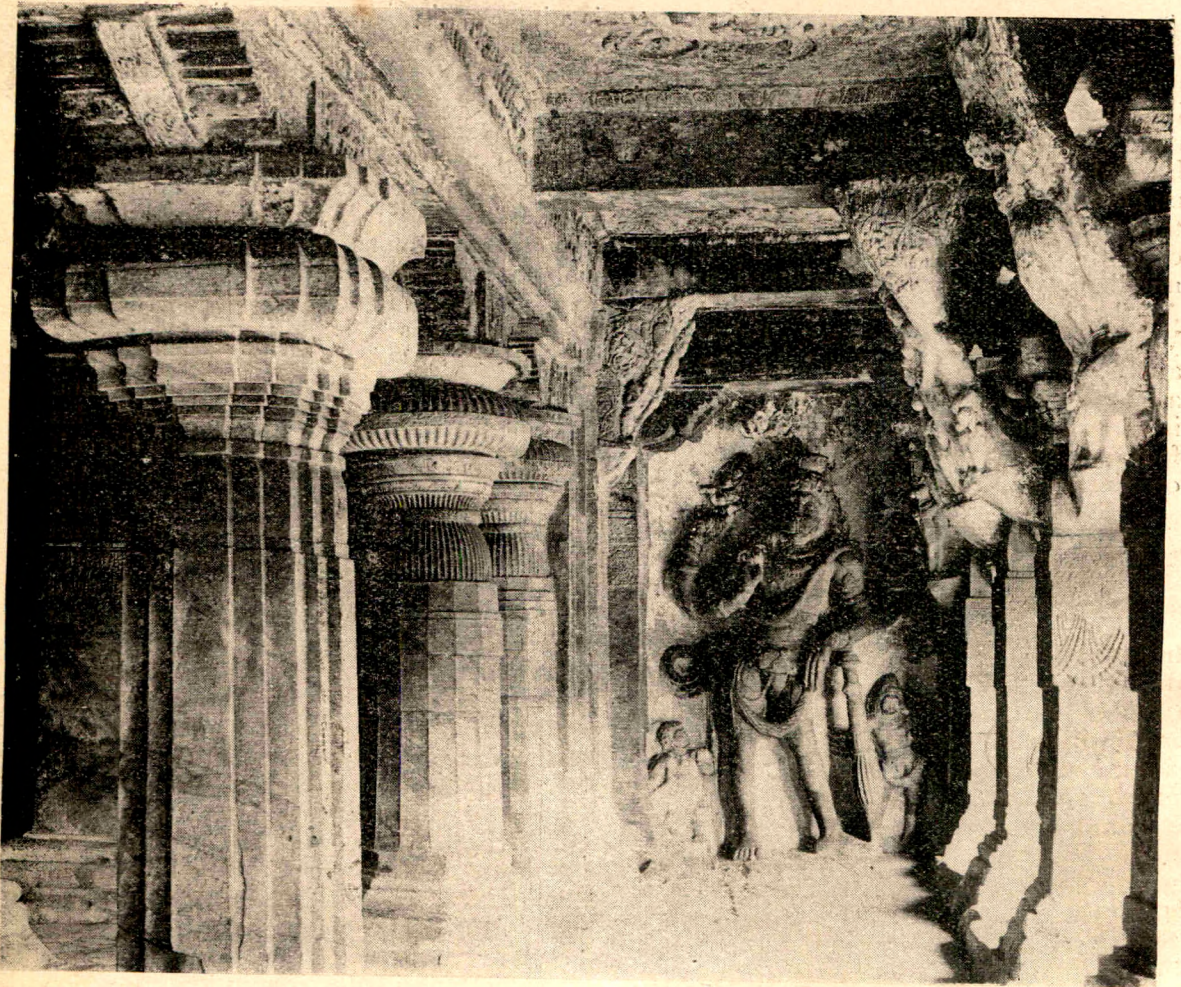
Siva, in all sorts of attitudes. There are several other figures of interest in this cave, which is doubtless devoted to the God Siva. By means of a flight of steps the second cave is reached, and from the platform in front of this cave the visitor can obtain a magnificent view of the town and the huge tank at the bottom. In the facade of this cave there are four pillars carved from the middle upwards and four scalloped arches. At the east end of the verandah is the Vishnu in the form of a boar. Below this are Shesha, the thousand-headed snake with a human head, and a female figure. There is also a fine figure of Vishnu lifting one foot over the heavens, and putting the other on the earth. The frieze of the cornice all



Badami Caves—Vishnu seated on serpent,
No. III Cave.

round is carved with groups of figures. The entrance to the inner chamber is similar to that of the first cave; the roof of the chamber is supported by eight pillars; and the corbels are lions, human figures, vampires and elephants. Passing from this cave one reaches by means of a doorway the third cave which is the finest and most important of all. Above the facade of this cave there

is a huge rock rising perpendicularly over one hundred feet. The facade is 72 feet from north to south, and has six square pillars and two pilasters, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. On the stylobate of this cave too, there are many ganas, represented in relief. The brackets of the pillars represent male and female figures, Arddhanarishvara, Siva, and Parvati, and on the columns themselves are carved elaborate festoons, and below medallions with groups of figures. At the east end of the verandah is a huge four-armed figure of Vishnu seated on the body of the great snake, Ananta, which is thrice coiled round him. Its five hoods are spread over his crown. The front left hand rests on the calf of the leg, and the back left hand holds the conch shell. The front right hand holds something which represents wealth or fruit and the back right hand the heavy sharp-edged quoit which was so commonly used in early days by the Hindus for throwing at their enemies. There are also a great many belts and necklaces which are supposed to represent gems. On the right of the back wall of the verandah there is a fine carving of the Varaha or Boar incarnation. It will be remembered that Vishnu took this form when he freed the earth from the demon chief Hiranyaksha who had carried it to the bottom of the ocean. The boar dived down and freed the earth after one thousand years' fight. This carving is also to be seen in many other caves and shrines. Near this sculpture is the inscription to which reference has already been made. At the west end of the verandah is a carving representing Vishnu as a Man-lion. In this form Vishnu was able to destroy the demon who misused the powers he possessed by virtue of his austerities. He has four arms and his left one rests on a huge club (see illustration). Behind him stands the eagle Garuda in human form, and on the other side is a dwarf. Several figures float over his shoulders holding in their hands gifts and garlands, while above his head is seen the lotus plant. There are many other sculptures of fine workmanship which are deserving of a close study but the limits of this article forbid any such detailed account. The huge figure on the outside to the right of the onlooker shown in the illustration, is worthy of mention, partly because of its great size and partly because of the



Badami Caves—Vishnu as Man-Lion in Cave No. III.

energetic way in which the work has been executed. Vishnu in his dwarf form has eight arms in which he holds the discus, sword, club, arrow, conch, bow, shield. In front there are also many figures of interest. The interior of the Cave has several notable carvings many of them showing great skill in the artist.

The fourth cave is a Jain one, and was probably cut about A. D. 650. The verandah is about 31 feet by 6 feet 6 inches and the cave itself 16 feet deep. There are four square pillars in front with bracket capitals. Inside there is a fine specimen of the figure of Mahavir the last of the twenty-

four Tirthankars. There are many figures of lions, alligators, etc., in bas relief, and Tirthankars are inserted in the pillars and the walls.

Badami is a place of great historic interest and no one who pays a visit to this place will be disappointed if he is interested in the history and archæology of India. He must not expect to find the caves on the same scale as those of Elephanta, Ellora, and Ajanta, but he will find what compensates for absence of quantity the fine quality of workmanship which we associate with the work of the ancient Indian artists.

P. 26, 892

ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY IN INDIA

BY PROF. P. G. SHAH, M.A., B.SC., M.S.C.I.

SECTION I.

Uses of Aluminium.

IT reflects credit on India, and to the pioneers of this industry here that she has been able to take part however insignificant and humble in the revolution in the metallurgical industries of the world even though rather late. The discovery of the metal

Early years of the Aluminium industry in the West.

Aluminium, its isolation, and its use on industrial scale may well be said to mark an epoch in the use of metals by man. Though the metal was isolated by Wohler in 1827, and attempts were made in 1854 by Deville to obtain it in larger quantities, the industry had no footing till 1886 when Heronlt and Hall invented and patented their processes almost simultaneously. Since 1889, there has been a remarkable increase in the use of Aluminium in the arts and industries. This was the result of the fall in the cost of production: in 1887 the cost of Aluminium was £18 per lb., in 1891 it was about 10d. per lb.; in 1909 it was reported that the cost varied from £61 to £80 per ton; in 1911-12 the price was at about £75, i.e., at about 8d. per lb.

The large variety of uses to which the metal has been put in other countries will give an idea of the vast changes that are bound to follow with the increasing use of aluminium. The metal is at present used in all forms and dimensions, from papers, visiting cards, thimbles which weigh but fractions of a tola to objects of several maunds in weight such as shippropellers and the like. In the pure state aluminium serves for the manufacture of electric conductors, of surgical apparatus, precision instruments, of artistic objects like letter

cases, picture frames, cigar cases, &c., and of cooking utensils, cups, dishes, pots, &c. For articles of small or moderate dimensions where no special strength is required this metal competes successfully with copper, nickel, germansilver, and brass since volume for volume it is cheaper. In the larger industries also aluminium is making rapid progress. It has been

Military uses, adopted for military uses, e.g., field equipment utensils, where on account of its lightness a saving of about 50 per cent. in weight is effected; again, the gun carriages used in France are made of this metal which weigh only 78 kilograms instead of the usual weight of 285 kilograms. Yachts and steamers

use in steamers, have been made of this metal with considerable saving in weight. Aluminium permits of being worked into tubes which are preferred in the chemical industries, in optical instruments, and in the making of cycles, motor cars, etc. It need not be

pointed out that the science of aeronautics and the making of aeroplanes, by the use of aluminium and its lighter alloys. Aluminium has a bright future before it as a conductor for electricity; though it is not so good a conductor as copper, on account of its lightness, with equal conductivity it weighs and costs less than copper. As such it is already in large use for overhead

electric works, electric transmission. In mining, the mining industry there has been considerable saving in time, cost and energy by the use of aluminium cars and cages. In Medical Science, the surgical instruments have been made lighter and more handy, while its use in the dental plates has reduced both the cost and weight.

in small industries. in Surgery, and Dentistry,

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of artificial teeth. In the manufacture of scientific instruments of precision like the Balance, the Sextant, &c., lightness as well as resistance to atmospheric oxidation have been secured. It has been found useful for the manufacture of ordinary chemical apparatus like ovens, baths, tripods, etc.; while in chemical industries it has been a great boon as it is fairly stable towards common chemical agents. The recent developments in the art of soldering aluminium has made this metal more easily available for the larger plants required in the chemical industries. Aluminium is a good chemical agent for reducing the oxides of many metals and these reactions are utilised in various ways. The use of aluminium in flash light powder is likely to change the old methods of lighting entirely. For printing purposes it is found useful, lithographic plates made out of the metal being very valuable. On account of its lightness and stability in air, it has been proposed for coinage in place of copper and brass.

Aluminium is very slowly acted upon by acids, though alkalis and salts have greater action. Aluminium has been styled for this reason a semi-noble metal, a semi-noble metal being intermediate between the noble metals—silver, gold and platinum, and the base metals—iron, copper, zinc, lead, etc. As such,

"This semi-noble metal has immense future before it; because, silver, gold, and platinum have extremely small prospects of being noticeably cheaper, yet the time is not probably far distant when we shall have this metal at the price of the base metals. It can replace platinum and gold because of its lightness; it already replaces silver, specially because of its resistance to sulphur, as well as for its lightness, besides being cheaper. At its present price it can replace the common metals for uses where its lightness is an extraordinary advantage. But when its price is down to that of these baser metals, it will replace them by virtue of its own intrinsic chemical and physical superiority, aside from its lightness. According to the calculations made in 1895, four metals, iron, zinc, lead, and copper were cheaper than aluminium bulk for bulk."

"The ultimate goal of aluminium industry will be reached when it outstrips any of these metals and stands next, in importance and value of annual production, to iron."

In the light of these uses and possibilities of the metal it is no exaggeration to say that the discovery of the metal and the cheapening of aluminium is one of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century; in other words,

"Nineteenth century will live in History as that century which gave to the world, the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, the dynamo, the Bessemer steel and aluminium."

Out of the several uses of the metal enumerated above, we are not concerned with any in India except the use as cooking materials. It will take perhaps a long time in India for the application of aluminium to other purposes, as the workmen are not yet quite familiar with the methods of working the metal.

As a material for making cooking utensils and the like, the superiority of aluminium is established, as the most useful and least attacked of the ordinary metals, by means of experiments conducted ever since the metal was familiarised in the fifties of the last century. These are admirably summed up by Mr. Richards* and it is worth while to quote the same in extenso.

"Henry St. Claire Deville, the great chemist who was the first to cheapen the production of Aluminium, (1854) with prophetic insight looked forward to the times when Aluminium would be used for culinary vessels. After trying a series of experiments he wrote: I have observed that the tin which is so often used and put in contact with common salt and vinegar is attacked much more rapidly than aluminium under the same circumstances. Although the salts of tin are very poisonous and their action being far from negligible, the presence of tin in our food passes unperceived because of its minute quantity. Under the same circumstances Aluminium dissolves in less quantity; the acetate of aluminium that is formed resolves itself on boiling into insoluble alumina or an insoluble subacetate having no more taste or action on the body than clay itself. It is for this reason and because it is known that the salts of the metal have no appreciable action on the body that aluminium may be considered an absolutely harmless metal."

"Ballard (1892) conducted the tests for several months and found that air, water, wine, beer, cider, coffee, milk, oil, butter, fat, urine, saliva and damp earth have less action on aluminium than on iron, copper, lead, zinc or tin. Vinegar and salt together attack it but so slightly as not to prevent its use for cooking purposes. A sheet lost only 1·3 per cent. of

"Ballard's experiments.

"Ballard's experiments.

* Richards, J. W. *Aluminium*, p. 93 &c.

its weight in vinegar and 2 per cent. of its weight in a five per cent. salt solution after four months' immersion.

"Lunge and Schmidt (of Zurich) conclude from a series of experiments with ordinary commercial aluminium, that the action of tea, coffee, and beer is practically zero, that of acids and acid liquids is more pronounced, but in the worst case too slight to cause any alarm whatever. Nor is there the slightest danger of any injurious action on the human body by such traces of aluminium compounds, seeing that our food contains very much more than these; in fact they could not act injuriously unless quantities hundreds of times larger were regularly entering the stomach."

Besides the stability of the metal in general, there are many other advantages which makes aluminium the best metal for culinary purposes.

Out of these the following are well established :

1. It is non-poisonous. The same could not be said of any metallic utensils; porcelain and glass ware are too fragile to be used for heating purposes. Enamelled ware was considered to be non-poisonous till recently when it has been shown that the lead present in the enamel dissolves and produces injurious effects to an appreciable extent.

2. It is easily cleaned. It is very seldom that anything burns fast or sticks to an aluminium vessel. If such a thing does at all happen, a soaking in water removes it entirely.

3. It does not allow the food to be scorched. It is a singular fact, that it is almost impossible to scorch even the most delicate foods in an aluminium vessel. This is a well attested fact and is due to the great heat conductivity of aluminium preventing a high local temperature on any one spot. On this account, the metal is not well-suited for frying pans or skillets, in which the object is to superficially scorch the food.

4. It is not corroded. None of the acids found in foods have any perceptible corrosive action on aluminium. Daily use for three years, in every way, had left in one case no signs of corrosion * on a utensil; in weight the utensil lost only $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. which would point to about 100 years as the probable time it would take to wear out.

* The above observation of Mr. Richards cannot be upheld by the present writer. Perhaps the utensils he had chance to observe belonged to a much lower quality of the metal.

5. Aluminium vessels cook quickly, because of the great facility with which heat is conducted by the metal.

6. It is only one-third as heavy as other metals.

7. Vessels made of the metal are very durable. They do not corrode from inside, and show little wear outside; besides, there is nothing to crack off as in enamel ware, no coating to wear through as in tinned ware. The utensils if properly treated are almost indestructible and will wear almost indefinitely.

8. In comparison to the brass vessels used in India, aluminium vessels are superior in all the above points and moreover save the expenses of tinning them as is necessary in the first case.

It need not be pointed out that these observations apply to the pure metal only. It is very necessary that, as we in India use the metal mainly for culinary purposes, the metal should be of great purity. If the metal were used for mechanical purposes, where it is not exposed to the action of organic acids or salts, it is a matter of indifference what kind of the metal is used. Pure aluminium is much stronger and capable of greater resistance to acids and so should be used for cooking purposes in preference to cheaper and impure metal.

Besides being slowly eaten up, the metal has another disadvantage, *viz.*, that it loses its polish quickly and cannot be easily brought back. However, this is a trivial point in matter of culinary vessels, though this property works against the use of this metal for artistic and ornamental work requiring a permanent glittering polish: but in all cases the good metal takes and maintains the polish much more easily than impure metal.

With the increased number of aluminium factories in different towns value of old aluminium ware. it will be possible to sell back or exchange old vessels for new ones as is done in the case of copper and brass vessels. However old aluminium vessels bring a low return compared to the new—the corresponding rates being 5 to 8 as. per lbs. and Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per lb. respectively.

SECTION II.

The Metallurgy of Aluminium.

Though the element was isolated in 1827 by Wohler, and though his method was simplified by Deville in 1854, it was not till 1887 that aluminium was prepared properly on a commercial scale. The first two processes consisted of the reduction of the salts of aluminium by potassium or sodium. The production by these methods in 1885 amounted only to $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons in France and $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. in America; and the price of aluminium was £18. per lb.* The year 1886 saw the development of electrical methods of Heronlt and Hall who independently devised the present method of manufacture of the metal. The principle involved in Hall's process. Hall's process is the electric decomposition of alumina, dissolved in a fused bath of the fluoride of aluminium and other bases, the current reducing the alumina (the oxide of the metal) in preference to the solvent. This method was essentially different from any of the methods previously followed and was the source of a revolution in the aluminium industry. As a result the price of aluminium went down suddenly, as the cost of production was at once reduced to about 10d. per lb. (19 cents.) while the price in 1887 was £18 per lb. Since 1890, the progress of the aluminium industry has been steady but sure. The sodium processes have dropped altogether from the race, and electrical processes occupy the field. Among these again the processes producing the alloys only have also dropped out. Among those that remain, only those that are favourably situated near abundant water power with cheap supplies of alumina have flourished. The industry has already reached a strictly commercial basis in which every item of expense has to be reduced to a minimum. It is hoped that the uncertainty as to prices that prevailed in the world's market after 1902 will be removed under the steadying influence of the syndicate formed last year.

* For further details see Dictionary of Applied Chemistry by Sir E. Thorpe, 1912 Edition, pp. 105, &c.

The immense progress of the Aluminium industry within the last 10 or 12 years can be realised from the fact that the production has almost trebled in the period of 5 years. The following figures show the production and prices of the metal within the last 20 years:—*

Year.	Production.	Price.
1891	300 tons.	27s. per kilogram.
1900	8000 „	2s per lb.
1905	11,500 „	53-3 to 3-9 „
1909	24,200 „	51- 1-6 „
1910	34,000 „	51-3 to 1-7 „

The following figures from Minets' "Aluminium and its Uses" are also interesting though not very reliable:—

Price of Aluminium.

Year.	cents per lb.	Year.	cents per lb.
1854	259.20	1884	8.86
1855	108.00	1890	2.98
1859	17.38	1895	.32
1864	17.38	1898	.24
1874	17.38	1901	.22

Total Production of Aluminium.

	U.S.A.	Switzer-land.	France.	England.	Germany.
1885	1	0	2	1	10
1890	28	41	37	70	10
1895	417	650	360	0	0
1900	1650	1232	800	500	500

With reference to the metallurgy of Aluminium it must be pointed out that no great reduction in the price† of the metal could be expected as long the present methods are being followed.

Concentration in large factories. All that could be done in the matter of organisation and production on a large scale has been done. The recent statistics of production show that the world's output of aluminium is practically confined to five factories which contribute 9/10 of the total output; the next being made up by other seven factories. The two requisites of the industry are (1) cheap electric power (2) cheap supply of alumina. It is not possible to cheapen the first item below what it already is in the places where the metal is produced; attempts made to cheapen the second are

* Indian Trade Journal Vol. xxii, p. 311.

† On the contrary during 1911 the prices have gone up. In 1910 the wholesale price was £63 per ton; in 1911 it was £75, and is further expected to rise till a limit of about £90 per ton reached. If this last price is maintained India may hope to manufacture aluminium in spite of the competition of the more advanced countries.

reported to be successful and if carried on in a commercial scale are likely to make another revolution in the aluminium industry. According to the specifications of a patent taken in 1908, the formation of alumina becomes a byproduct in the preparation of silicon from kaolin or clay.

A new method for the production of alumina.

The clay is mixed with carbon and heated in electric furnace, the silica is reduced, and the oxide of aluminium easily isolated. This tendency to utilise cheaper sources of aluminium is likely to cheapen the alumina, and is expected to help the future rise of the industry.

As it has been already indicated the material used for the manufacture is alumina or the oxide of the aluminium.

Description of the methods used at present.

This oxide is manufactured from the naturally occurring bauxite in the following way. The mineral bauxite is fused with carbonate of soda in a reverberatory furnace. The fused mass is washed with water which retain all the aluminium as the aluminate of soda. The solution is freed from all suspended solids and decomposed by carbonic acid gas which precipitates the metal as hydrated alumina. The precipitate is repeatedly washed and then dried at red heat, when all the water goes away leaving anhydrous alumina.

This alumina together with some fluoride salts is transferred to carbonlined iron pots which form negative poles, and into which dip carbon rods which complete the circuit by connection with the positive pole of the dynamo. When current is passed through this circuit the fluoride salts melt and there is no decomposition till alumina is added. The alumina is decomposed into the metal aluminium which is taken out in the molten form, and oxygen which is taken up by the carbon rods. More of alumina is added, the process being continuous as the metal can be easily removed from the bottom. The cost of the fluoride bath is nominal; the alumina required is about twice the amount of the metal produced, while the consumption of the carbon is equal to the weight of the metal produced.

SECTION III.

Properties of pure Aluminium.

The atomic weight of aluminium is 27

80; and corresponding to this it has a low density, viz. 2.6; it is therefore about two and half times as heavy as water and about one third as light as copper, iron, or tin.

The melting point of this metal is 657°C—a temperature much below the melting-point of copper (1065°C) or gold (1063°C), or Iron (1800°C); it can be boiled at 1400°C. This shows that working in aluminium requires far less heat than any of these metals. The heat conductivity of Aluminium is 3435, though less than that of copper, is greater than that of brass, german-silver, iron or zinc: so it is more suitable for cooking purposes than the last three.

Aluminium is not such a good conductor of electricity as silver or copper; their electrical resistance (for a wire 1 metre long and 1 m. in thickness) is in the ratio of 37:19:20. However looking at the current prices of the metals and their density, we find that for like conductivity copper is one and half times as costly as aluminium. Thus though aluminium is already cheaper than copper, it might be further pointed out that there is considerable chance for it to be a better conductor when the purity of the metal is increased. Some of the samples of pure aluminium have shown the resistance of 29 compared to 20 of copper and with further purification a nearer approach may be expected. If the same kind and amount of impurity were introduced into the present good copper, its conductivity would surely be lowered more than ten or fifteen per cent. Again just as copper is used instead of silver though the latter is a better conductor, copper will be displaced by the cheaper aluminium. Already, the latter metal has found a favourable use in the overhead electrical transmission, where this metal has to be preferred on account of its intrinsic merit.

Electrical conductivity.

Cheapness of aluminium for the same conductivity.

Aluminium has a bluish white colour and has a beautiful lustre specially on freshly cut or polished surfaces. It does not change in air appreciably if free from silicon. If the

Lustre.

silicon is between 5 to 1 per cent., the silicon goes to the surface, is oxidised and forms a layer of silica which can be rubbed off easily.

Stability in air. Its stability in air is accounted for by the formation of a thin and coherent coating of the oxide which prevents it from further oxidation. Water and dilute organic acids scarcely affect aluminium at boiling heat; it is true it is acted upon by strong solutions of organic acids and salts but only very gradually. It has been already shown that this does not interrupt with the use of the metal for culinary purposes. Among the Mineral acids, mineral acids nitric acid has no action; by sulphuric acid it is dissolved gradually: by hydrochloric acid and alkalis rapidly and easily.

Aluminium is able to reduce almost all oxides even those of iron, silicon, and boron. Interesting applications of this reaction are made specially in the preparation of the metals like iron, cobalt, nickel, or chromium when required in small amounts without the use of costly and elaborate furnaces. The process is named after Goldschmidt and Thermite welding. consists in mixing together the oxide and aluminium powder and starting the reaction by means of magnesium ribbon surrounded by a heap of potassium chlorate powder. The mixture is generally heated in a funnel shaped crucible with a hole at the bottom which lets out the metal when the reaction is complete. The reaction is generally very vigorous and the metal as well as the crucible become red hot. The molten metal

is utilised in welding together two pieces of iron (e.g., the iron rails, etc.) which are slightly heated previously and which are surrounded by a mould to hold the molten metal at the joint. This is called "thermit welding."

Besides being used in the pure form, aluminium has found important applications in the form of alloys when combined with other metals. Among the most useful alloys are those with copper and with magnesium. The addition of a small proportion of aluminium increases the hardness of copper, does not injure its malleability, makes it susceptible of a beautiful polish, and varies in colour from Golden, golden red to pale yellow. The quality of brass is also improved by the addition of small quantities of aluminium; an alloy containing 70 per cent. of copper, 27.5 per cent. of zinc and 2 per cent. of aluminium is said to show nearly double the tenacity and more than double the elongation of ordinary cast brass. The most interesting alloy of aluminium is and white, perhaps, the one with magnesium; it is white in colour, has the workability and strength of brass, but can resist the action of many chemicals and is much lighter. This alloy is named Magnalium and contains 2 to 12 parts of magnesium to 100 parts of aluminium. It has been used for various purposes where lightness and resistivity to chemical action are aimed at, e.g., in many scientific instruments etc.

(To be concluded).

HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CONJEEVERAM

II.

OUTDOOR EXCURSIONS, GAMES AND DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES.

TRUE, the school has no play-ground of its own yet,—nay it has not its own building or compound—yet they do not let the time pass by and bewail the

want of fields and grounds for physical exercise. They seem to have appropriated the air and the open space, out in the suburb; now and then they arrange for outdoor excursions which assume the form of picnic parties and pleasure trips. They turn them also into a botanical and zoological parties. The teachers point out the

names, characteristics, nature, habitat and other particulars of the plants and trees, and birds and other animals they come across. At present they teach the girls a peculiar kind of drill. The girls have not to wait for the commanding words of the drill-master, but they have only to keep their ears open and they move their limbs and regulate their movements in response to the time of a musical instrument that purports to direct the girls doing the drill.

The second form of exercise is the play of action-songs. The songs include folk-songs, domestic songs and religious songs.

Musical instrument goes on playing, as the girls sing the song, they also move their limbs or make gestures accordingly.

For instance in case of domestic song to show a woman at work they show with the hands how she cleanses her house, how she brings water, how she prepares bread, etc. If it is about the life of a cultivator, they will show by gestures how he ploughs, how he sows and how he reaps and threshes the corn.

The action-song that was sung and displayed in my presence was about *Gauri-Puja*, the worship of the Goddess.

This sort of drill or physical exercise is much better than the drill practised in other schools. These action-song-drills impart threefold education to our sisters. It teaches them how to sing, how to express by gestures, how to revere the one worthy of reverence and above all it is an exercise in itself.

Another form of physical exercise is much more interesting. It is a kind of pantomime dramatic performance; it is a *Tableaux* practice pure and simple. I had the pleasure of witnessing the *Tableaux* of a considerable portion of the *Sakuntala* of Kalidas acted and displayed by a group of the pupils of this school. Twelve scenes were shown to me.

The girls performed the play by their movements and gestures. One thing noteworthy of this pantomime show is this that the girls seemed so saturated with the spirit of the play and subject that they exhibited the exact and most appropriate feelings and expressions while acting—a thing which is so lamentably wanting in both amateur and professional actors, as a rule.

Some other portions of the selfsame



Kumari Manglama, a Telugu girl, the first of the extempore speakers, speaking on Rani Sanyukta in Telugu; she also recited the whole of Nala's soliloquy after he left Damayanti in the forest.

(Photograph by Mr. Myron H. Phelps.)

drama—*Sakuntala*—were actually acted by girls both in Sanskrit and English. Their readiness, pluck and feeling personation of characters was so remarkable. In a moment they prepared a stage with a few brilliant sheets; and lo! there speaks Dushyanta or *Sakuntala* in fluent Sanskrit. Each acting her part so marvellously—none of the actors being above 12 years of age.

Another group acted one scene in English. The gestures and feelings and expressions were all these. No special dramatic dress is used. Girls representing characters appear in their own usual dress. These things are not meant for show but to educate the girls and make them feel what they do and act.

I look forward for the day when one of the strong features of this ideal institution will be that the future mothers of India will learn here the true meaning of our national festivals, games and plays. It is in such institutions that they can learn how to preserve and what to preserve of our national culture and national institutions. I am sure in course of time the managers of this School will introduce all our national



One of the pupils of the Conjeeveram School who took a leading part in the Tableaux from Sakuntala.
(Photograph by Mr. Myron H. Phelps.)

games and plays* to serve as forms of exercise and the little drill that they practice in their own peculiar way will be done away with and replaced by our own games.

THE POWER OF SPEAKING CULTIVATED.

As the school has its own method of cultivating the power of writing in the pupils from the very early stage so it has an excellent method of cultivating the power of speaking. The power of expressing one's own ideas before other people is a necessary product of education. And since it is chiefly the business of women to influence the children and their own sisters; and as women have higher responsibilities—they are not educated to serve as clerks but they are each of them expected to be the educators and guides of the nation. I regard the education of Indian girls imperfect unless they cultivate the act of speaking. Regarding this as a criterion it is my practice to see if the girls' schools I happen to visit do anything to train girls to speak as well. I remember that

* In one of his lectures Professor Henderson said in the Overtoun Hall of Calcutta Y. M. C. A. that in America now they have opened a new profession to teach children *how to play*: Here is a matter of reflection for our educationists if we can teach our own games and plays to our children in our schools.

in 1908 once I paid a visit to an institution for women in Calcutta. In all of the higher classes I put the question to the pupils—"Why do you come to school? Why do you read? What will you do after reading?" I put these questions with a view to know if the girls could express themselves, but none gave me any answer. Perhaps they were shy. I would rather say they are not taught to express themselves before other people. This particular institution is not the only one wanting in one of the chief factors of education, rather this shyness is true to the traditions of the ordinary schools for our children.

But when I put the same question, on the second day of my visit to the manager of the Conjeeveram Hindu Girls' School, the manager boldly told me "Oh yes, our pupils can speak before others, deliver speeches!" I wanted to see how they could express themselves. I picked up three girls from the highest standard, and said that I would not prescribe the subjects, but rather these three girls might speak—for however short a time—*extempore*. And I would make them to speak on the life of any hero or the author they have read about in the course of their study. In the afternoon the staff, the pupils of higher standards from 3 to 5, and I myself forming the audience, the girls spoke one by one, each speaking from 7 to 10 minutes.

First Speaker, Mangamma, spoke in Telugu (her mother tongue) on *Rani Sanjukta*.

Second Speaker, Venkamma, spoke in Tamil about the reign of *Chandragupta Maurya*.

Third Speaker, Subbalakshmi, too, spoke in Tamil on the life of a Tamil woman saint, *Karakal Devi*.

The substance of these speeches was given to me by one of the teachers. By way of illustration I give below the substance, in English, of each of the above speeches.

Rani Sanjukta.

In the 12th Century Delhi and Kanauj were ruled by Prithviraj and Jayachandra respectively. The Rajputs are so renowned for their patriotism but in this case they were led to a civil war on account of personal quarrels overlooking the interests of the common motherland of both. Prithvi was young and valiant. Jayachandra was vain and proud, though much older than Prithvi. Jayachandra performed a राजसूय यज्ञ the sacrifice of the paramount power.



Kumari Sabba Lakshmi, the third speaker, speaking about Karaikkal Devi in Tamil.

(Photograph by Mr. Myron H. Phelps.)

Prithvi did not attend the sacrifice as it would indicate his submission to the overlord—Jayachandra. The Swayambar (marriage by own-choice) of his daughter Sanjukta also was to take place on this occasion. Jayachandra placed an wooden image (statue) of Prithvi at his gate. Sanjukta had heard of the valour and other good qualities of Prithvi. So she had made him her lord in her heart.* He was not present in the assembly, his wooden statue† being placed at the portal. She knew her father's vindictive way of humiliating the proud prince. But she knew also how to win the man she adored.

In the *Swayambar* she passed by the crowned princes of all India, and going straight to the gate put the garland (वरमाला) on the statue and stood by it. Jayachandra was enraged at this act. Consequently he put her in prison. Prithvi heard of this and came to attack Jayachand. He defeated the latter having measured his sword with him in five battles. Taking his bride to his capital he married her with due pomp and ceremony.

Jayachand wanted to take revenge upon Prithvi. So he joined Mohammad Ghori against Prithvi. At first the combined armies were defeated by Prithvi at Thaneswar (the *Kurukshetra* of Mahabharat fame).

* It is an unique instance in the history of nations that in our land once upon a time women used to choose their lords without seeing them. *Nal* was adored by Damayanti, *Krishna* by Rukmini and so *Prithvi* was worshipped by Sanjukta. They never gave up what they once set their hearts upon.

† Up here in the North India this image of Prithvi is said to be cast in gold but the speaker followed the southern tradition. Many remark also that our traditions are copiously altered in the south in details. Such is the case with the Ramayan.

But Jayachand invited Mohamed Ghori with the offer of his strong support when the arrangements for fighting again had been made. Sanjukta went to her father's camp in the guise of a male ambassador. She disclosing herself to her father first accused him as a traitor and extirpator of the Rajput race. Finding that accusations and implorations were of no avail with him she returned to her lord Prithvi and inspired and encouraged him to do battle against the joint-armies of Jayachandra and Mohamed Ghori for the independence of his country and the glory of the Rajput race. Next morning on the one hand Prithvi was facing the foe in the battlefield of Thaneswar and on the other Sanjukta was herself guarding and fighting, for the defence of the fort and the palace, sword in hand. She fought for sometime and defended the walls till an arrow pierced her making her unable to fight any more. So she threw herself into the pyre she had got ready beforehand in case she were to fall into the hands of the enemy.

Prithvi also after a long and vigorous fight was defeated by the overwhelming number of the enemies.

The life of Sanjukta is an inspiring lesson of patriotism, constancy, love and devotion to all Hindu women.

The Reign of Chandragupta.

The reign of Chandragupta the Emperor of India and King of Magadh is an epoch of civilisation. He organised various civic and political institutions of which any modern Government might well be proud. He defeated Seleukas the Greek successor of Alexander in Indian frontier. Afterwards they became friends and the *Yavan* prince ceded to Chandragupta a part of his territory.

By his wisdom and prowess he brought under his sway the whole of Hindustan and was acknowledged as sovereign by a number of neighbouring kings.

His capital Pataliputra had representative institutions to govern it. It seems that the control and management of the city of Pataliputra was in the hands of a municipal council of 30 representatives who were responsible for the health and order in the city. They also supervised arts and industries of the country, collected taxes and looked after hospitals, rest-houses, temples, tanks and market places.

There were also departments to look after army and navy, agriculture and irrigation. It appears that there were very good roads with avenues and mile stones on them throughout his kingdom."

Karaikkal Devi.

Karaikkal Devi was born in a pious family in Karaikkal, a town near Pondichery. Her parents called her Pushpavati and thought that she was *Uma* herself born to them, as they had that child after a long series of prayers to the Goddess Kali for the gift of an issue. She was of a very religious bent of mind. Her literary education was almost quite complete at twelve years of age and shortly after having been known to have made so much progress, she was ranked among the greatest poets of the Tamil-land (there was a period in our mediæval history when all literary men became poets or rather the word poet was synonymous with literary men). At attaining puberty she was married to a young man of the same neighbourhood. She saw the Lord in her lord (husband)—as true Hindu women still do—and his word was her



The group of girls who acted some scenes from Sakuntala in English and Sanskrit. One of the three girls in the second row in the extreme right is Kumari Venkama, the second speaker, speaking about the reign of Chandragupta, in Tamil.

guide and gospel. They led the life of a typical and an ideal Hindu *dampati* दम्पति and followed all the details of a Hindu house-holder. In no season did any stranger ever turn from their house without being served and fed by them in their own poor way.

Now the question arises how these little girls hardly of 12 years of age can deliver such extempore speeches. Most of the readers would be incredulous regarding these two special acquisitions of the pupils of this institution, namely the power of writing essays and delivering speeches. But the question does not appear an impossibility if we study the method of teaching and training in this school. Each day by turns girls are asked to reproduce, sometimes lessons from literature, at others from the History Course, in the class before the teachers, in their own words. The speaker is corrected also by the teacher and also taught how to speak. This leads to the habit of speaking before others. Again they get also opportunities of speaking and reciting in the *Ladies' Association* which is connected with the school. I am afraid there is not yet any distinct elocution class for girls. I hope very soon the authorities of the school will found a *pupils' club* where they can learn how to speak and how to prepare subject, etc. It is not at all difficult to train even much younger children to express themselves before others. But the question is what to speak about? This question depends upon what is taught. And as to teaching it is being shown in this paper that the school tries to give as much education

to the girls in their mother tongues, Tamil and Telugu, as even the students of Intermediate classes do not acquire and this is done within a period of 5 years only. Therefore I add that they know something of what to speak about. And the most outstanding and remarkable feature of this school is that it teaches its scholars how to think and what to think about. Further each subject can be prepared according to circumstances and necessity. Do not even our great orators require time to prepare?

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT, AND LOVE FOR THE SCHOOL, AMONG ITS OLD PUPILS.

It is another strong feature of this school that old pupils love their *alma mater* so much and always wish to visit and do all they can for it. And also that it creates public spirit and infuses patriotic sentiments among the girls. It makes them ideal housewives and good mothers. I have in my possession sixteen letters (translated for me into English from Tamil and Telugu) of the old pupils received by the head mistress. From some of them I give here extracts which will show how much the pupils feel for the school and how public spirited these little girls become after having been educated in this school. Some of the extracts will also give an idea of the literary tastes and critical faculties developed in these girl correspondents none of whom is older than seventeen years of age. Nearly all of these letters have been received within the last 3 years.

Extracts from some of the letters of the old pupils :—

(1)

My most beloved Teacher and Mother,

The women of this place have no education. They spend their time in gossip or petty quarrels. I cannot pass my time with such companions. Therefore I have to confine myself solely to domestic work and my books. I am engaged also in teaching two of my sisters-in-law. In addition to teaching them Tamil I give them lessons in music too every morning for one hour. My husband and mother-in-law and other members of the family are pleased with me [for my work and spirit of service]. I am herewith sending my exercise books to you which I hope you will kindly return to me after due correction.

Your affectionate pupil.

(2)

Dear Mother,

I have ordered for the Telugu books which you recommended for my reading. I hope to get them shortly. I have requested my husband to speak to

some of his friends and [his subordinate] clerks in his office to contribute something for the coming anniversary of our school. As it is costly to keep a servant here I am doing all the domestic work myself, though at times it proves very hard (burdensome).

I remain yours dutifully.

(3)

Dear Mother,

My mother-in-law and sister-in-law are now, after 3 months, coming to understand me. The youngest sister used to do mischief and report against me to mother. But I kept silence over these unreasonable and unwarranted charges laid at my doors, leaving it to them to find out the truth. If I happened to make a mistake or do something wrong I myself spoke to mother-in-law of my fault and quietly bore the reproof. Now they have begun to respect me and praise me. I hope I shall soon be more thoroughly understood by them.

With my respects to Mr. Sharma and other teachers,
Yours affectionately.

(4)

My dear Mother,

I am extremely grateful to you for so kindly sending me my exercises after doing the needful corrections.

I hope Jayamma will persuade her husband to subscribe something to the school funds. I am glad to learn that he has such a regard for our school that he requested you to select a bride for his brother out of your pupils.

By my persuasions my step-mother too has begun to learn Tamil. I am teaching her language (Tamil) and Arithmetic. This is bringing us closer in our relations too.

Your most affectionate pupil.

(5)

Beloved Mother,

I am separated by seas and lands from you—my relatives, friends and above all my own native land! I find you all now dearer than before. I hope you will convey my love and respects to all my classmates and teachers. Here how much do I long for their love and remembrance. Please write to me of the addresses of all other friends who have left the School.

Since coming here, I am given tuition in English by my husband. I am now studying Reader III Nelson's Series. I think I can easily learn typewriting as it is quite like playing upon the *harmonium*. My husband and myself make up our entire family, so there being not much work to be done, I hope to make rapid progress in studies.

I request you to take special care of my sister and nephew and see that her education and conduct are both equally developed in the school.

Yours very affectionate pupil.

(6)

Dear Mother,

I learn from the Tamil bi-weekly '*Hindu Nesan*' that you are conducting the meetings of the ladies of Conjeeveram with great zeal and, that particularly the mothers of the pupils are very much interested in it. I hope this will help your school both materially and numerically.

It is a great pity that the education department should fail to recognise the splendid work and system of our school. It seems Government officials use "grotesque glasses" through which they see nothing but crooked forms, however fair and straight they may be. Perhaps the old pupil is referring to the fact that the school does not seem to be yet duly appreciated by the authorities and one prejudiced Christian inspector once passed unfavourable remarks about the school as having no text book. God is great, the truth will be out in course of time.

Yours affectionately.

(7)

Dear Mother,

For studying English I have been sent to the Presidency Training School, Egmore (Madras). The majority of the teachers are Christian missionaries. Some of them are white ladies. European or Eurasian, which I cannot say. Almost all pupils begin to imitate Christian manners. They [the teachers perhaps] talk in vulgar Tamil as our lowest classes do.

(8)

My beloved Mother,

I have finished *Balika Bhushan*. I do not find it so interesting. The main story gets choked in the medley of many side tales. The plot does not seem to have been intelligently conceived with a view to inculcate by it any moral lesson. If you think it necessary I will write a summary of it.

I understand from your letter, Mahilaparishat is now holding its meetings regularly in our school. I am glad to see women so much interested in it now and that they come regularly to discuss subjects concerning women.

I remain

Your most affectionate pupil.

These letters speak for themselves. If I were only to quote the letters of old pupils and write nothing about the Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram, I am sure the importance and greatness of the school would have been duly vindicated. If such young girls can be made so public-spirited, hard working, and critical then I wonder if any one can, yet ask me, "Do they teach English in the School?" It is necessary to learn one of the European languages. But we are not justified in saying that no education is complete without learning English. That English education necessarily inspires men with public spirit and national feelings is an illusion, for out of all our English educated men how many ever care anything for country or nation or think of serving the country. It is very often that among English educated people we find the greatest reactionaries. On the contrary one of the greatest reformers and teachers of Modern India—Sriswami Dayanand—did not know anything of English culture or Western thought, yet he was the most liberal and

patriotic and broad-minded reformer that our land has ever given birth to. Again when we see some of our sisters educated in modern lines, engaging themselves in public work generally infer that it is due to English education. But my investigations about women's work in the Madras Presidency have convinced me that our women can do much work even without the knowledge of English and that Western learning alone does not make men or women liberal or reformed or fearless.

However, to turn to the letters referred to

I hardly expect even an average graduate would show as much critical faculty as the writer of letter No. 8 has done, who left the school at the age of 13 and now is only 15 years of age. Once a friend remarked to me, "if what you say about the school is true it seems the minds of girls are prematurely developed." It is not the question of premature growth or the possibility, but the whole question depends on *how do you educate your children*. Visit this school and you will see *how it can be done*.

MUKANDI LAL.

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY: SOME REFLECTIONS

FOR some time past all eyes in the country have been turned towards the new universities movement.

In this scheme the people saw gleams of hope for their future. Whenever I thought of what was passing in the minds of the people over the proposed universities, I wondered at the fact that in spite of all our apparent progress in education we possessed so little of wisdom.

All these hopes seem to have met with a great disappointment. I am glad of it not because I am opposed to the aspirations of our people, or because they have got rid of the delusion under which they have been labouring; but simply because it should give us an opportunity to consider the problem of our education seriously.

This problem starts with the question, what was after all the need of a Hindu or a Mohammadan University in the country? Was it required for the sake of having a new name attached to it, as then it would flatter the vanity of either section of our populations? If that is so, it is better not to have one. But it appears that the originators of the schemes held out very substantial hopes about them.

Regarding them in that light, the first point to be discussed was whether they would be on the whole superior or inferior to the already existing universities. They could be of no use if they were to be inferior; therefore they were to be vastly superior to the other

institutions. This was to be effected by retaining the advantages of the existing universities and removing their defects. They could not possess the advantages without the patronage of the Government and from this arose the need of a charter.

We all know that the Government in India looks upon the universities as perhaps its most important public institutions and is proud of them. How unreasonable or even absurd our demands and expectations are when we go to the Government and tell it, "your universities are somewhat defective, they cannot satisfy our demands and so we want to establish a better university. Please grant us your full support." No Government would grant such a petition.

Well then, what to do? Should we now discontinue our endeavours and go to sleep? No, certainly not. A little consideration will shew that all our difficulties vanish, if we propose to have a university for which no Government patronage is needed. The trouble with us is that our leading men know so little of what is going on in the world. Many of them have not travelled abroad and whenever they put forward a proposal they have very little chance of making a choice from among several plans. I think before fixing upon any such plan, the best would be for the originators to come out or send some agent to foreign countries to study the whole question from various standpoints. The United States at the present

day is advancing in practical sciences beyond any other country in the world. Education with the Americans is their religion. Here the school has taken the place of the church. There is a mania for knowledge, a phenomenon that can be observed rather than described. We notice here as a common fact that though elementary education is enforced by law and lots of land have been reserved for schools in the unpopulated parts of towns and in the villages yet to be inhabited, the Government has practically nothing to do with the higher education of the people. That is entirely a concern of the people themselves. Most of the universities have been established by the public spirit of individuals and are self-governing independent institutions. There are no colleges attached to the universities; each university is a college and each college is a university. Consequently we find that a state whose population is not as large as that of a district in India, possesses several universities. Even the Engineering or other professional colleges started by men on business lines, confer their own degrees and diplomas, whose worth is estimated by the public according to the reputation of the institutions.

Why could we not have one or more universities on this model? "No," it is said, "our circumstances are different; if we dispense with Government patronage, the Government will not recognise our graduates and so the plan could not work."

I think however that Government recognition can be serviceable and perhaps necessary only for getting admission to the public service or the legal profession; and that the Government universities and colleges are great mills to supply the above two needs. To speak more plainly, the smaller the number of these two classes, the better it would be for the good of the people. It stands now beyond the need of demonstration that the talent of the country should seek some other and better channels. It has been sufficiently rolling along these two lines. When we desire to have a university which would manufacture young men for these objects, we start with a spirit of competition with the existing universities and in that we are not only sure to lag behind, but instead of being originators we simply become imitators; and we no

more supply the real need of the country than they are doing already.

Where is the need of securing Government recognition if in the establishment of a new university we start with the aim of supplementing the work of education in India, in other words, we propose to accomplish what the other universities have omitted so far to do and are not doing even now? What is that real educational need which we want to supply? We would understand it better if we considered the comparative barrenness of the results of universities. Although these universities have been in existence much longer than many of the universities in America, they have not produced many notable names, in science, or sociology. One hears it so frequently remarked that very few Indians have invented anything or made any original research. How poor and miserable!

In fact our educational system, although going back to our third or fourth generation, has not in any appreciable degree been assimilated by us. It is floating on the surface of our society like oil on water. It has not affected the mass of the people at all and it has taken no deep root among the educated classes. How sad it is to find that our M.A.'s in history know little of the history of their country and our M.A.'s in sciences have only a superficial knowledge of them. If the reverse had been the case, we would have had long before great writers on scientific or sociological subjects. They would have spoken through books if they had anything to say. The very lack of even elementary books in various branches of knowledge, shows that we possess many so-called graduates and few men of real education. Here the professors lecture to the classes and their lectures make their works, while in our Universities professors have to teach not what they know about a subject but what a man of their intelligence somewhere else has to say about it. In the West knowledge has become the common property of all the nations. As soon as a new idea is given out, it is translated into the languages of the various nations and the progress in knowledge is everywhere maintained at an equal level. Turning to our oriental countries as Japan and China, we find that they picked up young men to go to foreign countries for the study of the

sciences; on their return these youths brought back knowledge and spread it among their countrymen. Hundreds of our youths have been to foreign countries but we have not gained much. We seem to advance very slowly, or perhaps not at all. To me the radical defect in our system of education seems to be the fact that we receive all our knowledge through a borrowed medium. This condition is so unnatural that it hinders altogether the development of original thought in us. No man's mind can grasp or absorb what he learns through a tongue not his own. It is impossible for this system to produce a man of science as it is impossible for it to make an Indian a poet of enduring worth in English. Long habit has made us so used to it that many an educated young man would laugh at the idea of Hindi becoming the medium of University teaching. But it amounts only to this that a wrong system of training has developed an abnormal understanding in us. If Japan can teach all sciences through Japanese or if China is teaching them through Chinese, why could we not teach them to our students through our language?

No nation can ever be educated except through its own language. This truth was realised by Alfred the Great in a barbarous age centuries ago, but no one can say when we shall learn and appreciate it in modern times. In my opinion therefore the chief feature of the new University should be to impart education in our own language. That will settle by the way the question of a common language for the country.

It may be said there are no advanced text books in our language. But we forget that it is so because there was no institution that needed such books and could produce the authors of those books. We cannot put the cart before the horse. If we do not have the institutions, we shall never have the books. In the beginning the university should employ men of distinguished ability who would undertake to accomplish the great task.

It is wrong to think that a University without law lectures, would not be sufficiently attractive. I think, Engineering, including all its branches, is the great need of our country and it would not cost a small amount to equip an up-to-date engineering

department in the University. There is the science of medicine, to which our Ayurvedic system can be added as a special branch of study. Here in the United States, all the big universities have a pharmacy department extending its teaching to 3 or 5 years. Then there is the study of the fine arts as music, &c., and of classical and modern languages. The diffusion of these sciences would give enough scope for work to any institution that we could at present establish. Briefly then, the new university should be a revival of the Taxilla and Nalanda Universities modelled on the lines of the modern continental or American Universities and should not be a pure and simple imitation of Calcutta or Bombay. A move in the right direction has been made by the founders of the Gurukula of Haridwar. This institution has probably a great future. For its further and higher work, they would do better to adopt an American University as a model. It could be built up on broader lines by a complete separation of the higher department located in a separate place with free admission to non-Gurukula students from the country. Another thing that struck me as very absurd was that we should go to the rulers of various states to get contributions. To say the least it is a most selfish and unwise proceeding. It is selfish because we know that we have had the advantages of modern education for such a long time while the work of the spread of new educational ideals has not yet been started in most of the states. What right have we to get large contributions of money which come from the poor ignorant subjects of those states and utilise them in the interests of our children, while we have not done anything at all towards the educational improvement of those people?

It is unwise because the states are really the right places where all facilities could be given for the establishment of an educational institution of the right kind. They have their own languages and they have their own laws. A college affiliated to one of our universities in a state is entirely out of element there. The state on the other hand ought to have a university suited to its own requirements. Many of our states are quite as large or even larger than some of the states of this country, each of which has got several universities.

Udeypur, for instance, has been and is still looked upon as the premier Hindu state. What an excellent thing it would be, if instead of taking away a hundred and fifty thousands of the poor Rajputs' money, this amount could be invested in the establishment of a university there? thus making Udeypur an educational centre at least for Rajputana.

Since my arrival here it has often surprised me that the Gaekwar, inspite of his visits to the United States, has not learnt the necessity of establishing a University in Baroda to be conducted on the lines of American Universities. Nepal, first of all, and then the States of Hyderabad and Mysore have the right and the duty to have independent universities so as to keep abreast of the times. Baroda alone could distinguish itself by setting an example in this respect too. Any amount of money spent out of the resources of the state will be doubly and trebly repaid. Not a penny spent on education would be lost. It is annoying that not a single minister has yet

directed the attention of these rulers to this problem. A real Hindu University teaching all modern sciences and arts can more easily and consistently be founded in a Hindu native state. I can see clearly that such an institution, whether started in a native state or even in British India, is likely to produce greater results in one decade than our universities have done during their existence of half a century.

We all know that our national existence is closely bound up with the native states of our country. How few among us there are who feel their sense of duty towards them. I wish, therefore, to conclude by impressing upon the minds of educated young men the necessity and importance of devoting their lives to the uplifting of their countrymen living in the states. They should try to become apostles of education in the states and help in the growth of a strong well-educated middle class there to develop a harmonious whole India.

BHAI PARMANAND.
SAN FRANCISCO.

THE CONDITION OF INDIANS IN FIJI

THERE is a book on Fiji written by Mr. J. W. Burton—the title is “The Fiji of To-day”, published by Charles H. Kelly, 26 Paternoster Row, London E. C. 7s. 6d. net, 1910. While the whole book is interesting and ought to be read—the last five chapters are indispensable reading for those who would care to have some idea of the condition of our countrymen in that colony. Mr. Burton has just brought out a smaller book “The Call of the Pacific” 2s. 6d. (by the same publishers) and has a chapter devoted to Indians. Of course none of us can agree with everything Mr. Burton has written regarding our countrymen; at the same time we cannot but admire the courage with which facts about the indentured labour system have been narrated.

We shall now proceed to sum up in brief the position of our people in the Colony of Fiji.

1. The evils and abuses of the indentured

labour system do exist there as elsewhere—but after five years our men are really free and not persecuted as in Mauritius to obtain re-indentures. Besides better food is issued as rations (ghee is given and “dāl” (*arhar*)—and no tricks are played with the measures to give less) than in Mauritius, where an ordinance cunningly devised by planters permits them to substitute the oil of mustard or monkey-nuts for ghee and the “dāl” in Mauritius (“khesari”) was fit to be eaten by cattle in India. Besides all this stuff—rice, dāl and everything else is of the worst quality in Mauritius. The wages also are decidedly higher—though our countrymen do not really earn a shilling a day, as they are supposed to do. In Mauritius the planters supply food throughout, whilst in Fiji they do so for six months, deducting the price from the wages of the labourer; in Fiji, therefore, after six months, no one need grumble about bad or

insufficient rations, etc. His food is in his own hands.

2. The appearance of ex-indentured labourers, their dress, etc., shows a better condition (*of slavery, of course*) than that in Mauritius.

3. The crying evil of the Indian situation in this colony is the scarcity of women (due to the indenture system, of course). There are about 30 women to a 100 men and naturally rape, abduction, adultery, enticing away, murder through jealousy and kindred crimes, as well as civil litigation for restitution of conjugal rights, damages for refusal to send one's daughter to her husband, guardianship of children, etc., are almost the only matters coming before courts of law for justice. The young and brutal overseers on sugar estates (of Australian and New Zealand origin) take all sorts of liberties with good-looking Indian women and torture them and their husbands in case of refusal. Sometimes compounders of medicines will call an Indian woman into a closed room (pretending to examine her, though she may protest there is nothing the matter with her) and then torture her most indecently for the gratification of their lust or even for getting her to swear a charge against some Indian who may have incurred their displeasure. Women are known to have been fastened in a row to trees and then flogged in the presence of their little children. This evil does not now exist in Mauritius, as in the first place women are always free; *i.e.*, never indentured in Mauritius (so they could leave an estate at will) and, because, secondly, the greater number of girls born in the colony as opposed to boys has nearly made up the original disproportion between the number of women to men as imported from India. Whilst in Mauritius one never hears of murders through jealousy (except as an old fact of the past), in Fiji every sitting of the Assizes is bound to have two or three cases of tragedy to be traced sociologically to the root-evil of the indenture system, *viz.*, the paucity of women. Nearly a dozen Indians are thus hanged here every year. All Indians here, men and women—probably without any exception, are demoralised sexually and generally and the great wonder is they are not much worse than what

they actually are under such brutal and unnatural conditions.

4. Recently a law has come into operation which prevents Indians from acquiring more than 5 acres of land on lease from the Fijian natives—whilst Europeans can obtain any extent of land.

5. A tax of 10s. a year presses very hard on the Fijian natives and very poor Indians.

6. The law requiring the branding of cows (among other animals) for purposes of identification is most hurtful to the religious scruples of Hindus.

7. Europeans can insist upon their trial by jury—thus they can easily evade justice in a small colony like Fiji where considerations of race and prestige will not fail to come in occasionally. Indians have not got the benefit of trial by jury—and even if they had it, it would be a doubtful advantage, as no Indians are fit to serve as jurors there; so the whites would decide their fate in any case.

8. Some of our people had small stores lining the Rewa river in rather advantageous positions; but they have been obliged to remove from there, by hook or by crook, to safeguard the future interests of Europeans.

9. Indians here do not possess the political franchise, *i.e.*, for election of members to the legislative council (they do possess it in Mauritius), though they possess the municipal vote; but in the case of the latter, the local politicians (whites) have now a bill ready for introduction, which bill by instituting an "education test" in English seeks to practically deprive the Indians of their votes. This is unjust; as hitherto Government has provided for the education of European children only, whilst receiving taxes from 40,000 Indians as against 4,000 whites: the setting up of an "education test" under these circumstances is really adding insult to injury.

10. We are glad, however, that, as noted in our last number, the Government Gazette (called the "Fiji Royal Gazette") has published a Bill intituled "An Ordinance on Education" and the provisions of it are just and fair as may be seen from the following extracts:—

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS:

Section 8, Subsection (1). No applicant shall be refused admission into any School on account of the

religious persuasion, nationality, race or language of such applicant or of either of his parents or guardians.

Subsection (3.) In every School when the ordinary course of secular education cannot be conducted in English by reason of the scholars speaking a foreign language the Scholars shall be specially taught to speak English.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS: CONDITIONS OF STATE AID.

Section 12.—(1): (a) That the School be open to all children without distinction of religion or race or nationality or language.

(b) is a conscience clause allowing parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction to which they may object.

(3) permits parents to withdraw their children from religious observance or instruction during School-hours.

DISALLOWANCE OF ASSISTED SCHOOLS.

(4) (d) When any teacher in or any proprietor of such a School interferes or attempts to interfere with the religion of any Scholar—(the State would stop aid).

Section 11 (d) says "to use every endeavour to induce parents to send their children to School" will be one of the duties of a School committee.

II. Very few magistrates here have studied law—they are white men of a little education: that is all and at several places magistrates officiate as medical officers also. In one place, at least, (Tavinni) the same person is Magistrate, District Medical Officer, Inspector of Police, Superintendent of Prisons, Harbour Master, and Inspector of roads as well as captain of his own little ship. The police staff is inefficient and insufficient and police stations as well as Magistrates' Courts are miles and miles away over hills and plains uninhabited by human beings in that sparsely populated country. The Inspector of Indian coolies only pays two visits a year to their miserable barracks, where men and women are penned together like cattle and even these inspectors are for the most part not very keen about the grievances of Indians, as some of them are ex-employees of the C. S. R. Co. (Colonial Sugar Refining

Company) which is the real king of that colony.

12. Indian planters of sugarcane are obliged to take what price the above Company will give them; there is no other buyer. Even Indian growers of bananas have to send fruit to Australia and New Zealand through white middlemen, who make big profits.

13. There are no Indians in Fiji capable of importing goods wholesale from Calcutta or Bombay and therefore two or three European companies have a monopoly of the import business and our people retail ordinary articles of food, clothing, etc. (after buying them wholesale from Europeans) and just eke out a living. But there is a good opening for real Indian merchants. There are great possibilities for pearl-fishing also.

14. The Chief Justice is known to be a just man and wants to be fair and kind to Indians—the officials of the Secretariat are not bad—the Agent General of Immigration (*i.e.*, The Protector of Indian Immigrants) is not too lax—and the governor professes to try to do justice to Indians. The planters in Fiji it seems are not so powerful or united as to hamper the Government's desire to help Indians to a certain extent—and the magistrates and other officers are not men born or rooted in this colony. Besides there is the cause of the Fijian natives—who are accepted (now) as the real lords of the land, who are in tutelage, and whose property is held in trust by the British Government. Then lawyers here are outsiders and are not permanently fixed in the land as a strong clique of political aspirants.

So the conditions are on the whole much different from those in Mauritius. And yet we must say we must stop the emigration from India of our people as *indentured labourers* to this colony.

THE NEW SPIRIT IN ENGLAND

THE Indian on his first visit to England though already somewhat familiar with English life through literature and song and partly also through the tropical

versions of it—yet finds it all so new and so thrilling. He finds himself in another world—a world where apparently the people know how to *live* and live comfortably,

where life is real and earnest, where there is more action and comparatively less talk. He notes the order, method, regularity and comfort of it all; the freedom and affectionate bonds of family life; the closer and stronger ties of friendship and intellectual companionship; the frankness, consideration and chivalry of social life; the truth, openness and sincerity of all intellectual life; the definite purpose and appreciable effect of political thought and action; and above all and including all he observes the existence in English life of a distinct social consciousness.

There is yet another and a new spirit manifesting itself in England—the spirit of enquiry. Hitherto England has been content to take things for granted, to believe in her own infallibility, in her complete and satisfying knowledge. Now I am not rash enough—though young—to suggest that all this is to any extent diminished. But what I do suggest is that alongside of it all there is surely arising this new spirit—the spirit of questioning. The Englishman that you meet to-day is still a full stop but on top of that you can also see the dim outlines of a huge interrogation mark. Is it because of the rise of the New Woman?

What exactly is the nature of this new spirit? What its diagnosis and what its prognosis? What is its effect on the English people themselves and what again is its effect on the visitors in England?

Whatever his stock, breed or pigment a visitor in England is sure to be 'bagged' by some 'set' or 'society'. It is the peculiarity of the Englishman that he has a Society for everything—from land grabbing and land nationalisation to the breeding of guinea pigs and Charles Darwins.—

"Is this your *first* visit to England?" "Have you been here *long*?" "What *do* you think of England?" ("How *well* you speak English!") That is the orthodox beginning and then if you are an Indian—you will be expected to praise the spirituality of the Indian people, explain the custom of early marriage or the observance of idol worship. The bravest souls might well succumb under such trying circumstances. But if you once escape alive from the ordeal, you are quite safe. You can then turn round and question your questioner. The Englishman at home is ever willing to tell you all he

knows and what is more is ready to let you do your share of the work too—whether it happens to be cutting bread and butter for a party of Sunday school children, as I have often done—or to help in breaking up the poor administration, as I would have if I had stopped long enough in England. And there is always plenty of work to do. For in England one of the things that astonish the visitor, specially the Indian, is that everybody—except the rich unemployed, the parasites, except them, everybody is always working hard. Whom or what are they working for?

There are immense social possibilities to a visitor in England—the immensity of it being proportional to the growth of what I have called the New Spirit in England. The Indian, among the visitors, is the special favourite of the Social Gods. Provided he has sufficient address and intelligence an Indian can get on much better socially than a visitor of any other nationality, say a Frenchman or a German, in England. Why? Partly perhaps India still appeals to the heart and imagination of England and certainly also because India plays a vital and integral part in the life of the British Empire. An Indian need never lack friends in England, I mean real friends and true.

I have been asked by several sympathetic English men and women, "What can we do for Indians in England? Individually we have not the knowledge or power to help India as a whole. But we should like to do something for the Indians here"—and I have invariably replied, "Yes, you can do a great deal by pointing out to every Indian you meet, the immense social and intellectual opportunities English life and specially London life offers to all who come to England." Many an Indian may go to London and see the British Museum but miss, say, the Soane Museum, may see the Kew Gardens but not the old English garden on the Reckham Rye. Take again the number of popular lectures arranged in different parts of London. One such I remember, the first of the kind I attended—a course of lectures in three parts. The first part of ten lectures on the Principles of Biology by Professor Patrick Geddes, a man of the most encyclopaedic learning; the second part of ten lectures on the principles of psychology by Dr. Slaughter, an

eminent American lecturer; the third part of five lectures on the principles of Sociology by Mr. Victor Branford the well-known Secretary of the Sociological Society. And all this for a few shillings! But those lectures and my association with these lecturers and their students did so much to influence my life and my outlook on life in England. Take again an institution such as the London School of Economics. Who can estimate the enormous influence that one such school with its staff of distinguished professors is exerting on the economic and political thought of the modern Englishman.

Now one cannot be too grateful to a system of social and intellectual life that affords the visitors such splendid opportunities for improvement and culture. True, such lectures are not always arranged specially for the 'visitors' but they can take full advantage of them. The great and wonderful placards of Lipton's Tea or Sutton's Seeds do great service in directing the attention of unwary travellers to these excellent commodities. I should like every intelligent Englishman and English woman to be a living placard directing the attention of the young Indian to such lectures and institutions in London, bringing to their notice the many-sided social and philanthropic activities of London. In other words I should very much like to nationalise the advisory committee for Indians.

The most important thing to note in England is the vast amount of *voluntary* social service that is done there—I empha-

size the word *voluntary*—often now as in the past in the name of Religion, but increasingly of late in the name of Social Fellowship and Racial Efficiency. Progress is the aim; education, hygiene, free and responsible institutions and social amelioration are the means.

Thus this new spirit of enquiry in England and the consequent dissatisfaction with the old world ideas and institutions is directly giving rise to a new code of ethics—social and national. To this transvaluation of all values we may trace all modern movements in England—social, political and spiritual. To it we may trace the present aiming at a simple, national and humanitarian life; to it we may trace the Home Rule agitation, the labour and suffragette activities; to it again we may trace the influence of Bahaism, Vedantism and Positivism on modern England.

Underlying all these is that distinct and unifying social consciousness I spoke of at the beginning of this paper—a social consciousness which aims at a high ideal—an ideal no less than this, to break for ever the petty bonds of national patriotism and inspired by the common fellowship of all mankind, to accept all the treasures of the past from Manu to Mohamet, from Confucius to Christ, accept all as the common heritage of mankind and reject none but with *Love* as the supreme ideal ever work steadily for the betterment of mankind.

R. N. AINGAR;

Barrister at Law.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF MODERN EDUCATION

BY DR. C. S. THAKAR.

IS it not a thousand pities that modern education as practised in this country fails to materially advance the forces of social reform as all reasonable hopes demand that it should? It is since years—long, patient years of peaceful labours and strenuous struggles, pregnant with the fruitage of many a life-long industry, that education on really western lines dawned

amidst us. That it came for our good is certain. That it would better our lives and ameliorate our social conditions was certainly expected. Not even the most vehement advocate of western methods can seek to excuse himself on the ground that his system did not obtain a free play. Western education has had a fair and long run amongst us. It has cost us millions of

monies and cost us, what is more precious than gold or silver, many heart burnings. Let alone the labours of love of many sound exponents of western methods who are annually imported, the able devotion of our own educational experts has been long applied to the educational propaganda. Still it is sad to record the nett failure of modern education in one of its most essential aspects. It has failed, most ignobly to further the cause of social reform, which is a necessary corollary to all propositions of general progress. Where is then the flaw; is it in the steerage of the ship of reform or does it lurk as a hidden danger in the costly boon of western education which we prize ever so highly? It is a question of vital interest and on its correct solution the social future of a great nation depends.

As a result of education a community of educated men has grown up amidst us. It is a clever band and a highly talented set of people indeed. They know many things and have much information which is to the men in the street, a sealed book. They talk of geometrical angles and logical deductions in evidently a masterly manner. Their knowledge of knotty points in law or some obscure Uganda disease is a marvellous monument of their studious application. If you had a peep at the heavy books they study, you will recognise in them some of the greatest writers of any time—men who wrote, not light-heartedly, of equality, liberty or any other social problem. But the inner lives of many of these self-same educated men reveal a depth of insincerity and inaction which is a gross insult to their education. These very competent people, men well-versed in all the lore of a great people—the Britishers, belie their excellent education when they share their lot with the vulgar and semi-barbarian illiterate. These phrases sound harsh, perhaps, to the musical ears of my kind readers but the strictures, may I assure you, are not a whit stronger than the severity of their sins calls for. What can be a greater sin for an educated man than the contract of a child-marriage for his only daughter? Cases by the score could be mentioned wherein such a social wrong has been committed and the educated man has tried to justify his action on what are really absurd grounds. "Early marriage", he tells you in confidence, "is a bar to ill-marriage ;

a grown-up daughter is a danger to society," and adds, brightening up, that he regards early marriage as an excellent oriental institution. Oh! the humour of it! It is a ludicrous sight, certainly, after all his tuition in the western school of love to see him usurp his child's right of marriage by free choice at an age of discretion. His notions of the evils he sets himself to check by early marriage deserve a mere summary dismissal. There is another incident which comes to my mind of the funny notions which these educated men fondly retain in spite of all their scientific training. It refers to the superstitious beliefs in the happening of an eclipse which modern astronomical investigations have completely shattered to pieces. Still our educated friend herds himself with the ignorant innocents who mob the streets and tries with devotional prayers and offerings to appease the terror of the Gods! Such an attitude on his part proves one of two things: either that he has no faith in the great astronomical truths or that he is a living fraud, every inch of him. Not only this, which I should call silly suberviency to old world notions of a bye-gone age, but there is another less excusable practice which some of the boasted triumphs of modern education acquire. It gives me the greatest shock to behold them at war with the forces of social reform. Some forbearing people call it a curious anomaly; I call it a disgrace. What is the earthly use of a costly education if it still leaves the man to grovel in the dust with absurd notions in his head? Education is designed "to ring out the old, to ring in the new", and if all the good in the world it does, is to turn out a full fledged champion of ancient harmful usages and a stern enemy of all reform proposals, both welded into one, well the utility as well as the efficiency of that education stands unproven. The mental calibre of the young man must be fairly low if after years of constant association with staunch supporters of progressive western institutions, he emerges forth as a retrogressive reactionary. Only the other day I became acquainted with the details of a most interesting case in point. A highly educated man of a certain Hindu caste, who had resolved to do a good turn to the cause of widow remarriage, mustered together the

courage necessary for the purpose, sought out a willing bride and married her. What followed next is hard to believe unless so positively authenticated. The young men of the community, the brilliant products of a sterling western education, the intellectuals of the community, moved themselves in the matter. To obtain a sanction to the marriage, was it? Oh! No. They banded themselves with the old foggies in order to expell him from the community and they succeeded too. By what epithet would you call this noble endeavour of these educated men? Is it not deserving of a national monument to be raised in their honour in every temple of education? It gives me shudders to think of their conduct. I think, none knows how it grieves me to say this, I would rather acknowledge fraternity with some poor child of ignorance than with any of these educated marvels. It is such scandalous behaviour which degrades modern education in popular esteem and acts as a bar to general progress.

The domestic life of our educated men is picturesque and worth a critical study. Our lofty expectations raise before our eyes an ideal picture of a sunny home full of love and peaceful bliss. We approach it through a tiny gate which a tidy servant hastens to open. We gaze upon merry bright-souled children frisking about in a nice little garden and engaged in the delightful pastime of plucking pretty rosebuds, tender like their dainty hands. We love them as we pass them by and receive our welcome at the hands of the lady of the house, her face beaming with winsome smiles. We pass over the threshold into a neatly kept house where order and cleanliness reign supreme. Here are signs of a cultivated taste visible wherever you look. Here we see the woman at her best in her homely background busy with duties and pursuits that appeal to our critical imagination. It is such pleasant surroundings alone as make a happy home a heaven on earth. Such happy homes receive the benedictions of the Lord and are blessed for evermore. The pomp and glamour of wealth and power, the charms of political warfare, the possession of a string of rich honours, oh! who would not clamour for the restful peace and heavenly bless of such a home in prefer-

ence? But alas! it is in our fond imagination, in our minds full of enthusiasm and fancy free, that such a rosy picture lives and moves. You cannot see its counterpart anywhere, no matter where you look along the whole range of educated homes, with only brilliant exceptions that stand by themselves. There are some which closely approximate to ideal conditions but unhappily they are rare like lights in a wilderness. I have such low contempt for these educated failures in life that I would rather not picture their shabby homes. I would rather not talk of their sorry conditions or their internal complications or the evil, unhomelike atmosphere that often pervades them, but let the educated men alone, engaged in their only fate in life, wage-earning and drudgery. But, dear reader, welcome signs are abroad. Heaven's guiding light is ahead. The goal is looming in view, and if an interested prophesy ever comes true, the educated man ought to better his status in life. It is not, however, merely a question of time as some visionaries seem to regard it; it requires an indomitable spirit to grapple with our complex social problems and a mountain of solid uphill work. Young India is just showing such necessary qualities, and it is not too much to hope that at no distant future delightful pictures of its home-life will be available.

What are the conclusions then, that our researches in the field of modern education lead us to? It is evident that there is a flaw somewhere; is it in our social conditions or in our schemes of education? It is the mental equipment with which our modern education turns its devotees out of the doors of its colleges, that is seriously open to criticism. Modern education teaches the young man many things, many arts and more sciences but it does not deal with life but in the abstract.

The young man becomes the proud possessor of an intimate knowledge of the life and conditions of Mediæval England or Ancient Greece, together with their respective legends and traditions, while he remains innocent of even a superficial acquaintance with the problems of life as at home. To view education in the light of securing a pass at a certain examination is a fatal error. There are scores of matters outside

the prescribed subjects at *any* examination of which the world calls for a critical study and unless the young man is initiated into the intricacies of the world's puzzle while in the college, his path in life afterward is beset with endless difficulties. Of course, it is impracticable to set up several little homesteads in connection with a collegiate institution where the young men can experience the world and feel its thrills without actually being in it, but a little practical ingenuity can do much substantial work towards the desired goal. The removal of the existing barriers between the teachers and the taught is easy. Let them come together with less constraint and mix with greater freedom. Remember that there is a vast world which holds its knowledge as well as its secrets just as books do and it is possible to draw our inspiration therefrom. Much can be done, again, by way of organisation work and tours all over the country towards the education of the young men in the prevalent conditions of life and the dangers and difficulties he will be called upon to face when he begins the world. If the pressure of studies in vogue at present comes in the way of such useful arrangements, the elimination of some out-of-date, nasty-smelling volumes from the course will secure the necessary leisure. An organised attempt should be made to correct the general impression that these several *extras* are not in the course and hence of no value to the students. Let the students grasp this essential point, avail themselves of the opportunities afforded them to the full and rest assured that the output of our universities will undergo a remarkable change in quality.

I believe that women's society is an excellent corrective of the students' manners and general behaviour. I hail their presence among the ranks of college students and admire the part they play in chastening

youthful spirits. In a sense their presence in a college as a result of mixed education serves our purpose, because they are constant fixtures in the world's programme to come. Young men need to associate with them as representatives of an opposite set some times before they come together on the world's stage to enact the great drama of Life. Who said there should be separate colleges for women? Who shouted that co-education is baneful to womanly qualities, to womanly pursuits? Whosoever said it erred grossly. Those who advocate separate studies for women suited to their destiny in life are planning out a future for the woman in a dependant position to the man. But the times are changing and women are claiming some thing better than a subordinate existence. Women's suffrage and other movements elsewhere are but evidences of a growing desire in the woman for the rights and privileges which the man now exclusively enjoys. Therefore, an attempt to put the woman back as a class by an abolition of co-education is a retrograde measure quite uncalled for. Our ambition should be the elevation of our women rather than such unsympathetic exclusion from the benefits of co-education. It is by united progress alone that our future can be made secure.

This is a rather lengthy discussion of the relations between our social problems and modern education. It is an attempt at the solution of the growing incompetence of our educated men as regards worldly affairs. It embodies several suggestions for the improvement of our educated material and their application will usher in better times for all. Then alone we can rest contented with the legitimate hope that our educated men will march, as a body united, under the banner of social reform and win for it and themselves many a noble victory in time to come.

THE STRANGLING OF PERSIA*

MR. Morgan Shuster has laid the whole thinking world under his debt. In a plain, straightforward narrative he has told us the truth about the most pitiful, the most ruthless tragedy of modern times.

It is the story of how a gallant and heroic people just emerging after a desperate struggle from the slough of despotism and political corruption, and striving with every nerve to purify and reorganise their ancient polity, was deliberately set upon and done to death by an Imperial pirate, while another power stood by without helping them.

The general outline, thanks to Mr. Shuster's open letter to the *Times* in October 1911, and to letters by Professor Browne and others together with various articles, notably in the *Nation* and the *Manchester Guardian*, is known to the English public; and we do not doubt that the circumstances of the case are accurately understood in India also. We will therefore merely refresh our readers' memory with a very brief summary of the main facts.

In 1906 the Persian people without any disturbance or bloodshed but by sheer force and determination of will, compelled Mujaf-faru'd-Din Shah to grant a Constitution which gave them the right to elect a Medjlis or National Assembly, which should have a voice in the selection of ministers and in the framing of the laws. The first Medjlis was elected on the 7th of October, 1906 and sat at Teheran.

In January 1907 the Shah died and was succeeded by the Crown Prince Mohammed Ali, who at once made determined attempts to destroy the new constitution.

He intrigued with Russia and England, "actually contracting for a secret loan of £400,000 to be squandered by himself, though the arrangement was shortly after-

wards discovered and baulked by the Mullahs and the Medjlis". The Shah's next move was to recall Atback-i-Azam, a notoriously corrupt minister who had been exiled in 1903. On his return he began to negotiate for another Russian loan. He was assassinated for his traitorous intrigues, in August, and his death certainly strengthened the hands of the reformers and in October another cabinet was formed with the consent of the Medjlis.

In the meantime the Anglo-Russian Convention had been signed at St. Petersburg and on September 4th it was made public at Teheran. Its opening clause was a declaration that the Governments of Great Britain and Russia had "mutually engaged" themselves "to respect the integrity and independence of Persia", and "sincerely" desired "the preservation of order throughout the country and its peaceful development". But subsequent clauses divided Persia into two "zones" of interest: the one Russian, the other British. Each power agreed not to seek for commercial or political concessions within the supposed zone of the other.

This partitioning of Persia into spheres of interest was an entirely arbitrary act. Neither Power had any moral or legal right so to appropriate an independent state. Naturally the publication of a document bearing such sinister import, in spite of its professions of integrity, alarmed the Persians, and demonstrations at Teheran were of so hostile a nature that Sir Cecil Spring Rice, the British Minister, lost no time in presenting the Persian Government with an "official explanation". Having regard to subsequent developments, we invite the careful attention of our readers to its principal clauses—

"Firstly, neither of the two Powers will interfere in the affairs of Persia unless injury is inflicted on the persons or property of their subjects.

Secondly, negotiations arising out of the Anglo-Russian Agreement must not violate the integrity and independence of Persia.

* The Strangling of Persia (a personal narrative by the ex-Treasurer General of Persia) by W. Morgan Shuster. Illustrated, 12-6 net. T. Fisher Unwin, London.

The object of the present negotiations between England and Russia is to prevent difficulties from arising *between them*, and these negotiations are *in no wise directed against Persia*.... 'Neither of the two Powers seeks anything from Persia, so that *Persia can concentrate all her energies on the settlement of her internal affairs*'. Both ministers are entirely in accord as to the *policy of non-intervention in Persia*, and have left *no possible ground for doubt in the matter*.... This agreement is injurious neither to the interests of Persia nor of any other foreign nation, since it binds only England and Russia not to embark on any course of action in Persia calculated to injure the interests of the other, and so in the *future to deliver Persia from those demands which in the past have proved so injurious to the progress of her political aspirations*. ...Henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring states, can employ all her powers in internal reforms.

The object of the two Powers in making this Agreement is not in any way to attack, but rather to *assure for ever the independence of Persia*. Not only do they not wish to have at hand any excuse for intervention, but *their object in these friendly negotiations was not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests*. The two Powers hope that in future Persia will be *for ever delivered from the fear of foreign intervention*, and will thus be *perfectly free to manage her own affairs in her own way*, whereby advantages will accrue both to herself and to the whole world."

We next draw attention to a significant omission noted by Mr. Shuster:—

"The British Blue Book up to December 1911 did not contain this important State Paper, but it has since been ascertained through questions put to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the floor of the House of Commons, that the above communication was in fact made to the Persian Government on September 5th, 1907, by the British Minister at Teheran."

The Shah persisted in his attempts to destroy the Medjlis and in May 1908 matters came to a crisis. Both parties formulated certain demands but the victory remained with the Constitutionalists who forced the dismissal of some of the untrustworthy courtiers—the chief Imir Bahadur Jang, taking refuge with the Russian Legation. Whereupon the Russian Government with the acquiescence of Great Britain intervened and disregarding both solemn treaty and specious explanation, threatened the Medjlis with Russian intervention if opposition to the Shah's plans did not cease. A long struggle ensued and in June the Shah aided by Russian troops bombarded and destroyed the Parliament and besieged Tabriz. For ten months the struggle went on; the Russian Consul General supplying the royalists with arms and ammunition. In spite of all difficulties the nationalists gain-

ed ground all over the country and in July re-entered Teheran and formally deposed the Shah, his little son of twelve succeeding him. On the 16th of July an agreement was drawn up signed by the Russian and British representatives by which the Shah was given a pension but exiled for life from Persian soil, his pension to be forfeited if he attempted to return or was guilty in any way of plotting against the Constitution. The Medjlis met and once more began the heroic work of reform and restoration. Their difficulties were increased by the continued presence of Russian troops: disturbances broke out and Russian troops massacred some sixty villages including women and children. At the same time Russia was attempting to wrest valuable concessions from the Medjlis as the price of the withdrawal from Persia of those same troops for whose misdeeds she neither apologised nor gave redress, while Britain was too timorous to protest.

The Persians next endeavoured to obtain a loan from the two Powers but as the condition demanded the sacrifice of their independence the Medjlis refused and opened up negotiations with a private English Banking firm, but the British Government interfered and again the contract came to nothing.

Both Powers had now so openly betrayed their determination to reduce Persia to a state of helplessness with the least possible delay that an Ultimatum from the British Government demanding the policing of the Southern roads by British Indian officers was but a natural step in the whole design.

Persia, harried at every turn, now appealed to Germany to show some friendliness on her behalf, but the only result was an *Entente* between Russia and Germany and the consequent strengthening of the Russian position. We shall refer again to the probable import to England of this hastily executed *Entente*. The Ex-Shah was next discovered to be intriguing with some Turcoman chiefs on the N. E. frontier. The Persian Minister informed the two Legations of his intention to stop the payment of the pension until further investigation could be made. The legations not only refused to accede to his perfectly legal suggestion but insulted the Persian Ministry.

Finally the Medjlis decided to approach

an entirely independent Power, the United States, and negotiate for the services of a trustworthy American, free from European influence, who should be put in charge of their finance department and entrusted with its entire re-organisation. As a result Mr. Shuster with a staff of Americans arrived in Teheran in May 1911 and was put formally in charge of the finance department on June 13.

For an account of Mr. Shuster's difficulties with the foreign ministers and with the Persian re-actionaries we must refer our readers to the pages, more fascinating, more exciting than any novel, of the book itself. Suffice it to say that Mr. Shuster proved himself more than equal to the Herculean task. Possessed of the full confidence of the Persians, it soon became apparent that under his wise direction, Persia gave every promise of emerging triumphantly from her trials.

Unfortunately such a programme did not suit the design of Russia, who encouraged by her recent *Entente* with Germany and encouraged by the timid acquiescence of England, began to engineer the remarkable series of events which led to the return of Mr. Shuster to America in January 1912.

The first blow was struck in connection with the appointment by Mr. Shuster of Major Stokes to the control and re-organisation of the Persian Gendarmerie. The appointment was made with the full knowledge and consent of the British Government. Major Stokes, long resident in Persia, familiar with the language and the work, was not only the best, but the only man; qualified for the position. Suddenly at the instigation of Russia, the British Government presented an official communication rescinding the appointment of Major Stokes, (who had on its own recommendation resigned his position in the Indian army to take up his new work) on the ground that it involved the employment of a British Officer in a Russian sphere.

Now, as Mr. Shuster pointed out, Major Stokes was not a "bank" nor a "railroad" nor a "concession" and his appointment was in no way a violation of the Anglo-Russian convention.

"The British Government, presumably acting in its right senses, had received a request for the services of a British subject for a period of three years to take

part in the re-organisation of one branch of the Persian Government and had formally expressed its consent, requiring only that the individual in question should resign his commission in the British Indian army, and upon his doing so, in good faith, had suddenly executed a complete *volte face* and, without any change in the legal aspects of the situation or in the rights of the parties concerned, had not only receded from its promise and agreement, but had combined with another foreign Government in a cold-blooded attempt to intimidate the Persian Government in the exercise of its most elementary sovereign rights".

We are glad that Mr. Shuster has reprinted the correspondence that passed between him and Sir George Barclay regarding this incident. In one letter to the British Minister Mr. Shuster asks a very direct, a most pertinent question:—

"Does your Foreign Office fully realise that in adopting its most recent attitude in this affair, it is inevitably producing the impression on the Persian people that it is in reality opposed to the successful accomplishment of my work, in addition forcing me to assume that I can count on no friendly moral assistance from your Government in a vital matter of this kind?"

Russia persisted in her opposition and the British Government remained acquiescent. Major Stokes was not appointed. We pass swiftly to the second blow. On July 18 the Ex-Shah, "supposed to be safely under the watchful eye of Russia," crossed the Caspian in a Russian steamer and invaded Persia. The Persian Government protested to the two Powers against the violation of those terms of the Treaty involved in the Ex-Shah's return. Russia refused any assistance and openly intrigued to aid the invaders, while both Governments presented a joint note declaring their "neutrality", thus cancelling in a sentence their solemn pledges for the prevention of this particular contingency.

After some indecisive engagements the Ex-Shah was defeated and fled again to Russia in the same boat on which he had embarked.

Profiting by the disturbed state of the country Russia continued to pour her troops into the country while England announced her intention of sending a number of Indian troops to Fars.

The third attack was a repetition of the Stokes' incident.

M. Lecroffre, an able and reliable Frenchman, who had been in the Ministry of Finance at Teheran for two years, and "could speak Persian and understood the

intricacies of the Persian taxation system", was transferred by Mr. Shuster to Tabriz, in order to investigate some misappropriation of Government funds.

M. Lecroffre suffered from the disability of being a British subject.

Sir George Barclay, instructed by Sir Edward Grey, made an official objection to the appointment on the ground that Russia would protest. Russia meanwhile presented an ultimatum, and intimated that if its demands were not conceded diplomatic relations between the two countries would be broken off. The conditions involved (1) The withdrawal of the Persian Gendarmes from Shua-us-Saltana's estate, which had been confiscated to the Persian Government for his complicity in the recent rebellion. (2) An apology by the Persian Foreign Minister.

On the advice of Sir Edward Grey, who promised that the Russian troops should be withdrawn if Persia would comply with the terms, Persia agreed, "but a compliance by Persia with Russia's demands was the very last thing that the Russian cabinet desired" and accordingly a second ultimatum was presented: demanding: (1) the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, and M. Lecroffre, (2) the payment of an indemnity for the dispatch of troops to Persia. (3) That the Persians should undertake to employ no foreign ministers without the consent of the British and Russian Governments.

Sir Edward Grey agreed to all these new demands with the exception of the indemnity clause, while he made no attempt to fulfil his pledges for the withdrawal of the foreign troops.

The Cabinet, whether through sheer hopelessness or whether "they perceived the naked steel behind Russia's threats more clearly than their legislative companions," decided to yield, and laid their proposal before the assembled Medjlis.

"The proposal was read amid deep silence. At its conclusion a hush fell upon the gathering. Seventy-six Deputies, old men and young, priests, lawyers, doctors, merchants, and princes, sat tense in their seats. A venerable priest of Islam arose. Time was slipping away, and at noon the question would be beyond their vote to decide. This servant of God spoke briefly and to the point: "It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and our sovereignty shall be taken away from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands." One gesture of appeal with his trembling hands, and he resumed his seat."

Simple words, these, yet winged words, easy to utter in an academic discussion: hard, bitterly hard to say under the eye of a cruel and overpowering tyrant whose emissaries watched the speaker from the galleries and marked him down for future imprisonment, torture, exile, or worse.

Other Deputies followed. In dignified appeals, brief because time was short, they upheld their country's honour and proclaimed their hard-earned right to live and govern themselves.

A few minutes before noon the public vote was taken. . . . As each name was called the Deputy rose and gave his vote; there was no secret ballot here.

And when the roll-call was ended, every man, priest or layman, youth or octogenarian, had cast his own die of fate, had staked the safety of himself and his family, and hurled back into the teeth of the great Bear from the North the unanimous answer of a desperate and downtrodden people who preferred a future of unknown terror to the voluntary sacrifice of their national dignity and of their recently earned right to work out their own salvation."

Once again the courage, honour and patriotism of a wronged and helpless Eastern people shone forth like a kindling torch against the foul blackness of treachery, cruelty, and cowardice.

The sequel is well known, Russia decided to destroy by force. Russian troops bombarded the Medjlis, Russian armies swept into Tabriz, Resht and Enzeli with a tale of hideous and indescribable massacre. Men were killed like beasts; tortured and hung and quartered in the streets; women and children outraged and massacred. On the great fast of the 10th of Muharram the chief priest of Tabriz with other high authorities were hanged without trial.

On January 11th Mr. Shuster left the country he had set out so bravely to save—a strangled mutilated body with the hands of its murderer still clutching its throat. And England sat still; watching, silent—England made no sign.

Surely this last act of international robbery with violence is in its wanton cruelty, its hypocrisy, its flagrant flouting of every code of honour, of chivalry, of morality, is a grave indictment of Western civilisation. Sir Edward Grey accused Mr. Shuster of "lack of tact" and implied that by his refusal to be bribed or intimidated he was at least partly responsible for the violence which followed.

Mr. Shuster pertinently asks:—

"Since when has 'lack of tact' by an officer in one Government given another nation the right to send 18,000 troops into friendly territory to massacre peaceful

inhabitants, to shoot down, torture, blow from guns, and hang non-combatants, and to destroy by force the established forms of a friendly sovereign nation?"

We particularly recommend the careful perusal of chapter 10 in which the interrelationship of the European Powers is openly discussed.

The extraordinary surrender of British interests to Russia by Sir Edward Grey can only be explained by that intense fear of Germany which possessed him to the exclusion of all other precautions, and by the knowledge that Great Britain was not in a position to forcibly uphold her protests.

The fate of Persia was sealed by the Potsdam Convention of 1910. Russia is now mistress of the situation. There is little doubt that Germany will support her in her forward policy in Asia, and that in return Russia will certainly not embarrass Germany should any dispute arise with England. Finally whatever developments may ensue from the crisis in the Balkans, we may be sure that they will not tend to the security of British power in the Mediterranean. We cannot avoid the grave question raised in this very chapter.

The sacrifice by Sir Edward Grey of every position, of every safeguard, which his predecessors in the British Foreign Office had been so zealous to maintain leads Mr. Shuster to enquire "what is the great change which has apparently come over a nation which but a short time ago claimed to possess the deciding vote in most European and Asiatic affairs. Can it be that British ships have lost their efficiency and British sailors their skill and courage? Was the British army really "reformed" after the terrible disclosures of The South African War?..." In short—Is England a first class Power or is she not?

We have no doubt about the answer. We still believe that "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

We regret that we cannot wholly agree with Mr. Shuster when he says that "England has failed utterly to play the part which history has taught us to expect from her, and though the great mass of English people must be acquitted of the faults and negligence of their Government the sting will always remain."

We cannot so easily acquit the British

public. A large proportion of English people knew quite well what was happening in Persia.

A large number of liberals were genuinely shocked and disgusted with the doings of their foreign office: yet their sense of honour was not strong enough to impell them to effectual protest: they shrank from the necessary action lest they should embarrass the Home Government.

But if some human excuse may be found for the sacrifice of principle to expediency by the Liberals, none whatever can be advanced in the case of the opposition. They at least had everything to gain and nothing to lose by a thorough exposure of the weakness of the ministerial policy.

With the exception of Lord Curzon and one or two others, the Opposition actually supported the Government in so far that it excused, and where it could not attempt to justify, refrained from criticism. As in the case of the Liberals the few who did protest did not combine for an effective campaign. England surely has fallen upon evil days when both parties in the state, too stupid apparently to realise the consequences, too decadent to feel the sting of dishonour, acquiesce in a policy which can have no other result than the weakening of that Empire whose safety and honour they have pledged themselves to maintain.

We cannot close this review without paying our tribute to Mr. Shuster for his noble courage, and for his unassailable integrity—rare qualities in these days of diplomatic "pressure".

We would also hasten to offer our reverence and our gratitude to the Persian Nationalists.

"Yet Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
Streams like a thunder-storm *against* the wind;
Thy trumpet voice, though broken now and dying,
The loudest still the tempest leaves behind;
Thy tree hath lost its blossoms, and the rind,
Chopp'd by the axe, looks rough and little worth,
But the sap lasts,—and still the seed we find
Sown deep, even in the bosom of the North;
So shall a better spring less bitter fruit bring forth."

The deeds of brave men cannot die. Wherever there is oppression and tyranny, wherever Freedom "suffereth violence" there will men remember the Persian Medjlis—there will they hear once more that venerable voice:

"It may be the will of Allah that our

liberty and our sovereignty shall be taken from us by force, but let us not sign them

away with our own hands."

HILDA M. HOWSIN.

THE RESEARCHES OF PROF. P. C. RAY AND HIS PUPILS AN INDIAN SCHOOL OF CHEMISTRY.

NOT long ago it was almost an article of faith with a certain class of writers that the Hindu intellect which had revelled in metaphysical subtleties for the last 2,000 years and more could not take kindly to physical science. It is to this hypothesis that we owe, we are afraid, the virtual exclusion of our countrymen from the higher posts in the various scientific departments.* The remarkable investigations of two eminent Indian scientists—each in his own sphere—have given the lie direct to this cherished assumption. In our last number we published an account of Professor J. C. Bose's researches; in the present issue it is our pleasant duty to narrate the activities of Professor P. C. Ray and his pupils.

The reactions of nitric acid with mercury have been a favorite subject with the chemists and their predecessors, the iatro-chemists since the 15th century A. D., if not earlier. Dr. Ray, however, was the first not only to point out distinctly but to isolate, the initial product, namely *mercurous nitrite*. This remarkable discovery is now almost a matter of ancient history but how it was welcomed and received at the time will be evident from the extracts given from two scientific journals quoted below:—

"Nature," 28th May, 1896, thus reviews Dr. Ray's discovery of Mercurous Nitrite:—

"The journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal can scarcely be said to have a place in our Chemical Libraries; the current number, however, contains a paper by Dr. P. C. Ray, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, on Mercurous Nitrite, that is worthy of note. During a preparation of mercurous nitrate by the action of dilute nitric acid in the cold on mercury, yellow crystals were deposited which, upon examination, proved to be mercurous nitrite. The analysis proved somewhat difficult.... The fact, that the nitrite is stable in strongly acid solutions, is an additional proof of the views held by Dr. Divers as to the "nitronic" constitution of the nitrites of copper,

mercury, and bismuth. The stability of silver nitrite towards nitric acid has already been noticed by Acworth and Armstrong, and by Russell, and the behaviour of mercurous nitrite is closely analogous. Dr. Ray proposes in a subsequent communication to give the results of an attempt to prepare fatty nitro-derivatives from this compound."

"The Chemist and Druggist" of London, 25th July, 1896, observes:—

"It has been left to a Bengali Chemist, Dr. P. C. Ray, to demonstrate that the not unfamiliar yellow crystalline deposit that is obtained by contact of dilute nitric acid with mercury in the cold is mercurous nitrite. This substance is not so much as mentioned in "Roscoe and Schorlemmer" nor is there any reference to it in "Watt's Dictionary of Chemistry." Dr. Ray's discovery has been well received in Chemical circles."

Among the famous chemists of Europe, Sir Henry Roscoe and the late M. Berthelot were the first to congratulate Dr. Ray and welcome his discovery.

Mercurous nitrite has proved to be the fruitful parent of an interesting series of compounds and during the last 16 years Dr. Ray singly or in co-operation with his pupils has been incessantly busy in working them up. To an average lay reader the details of these discoveries may not prove intelligible and we shall therefore content ourselves with presenting the outstanding features of some of them. One very striking outcome of the earlier researches in this field has been the establishment of an identity in the properties of *monad* mercury and silver. It was at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1907 that Dr. Ray read a short paper entitled "Silver mercurioso-mercuric oxynitrate" and a more elaborate account of the subject based upon further investigations appeared in the Journal of the Chemical Society of London. The short account of it which appeared in the *Statesman* at the time puts the matter in a nutshell.

"Dr. Ray's researches have all along shown that univalent mercury should be placed side by side with silver, and his latest paper adduces most convincing proof in this direction. He has at last succeeded in

* Vide *Colour Line in the Indian Educational and Scientific Departments*.

preparing a compound of univalent mercury in which a portion of this metal is isomorphously replaced by its analogue, silver. This isomorphous or to adopt the happy language of the greatest living authority on the subject, Groth—*vicarious* substitution of mercury by silver, will no doubt be welcomed by the scientific world. Why should one and the same metal play this sort of double role? We are at the dawn of a new chemistry. Sir Wm. Ramsay has shown that radium is slowly transformed into helium. Possibly the 20th century is destined to throw a flood of light on the duality as also on the transmutation of metals".

It was no mean compliment which the late Professor Divers, F.R.S., paid to Dr. Ray's researches when in a paper read before the Society of Chemical Industry in 1904 on the dissolution of metals in nitric acid he made this introductory remark:—

"The occasion for presenting the theory in a more developed form to the Society has been given by the reading last month to the Chemical Society of an important paper on mercurous nitrite by Prof. Ray of the Presidency College, Calcutta."—*Journ. Soc. Chem. Ind.*

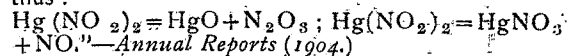
The limited space at our disposal forbids us following in detail the substances of some 55 memoirs on the subject of the *nitrites* and *hyponitrites* (*vide* list given below). The important discovery of the *amine nitrites* by Dr. Ray and his co-worker, Mr. Jitendranath Rakshit, deserves, however, more than a passing notice and we cannot do better than quote the brief but graphic notice of it which appeared in the columns of the *Empire*:—

"The very preliminary note on methylammonium nitrite by Dr. Ray and Mr. Jitendranath Rakshit which was read at the last December meeting of the Asiatic Society, has not, we are afraid, attracted the attention it deserves. The authors with commendable unobtrusiveness announce in this communication the preparation of a new compound, which is destined to be hailed in the chemical world as a startling discovery. Sir William Ramsay, if our memory serves us right, has somewhere aptly said that a chemical process involves a marriage of Elements (and of compounds as well). Now, the chemical union of methylamine and nitrous acid has been the despair of successive generations of chemists; all the attempts to bring them together under the matrimonial yoke have hitherto failed, as these two compounds are mutually destructive of each other and their interaction almost instantaneously results in the formation of methyl alcohol and liberation of nitrogen. Indeed, this very reaction, as every tyro in organic chemistry knows, is made use of for diagnosis of primary amines. The authors have evidently proved to be efficient chemical matchmakers, as in their hands methylamine and nitrous acid have not only forgotten their antagonistic properties but have agreed to be united in chemical wedlock, giving rise to a beautiful crystalline yellowish compound. We understand that

Dr. Ray has already been the recipient of warm congratulations from eminent English chemists, and it would seem almost impertinent to add our own. It is believed that since the discovery of mercurous nitrite by Dr. Ray in 1895, a preliminary account of which was also communicated to the Asiatic Society at the time and which at once made the name of its discoverer known to the scientific world, the laborious researches in the Chemical Laboratory of the Presidency College have not been rewarded with so rich a find."

Another most important discovery was the preparation and volatilisation of *ammonium nitrite*. The "Annual Reports on the Progress of Chemistry" issued by the Chemical Society, which embodies the most important contributions on the subject by the chemists throughout the world thus notices in successive issues the significance of the Indian Chemist's discoveries from 1904 onwards.

"Ray has obtained mercuric nitrite by the interaction of mercuric chloride and silver nitrite; when heated at 106° in *vacuo*, this compound breaks up thus:



—*Annual Reports* (1904.)
"Ray has continued his researches on the nitrites, discussing the conditions influencing the formation of ten different products of the action of nitric acid on mercury. This author has also prepared the nitrites of alkali and alkaline earth metals which are formed by the interaction of the chlorides on silver nitrite. The solutions of these nitrites may be evaporated in contact with the air without undergoing oxidation. These nitrites have a yellow colour, the depth of which increases with the atomic weight of the metal. Magnesium nitrite is the least stable of those of the alkaline earths forming, as magnesium does in many other cases, a link between the nitrites of zinc and cadmium and those of calcium, strontium, and barium. Ray and Ganguli have recently described two varieties of silver nitrite, the one having the formula AgNO_2 , the other the formula, AgONO ."—*Annual Reports* 1905.

"Continuing his patient study of the nitrites, P. C. Ray has shown that if a solution of ammonium nitrite is heated in a vacuum very little gas is evolved below 40°; on cooling, most of the salt crystallises. If the temperature is raised to 70°, slow decomposition takes place, but a considerable quantity of the salt appears as sublimate."—*Annual Reports*, 1909.

"Ray, in his long and painstaking researches on the nitrites, has studied the effect of adding various nitrates in small quantity to nitric acid while it is allowed to act on mercury. It has been found, whilst the nitrates of sodium, potassium and manganese have an accelerating effect on the action, ferric nitrate had a distinctly retarding effect."—*Annual Report*, 1911.

During his recent visit to England Dr. Ray took advantage of the opportunity to read two papers on his latest researches. The paper on the *vapour density of ammonium nitrite* has won the admiration of eminent

chemists. We can only make room for two short extracts bearing upon the subject:—

MEETING OF THE CHEMICAL SOCIETY,
JUNE 6, 1912.

Discussion on the paper.

(The Chemist and Druggist.)

"Dr. V. H. Veley, in welcoming Prof. Ray said he was an illustrious representative of a great Aryan nation which had attained a high degree of civilisation and discovered many chemical processes when this country was but a dismal swamp. Professor Ray had shown contrary to text-book statements that ammonium nitrite could be obtained in a stable crystalline condition and volatilised. He concluded by paying a warm tribute to Dr. Ray and his pupils for their valuable researches on ammonium—and the amine nitrites. The chairman also extended, on behalf of the Society, a hearty welcome to Prof. Ray, endorsing Dr. Veley's remarks."

Nature, August 15, 1912 remarks:—

"Prof. P. C. Ray has added to his success in preparing ammonium nitrite in a tangible form a further accomplishment in determining the vapour density of this very fugitive compound...."

It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon Prof. Ray as a teacher. We can only lay stress upon the fact that he has in his own way revived the traditions of ancient India with its plain living and high thinking with its *tol* system modified to meet the exigencies of modern times. He lives and moves and has his being among his pupils and his personal magnetism attracts to him, year in and year out, devotees to his favourite subject. As the writer of the admirable character sketch of Dr. Ray puts it in the *Indian World* of September, 1911:—

"It has been Dr. Ray's practice for the last few years to invite some of his advanced students to help and take part in his research work. As the fascination grows, these young aspirants become devoted to the cause of original investigation and stick to the work. Year after year their number has been added to and this is how a school of chemists has been founded in Calcutta without any fuss or ado. We can find out the measure of the success of Dr. Ray's School when we see that the journals of chemistry now-a-days contain contributions of genuine merit either from him or his pupils whom he has literally trained and inspired. The last May and August numbers of the *Transactions of the Chemical Society*, London, it may be interesting to know, contain simultaneously five contributions from him and his pupils. Scarcely a month elapses without his contributions on the nitrites and hypodinitrites of mercury and the amines. His contributions up to date have been close upon forty and his work has thrown a flood of light on the chemical constitution of many of the more important compounds of these. Truly, like Chevreul and Faraday; this great oriental savant has chosen research work in preference to

money-making and well has Professor Sylvain Lévi of Paris remarked in the course of his review of the *History of Hindu Chemistry* "that his laboratory is the nursery from which issue forth the chemists of new India."

Among those who have taken part in carrying on researches with Dr. Ray either as scholars, advanced students or voluntary workers, may be mentioned the names of Jatindra Nath Sen, Premchand Roy Chandra scholar in chemistry, (now Professor at the Pusa Agricultural Institute); Atul Chandra Ganguli, (now Professor of Chemistry, Ravenshaw College); Panchanan Neogi, Premchand Roychand Scholar in Chemistry, (now Professor of Chemistry, Rajshai College), the late Atul Chandra Ghose, M.A., who was appointed Professor of Chemistry, Dyal Singh College, Lahore; Hemendra Kumar Sen, who has been the first to win the blue ribbon of the Calcutta University in chemistry on the strength of thesis alone under the new regulations; Jitendra Nath Riskshit, collaborator of Dr. Ray in the researches on the amine nitrites, &c.; Rasiklal Datta and Nilratan Dhar. Professor Neogi is zealously continuing his work and his isolation of ammonium nitrite by sublimation, following in the wake of his teacher, from a mixture of ammonium chloride and sodium nitrite is entitled to great credit. A list of his original contributions is appended below.

The work of Rasiklal Datta makes a record in the history of chemical science in new India. While yet a junior 5th year student, the discriminating eye of his Professor singled him out to work in co-operation with him on the subject of the benzyl and allylammonium nitrites. Within an incredibly short time he succeeded in preparing several compounds of this series, but he found time also to make independent discoveries of his own, some of which are of surpassing interest. The discovery of no less than 60 new compounds can be laid to his credit.

No less brilliant have been the achievements of Nilratan Dhar, another junior student of the Chemical Department, in the domain of Physical Chemistry. Dr. Ray was seriously handicapped in his investigations on the nitrites for not being able to measure their electric conductivities and other physical properties. This young student, almost in his teens, who had just won

laurels in the B. Sc. examination, at once came forward for the relief of his teacher. Dhar's investigations on the conductivities of the nitrites as also the determination of their other physical constants are calculated to throw much light on their constitution. The brunt of the tedious work on the determination of the vapour density of ammonium nitrite devolved on him. Young Dhar has also lately communicated through his teacher an elaborate investigation on the constitution of complex salts based on Werner's Theory for publication in the *Zeitschrift für unorganische chemie*. In reply to an address presented to Dr. Ray by the inhabitants of his native district—Jessore-Khulna, he thus bore testimony to the quality of the contributions of young Datta and Dhar:—

"As regards the numerous polyiodides of copper, silver, mercury, cadmium &c., discovered by Datta, it is enough to say that I myself would have been proud to be their discoverer, but I am prouder still when I reflect that the discovery has been made by a pupil of mine. . . . I look upon it as a manifestation of Divine Grace that a Rasiklal Datta or a Nilratan Dhar has at last been produced in the soil of Bengal." (*vide The Sanjibani, September 5, 1912*). We have, indeed, heard Dr. Ray assert with some degree of confidence that Rasiklal Datta and Nilratan Dhar are fairly on the way to earning for themselves a European reputation as chemists. Kshitibhushan Bhaduri, Research scholar, has been engaged in investigation on the active principles of some of the Indian drugs and his labours have already been rewarded by the isolation of some glucosides *e.g.* of *andrographis paniculata*, कालमेघ; he has also prepared some interesting compounds of acetylene with copper thiosulphate." (*vide Zeit. Anorg. Chem., 1912*).

Hemendrakumar Sen with Bimanbehary Dey, M. Sc., has, in addition to his copartnership with Dr. Ray, described a new method on the estimation of nitrites.

"An interesting method for the estimation of nitric nitrogen by B. B. Dey and H. K. Sen depends on the use of hydrazine sulphate. When excess of the latter is allowed to act on a solution of any ionised nitrite, nitrogen, nitrous oxide, and ammonia result.

* * * * *

"If the reaction is allowed to take place in a nitrometer, the nitrous oxide may be removed by washing

with water, and the residual nitrogen measured. The method has been successfully applied to some fifty nitrites, including tetramethyl ammonium nitrite and benzylamine nitrite, as well as the nitrites of the alkalis, alkali earths, and heavy metals. On the other hand, amyl nitrite, and in general non-ionised nitrites, do not give rise to any evolution of gas when brought in contact with hydrazine sulphate.—*Annual Report for 1911*.

"The action of iron and nickel on the behaviour of hydrogen with various substances has been studied by Neogi and Adhicari. The authors were unable to confirm the statement of Ramsay and Young, that iron was able to bring about some union between nitrogen and hydrogen, although reduced iron as well as iron-wire were tried, and at varying temperatures and different degrees of dryness."—*Annual Report for 1911*.

Hemendrakumar Sen and Priyadarajan Ray have also studied the intraction of hydrazine sulphate and ferricyanide of iron. The results of their researches have been published in the "Zeits. Anorg. Chem." It was while continuing this work that Priyadarajan met with a terrible accident due to explosion of hot sulphuric acid. It is feared that he will be blinded of one eye for life. This young chemist who secured the first place in the M. A. examination in chemistry last year had shown all the capacities that go to the making of a chemist. It is sincerely to be hoped that in spite of this mishap he will be in a position to stick to his guns.

Haridas Sen, an M. Sc. student, has recently discovered an interesting compound, *zincosozincic chloride*. He has also prepared in co-operation with R. L. Datta a remarkable series of double sulphates of barium and heterocyclic bases. A Preliminary Note on these has just been communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Saratchandra Jana, M. Sc., Research Scholar, has been entrusted with the tedious and delicate task of determining the vapour density of *ammonium nitrate*; the patience, diligence and manipulative skill of a high order which he is bringing to bear upon the subject speak volumes in his favour.

We should have gladly dwelt further upon the significance of the foundation of this school of chemists, but as our article has already run to an inordinate length, we must come to a pause. It will suffice to say that the Bengali has taken as kindly to Physical Science as the duck to water.

One word more and we have done. We ventured to ask the opinion of Dr. Ray

about the proposed College of Science. We were favoured with this laconic reply: "It is the realisation of a dream of my life. It was the one thing wanted. The vast potential capacities of the Indian intellect have hitherto been lying fallow or running to waste for want of suitable scope and opportunities. Generations yet unborn will bless the name of Mr. Palit for his princely gift and rare act of self-abnegation."

It is unnecessary to refer to the many-sided activities of Dr. Ray—to his epoch-making History of Hindu Chemistry or to the foundation of the most successful indigenous chemical industry in India. They are too well known to the general public and especially to the readers of the *Modern Review* to need recapitulation.* But Dr.

* It is a happy circumstance that Principal James is fully alive to the versatile genius of our distinguished countryman. Mr. James thus summarizes in felicitous terms some of the leading traits in Dr. Ray's character:—"But this return to Calcutta is only the occasion of this meeting, the true reasons for it go much deeper than that. It is worth while to consider very briefly why our feelings towards Dr. P. C. Ray are so warm, and so strong—yours, and also mine. The first and most obvious reason is because of his kindness, benevolence, and beneficence to all students, because he has been ever ready to help them with advice and with any other assistance they might need to the limit of his resources, and, perhaps, beyond. That is one reason. Another is what he has achieved as a man of science. To give a full and detailed account of Dr. Ray's work as a man of science would take much longer time than suits this occasion. Four main heads are easily noticed. The first is Dr. P. C. Ray's chemical discoveries, the original investigations by right of which he takes his recognised place among chemists, next there is his work on the History of Hindu Chemistry, which is the standard work on the subject and has made known to the world of science and of letters exactly what and how considerable were the attainments of ancient India in chemistry. Another achievement of his which ought very specially to be remembered is the establishment of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, an important and successful industrial enterprise. It is everywhere recognised that one of the greatest needs of the time for all India and for Bengal in particular is industrial development. Dr. P. C. Ray is not a business man, but a man of science; but where business men have failed, he has helped to found a really successful industrial enterprise. And whereas he has contributed to the enterprise the best he had to give, his knowledge and genius for chemistry, and done so much to make it a commercial success, he has left it to others to draw the dividends. There is one other achievement more which I think is the greatest of all: Dr. Ray has trained and is training in his laboratory, that is in this laboratory of ours here, a band of young chemists to carry on the work he has begun, so that a distinguished French Professor has written of that laboratory

Ray's greatest achievement is this that he has successfully inspired many of his pupils with his own zeal for his favourite science. He said on a recent occasion, quoting a Sanskrit maxim, "Men should desire victory everywhere; but they should covet defeat at the hands of their sons." May he live to see his fame equalled, nay, even eclipsed by that of his pupils.

APPENDIX I.

PROFESSOR P. C. RAY'S CONTRIBUTIONS.

1. Conjugated sulphates of the Copper Magnesium Group (Proc. Roy. Soc. Edin., 1888).
2. Chemical examination of certain Indian Food-stuffs, Part I. The fats and oils (Journ. Asiatic Soc., Bengal, 1894).
3. On Mercurous Nitrite (Journ. Asiatic Soc., 1895 and Zeit. Anorg. Chem., 1896).
4. On the nitrites of mercury and the varying conditions under which they are formed (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1897).
5. On the action of sodium hyponitrite on mercuric nitrite solution (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1897).
6. Mercury Hyponitrites (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1897).
7. Ueber Mercuronitrit (Annalen, 1901, Bd. 316).
8. Dimercurammonium nitrite and its haloid derivatives (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1902).
9. Decomposition of mercurous nitrite by heat by P. C. Ray and J. N. Sen. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1903).

as 'the nursery from which issue forth the chemists of new India' The poem you have listened to spoke of a new dawn and an awakening in India, it is for these young chemists, it is for all students here, to hearken to the call which Dr. P. C. Ray himself has given and to make the awakening real and powerful.

But there is yet something else which inspires our feelings to Dr. P. C. Ray and carries them beyond even esteem and affection into a feeling more like reverence, something which is greatest and most important of all. The song has anticipated me in this also. It is the nobility of his life; the purity of his character, his inspiring devotion, his rectitude, his sincerity, his absolute disinterestedness. Dr. Ray has attained to great and deserved distinction, and it is only right that he should have so attained. But it is his high and rare distinction that in all his career he has set before himself the *work* and not the *reward*, the *service* and not the honour paid to good service. All the more shall he be honoured by us and his name remembered by your children and your children's children."—*Vide* Speech of Principal James on the occasion of an evening party organised by the Students and the Staff of Presidency College to welcome Dr. Ray on his return from England—the Calcutta University Magazine, September, 1912.f

10. Dimercurammonium nitrate (Journ. Asiatic Soc., 1903).
11. Mercuric nitrite and its decomposition by heat (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1904).
12. Theory of the formation of mercurous nitrite and of its conversion into various mercurous nitrates (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1905).
13. The nitrites of the alkali metals and the metals of the alkaline earths and their decomposition by heat (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1905).
14. Constitution of nitrites, Part I. Two varieties of silver nitrites. By P. C. Ray and A. C. Ganguli (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1905).
15. On Fischer's salt and its decomposition by heat (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1906).
16. The interaction of alkyl sulphates with the alkali nitrites and the alkaline earth nitrites. By P. C. Ray and Panchanan Neogi. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1906).
17. Silver and mercurous hyponitrites (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
18. Decomposition of silver and mercurous hyponitrites by heat. By P. C. Ray and Atul Chandra Ganguli (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
19. Decomposition of silver and mercurous hyponitrites under the action of mineral acids (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
20. Mercurous hyponitrite (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
21. Cupric nitrite (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
22. Decomposition of hyponitrous acid in the presence of mineral acids. By P. C. Ray and A. C. Ganguli. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
23. The double nitrites of mercury and the alkali metals. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
24. Silver mercurous-mercuric oxynitrates and the isomorphous replacement of univalent mercury by silver. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1907).
25. Preparations of aliphatic nitro-bodies by the interaction of alkyl iodides with mercurous nitrite by P. C. Ray and P. Neogi. (Proc. Chem. Soc., 1907).
26. Molecular volumes of the nitrites of silver, mercury and the alkali metals. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1908).
27. Lithium nitrite and its decomposition by Heat. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1908).
28. Molecular volumes of the nitrites of barium, strontium and calcium. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1909).
29. Decomposition and sublimation of ammonium nitrite. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1909).
30. Decomposition of ammonium-platini-bromide and ammonium platini-chloride by heat. By P. C. Ray and Atul Chandra Ghose. (Zeit. Anorg. Chem., 1909).
31. Tetramethylammonium-nitrite and its decomposition by heat. By P. C. Ray and H. K. Sen. (Proceedings Chem. Soc., 1910).
32. The double nitrites of mercury and the alkaline earths. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1910).
33. Double nitrites of mercury and the bases of the tetraalkyl-ammonium series. (Proc. Chem. Soc., 1910).
34. Decomposition of dimercurammonium nitrite by heat. By P. C. Ray and Atul Chandra Ghose. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1910).
35. Ionisation of nitrites as measured by cryoscopic method (Preliminary note) by P. C. Ray and Satis Chandra Mukerji. (Proc. Chem. Soc., 1910).
36. Influence of minute quantities of ferric salts and of manganese nitrate on the rate of solution of mercury in nitric acid. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1911).
37. Methylammonium nitrite by P. C. Ray and Jitendra Nath Rakshit. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1911).
38. Tetramethyl ammonium hyponitrite and its decomposition by heat. By P. C. Ray and H. K. Sen. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1911).
39. Nitrites of the alkyl ammonium bases : ethyl ammonium nitrite, dimethyl ammonium nitrite and trimethyl ammonium nitrite. By P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1911).
40. Nitrites of the benzylammonium series, benzylammonium nitrite, dibenzylammonium nitrite and their decomposition and sublimation by heat. By P. C. Ray and Rasik Lal Datta. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1911).
41. Tri-mercuri-di-ethyl ammonium nitrite. By P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1911).
42. Nitrites of the alkylammonium bases, Part II. Propyl ammonium nitrite and butyl ammonium nitrite and their decomposition by heat. By P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912).
43. Nitrites of the alkylammonium series, Part III. Triethylammonium-nitrite and their decomposition by heat. By P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912).
44. Allylammonium nitrite by P. C. Ray and Rasik Lal Datta. (Journ. Asiatic Soc., 1912).
45. Nitrites of the alkylammonium series, Part IV. Dipropylammonium nitrite, Isobutyl ammonium nitrite and Tripropylammonium nitrite and their decomposition by heat. By P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912).
46. Nitrites of the mercuri-alkyl and mercuri-alkylaryl ammonium series by P. C. Ray, J. N. Rakshit and Rasik Lal Datta. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912).
47. Piperazinium nitroso-nitrite by P. C. Ray and J. N. Rakshit. (Communicated to the London Chem. Soc.)
48. On isomeric allyl amines by P. C. Ray and Rasik Lal Datta. (Journ. Asiatic Soc., 1912).
49. Methylbenzyl and ethylbenzyl ammonium

nitrites by P. C. Ray and Rasik Lal Datta. (Proc. Lond. Chem. Soc.,).

50. Conductivity of potassium nitrite, mercuric-Nitrite and Mercuri-potassium Nitrite by P. C. Ray and Nilratan Dhar. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912).

51. Determination of the Vapour Density of ammonium nitrite by P. C. Ray and N. R. Dhar. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912).

52. Nitrites of the mercuri-alkyl and mercuri-alkyl-aryl ammonium series, Part II. By P. C. Ray, N. R. Dhar and Tincowri Dey. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912).

53. Molecular Conductivities and Ionisation of the nitrites by P. C. Ray and N. R. Dhar. (Communicated to the London Chem. Soc.,).

54. Chlorides of the mercuri-alkyl and mercuri-alkyl-aryl ammonium series and their constitution as based upon their molecular conductivities by P. C. Ray and N. R. Dhar. (Communicated to the London Chem. Soc.,).

APPENDIX II.

PROFESSOR NEOGI'S CONTRIBUTIONS.

1. Preparation of aliphatic nitrites and nitro-compounds by the interaction of the alkali salts of ethyl sulphuric acid and alkali nitrites (with Dr. P. C. Ray)—Transactions of the Chemical Society, London, 1906.

2. Preparation of aliphatic nitro-compounds by the interaction of alkyl iodides and mercurous nitrite (with Dr. P. C. Ray)—Proceedings of the Chemical Society, London, 1907.

3. On the preparation of phenyl-nitro-methane by the interaction of mercurous nitrite and benzyl chloride (with B. B. Adhicary)—Zeitschrift für Anorganische Chemie, 1911.

4. Reactions in presence of nickel: (a) Inability of nitrogen and hydrogen to combine in presence of iron and nickel. (b) Reduction of the oxides of nitrogen, sulphur, and phosphorus in presence of nickel (with B. B. Adhicary)—Zeitschrift für Anorganische Chemie, 1910.

5. Reduction of Fehling's solution to metallic copper—a method of depositing a shining layer of copper on glass—Zeitschrift für Anorganische Chemie, 1908.

6. Orthophosphoric acid as a dehydrating catalytic agent: Part I: The condensation of acetone in presence of phosphoric acid—Transactions of the Chemical Society, London, 1911.

7. Preparation of ammonium nitrite by the sublimation in a vacuum of a mixture of ammonium chloride and alkali nitrites—Transactions of the Chemical Society, London, 1911.

8. Trialkyl ammonium nitrites and nitrites of the bases of the pyridine and quinoline series—

Part I—Transactions of the London Chemical Society, 1911.

9. Do. Do. Part II— Do. Do.

10. Preparation of the nitrites of the primary, secondary and tertiary ammonium bases (Preliminary note)—Proceedings of the London Chemical Society, 1911.

11. Nitrites of the primary, secondary, and tertiary bases—Transactions of the London Chemical Society, 1912.

12. Chemical Examination of Ayurvedic metallic preparations: Part I: shataputa—and shahashraputa Lauha (iron roasted a hundred and a thousand times)—(with B. B. Adhicary)—Journal of Asiatic Society, Bengal.

13. More than 20 papers in Bengalee on "Ayurveda and modern chemistry."

APPENDIX III.

MR. R. L. DATTA'S CONTRIBUTIONS.

(Over and above those in conjunction with Professor Ray).

1. The Formation of dichlorocarbamide and its behaviour towards amines. (Trans. Chem. Soc., 1912, 101, 166).

2. Double Iodides I. The double platinum iodides with alkali metals, ammonia and bases of the Substituted Ammonium Series. (To be shortly published in the Trans. Chem. Soc.)

3. Double Iodides II. The double iodides of copper with bases of the substituted ammonium Series. Tetraethyl-, Tetrapropyl, Pyridine-, and Quinoline ammonium Cupric Iodides. (To be shortly published in the Trans. Chem. Soc.)

4. Hydrated Cuprous Iodide, $Cu_2I_2 \cdot H_2O$. (Communicated to the Lond. Chem. Soc.)

5. The behaviour of dichlorocarbamide towards Amines. The preparation of chloroamines and the decomposition of monochloro- and dichlorobenzylamines. (To be shortly published in the Journal Asiatic Society).

6. On a New Series of double sulphates of barium with bases of the substituted ammonium series. By Rasik Lal Datta and Hari Das Sen. (Communicated to the Asiatic Society).

7. The double iodides of mercury with the bases of the substituted ammonium series. (Communicated to the American Chemical Society).

8. The double iodides of cadmium with bases of the substituted ammonium Series. (Communicated to the Asiatic Society).

9. The double iodides of silver with the bases of the substituted ammonium series. (Communicated to the Asiatic Society).

10. Examination of the hydrolytic products of dichlorourea and its application in the synthesis of symmetrical hydrazines.

11. New synthesis of dibenzoyl azoxime by the condensation of silver benzamid with benzoyl chloramid.

12. The preparation of allyl iodide.

13. Note on the production of mercury fulminate.

14. The action of nitrosyl chloride on secondary amines. methylbenzyl nitrosamine and Ethylbenzyl nitrosamine.

15. The Preparation of pyridine alum.

16. The double iodides of gold with the Bases of the substituted ammonium Series.

17. The double antimonie iodides with the bases of the substituted ammonium series.

18. The double cuprous iodides with the bases of the substituted ammonium Series.

19. The double mercurous iodides with the bases of the substituted ammonium Series.

20. Studies of the constitution of dicyclic terpenes Part I. new constitutional formula for fenchene.

21. Studies of the constitution of dicyclic terpenes Part II. new constitutional formula for camphene.

22. Studies of the constitution of dicyclic terpenes Part III. new constitutional formula for pinene

THE FITNESS OF INDIANS FOR HIGHER EMPLOYMENT

A statement submitted by the late Mr. A. O. Hume before the Public Service Commission of 1886, and published in Vol.

VI. of the *Proceedings*, Section

III, Sub-section C, page 106).

I wish to add a few words as to the central doubt that, although scarcely touched upon by any of the questions, really, I believe, underlies most of the differences of opinion that exist as to the more extended employment of Indians in the higher branches of the administration. These differences of opinion have unfortunately created not a little bitterness and many of my native friends, I know, believe that the determined manner in which such a large proportion of the European officials in India have set their face against the wider employment of Natives in the higher appointments in this country has been due to race animosity and a selfish desire to reserve for themselves and their countrymen all the official loaves and fishes. But I, who born an Englishman, claim to understand my countrymen better, venture to assert that in nine cases out of ten, the opposition has proceeded from an honest and bona fide disbelief in the possession by Natives, of those qualifications essential to the satisfactory discharge of the very responsible duties of high office in India. I believe my countrymen to be in error in this matter, but I am sure that in the great majority of cases they are absolutely honest in their belief, and are

only actuated in their opposition by a conscientious desire to safe-guard the general welfare of the Empire.

As regards integrity and judicial capacity I need, I believe, say little. Every Native official used to take bribes and swell his official emoluments by what we, Europeans, should now consider illicit gains; but so, as is well known, did all European officials, even to the very highest of them, until the reform in the scale of salaries made it easy for them to be honest. Under Native administrations, official dishonesty of this kind was tacitly accepted as part of the system, and in most cases the salaries attached to even important offices were so low as to render it impossible for an official to keep up the state essential to his position without recourse to illicit methods of accumulating the necessary funds. These illicit methods had become the established practice of the official classes, and no doubt clung for a generation or two amongst Indians, after the Europeans had purified their own ways. But the spread of education and the selection of officials from better classes have changed all that, and we have around us Indian Judges of the High Court, Sessions Judges, Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs, Deputy Magistrates and Collectors, Tahsildars (Mamlatdars, Mukhtars as they are called in different portions of the Empire), men of the new class and culture by the hundred, against whose integrity not

one word of suspicion has ever been breathed. Isolated instances of dishonesty amongst even these men can be cited, but, without mentioning names, it has to be stated, in fairness to the Indians, that during the last five years the Government has unfortunately had before it more than one similar isolated instance of dishonesty even amongst covenanted European Civilians: But I need not dwell upon this unpleasant theme, because I do not believe that any really experienced and competent official will deny that if you select your men carefully you can now-a-days obtain Indian officials in every respect as honest and reliable, so far as the discharge of their official duties goes, as any Europeans.

Again as to judicial capacity; the possession of this by trained Indians, and in a very high degree, is no longer open to question amongst sensible and qualified Judges; and when Sir John Strachey remarked (and Lord Lawrence concurred in the remark) that he believed "that every grade of the judicial service, without exception, might with propriety and justice be thrown open to Natives," he only echoed the universal opinion of all experienced Indian administrators.

But what the majority of modern officials doubt—nay, as a rule, disbelieve—is the possession by Indians of that pluck, dash, decision of character, and, in a word, administrative capacity, requisite for the successful tenure of the higher executive posts; and what I desire chiefly to put on record now are my reasons (drawn from a lengthened and varied experience such as has fallen to the lot of perhaps no other official now in India) for differing from them entirely on these points. But it is necessary before going into these reasons to explain why, from no merit of my own or demerit of others, I may, I believe, fairly claim to have had opportunities for a juster appreciation of Native character and aptitudes than most other Europeans.

To begin with, modern officials, as a body, necessarily know very little of Natives as compared with what the officials of former days equally necessarily did.

In my time men never came out married, and rarely married, until sometime after they had been in the service. There were no lawn tennis parties, afternoon teas, and

such like employments for out-of-kucherry hours, and young assistants were kept for months at a time out in the interior, with no chance of ever seeing any but Natives, and were compelled to make, more or less, friends of those around them,—i.e., of the better men, so far as they were able to judge. They went in far more universally for shooting, and picked up companions for their sport amongst the respectable zemindars, many of whom, both Rajputs and Mahomedans, were then ardent sportsmen.

They did more of their work in the field, and very little in formal sitting, and their evenings in the interior were usually spent with a cigar on the nearest village chapel, talking with the headmen and leading cultivators of the place, and listening to their discussions and merry jokes (for the people were much more light-hearted those days) amongst themselves.

But our modern young men often come out married, or marry very soon after arrival; they are chained to their desks (if they do their duty) for double the number of hours we were. The moment they are out of Kucherry, they are off to look after their wives and children, or to lawn tennis, or some other phase of European social life, and they mix in no way closely with Indians. The only Indians they ever have a chance of knowing are their domestic servants and the criminals and litigants in their courts.

Neither are favourable specimens of India's people. Though good servants are yet procurable by good masters who understand Native character, in most places in the plains of India, the great bulk of the men who alone now-a-days take service with Europeans are the very worst class of men in the country—often worse than the detected criminals, the other class from which our modern official's experience is mainly derived. I say it in no disparagement of the men—who as a body are intellectually superior to what the men of my day were—but in deprecation of the system, but it is a fact that the great bulk of even District officers of the present day, Superintendents of police, and similar officials—know less of the real character and capacities of the better classes of Natives than did most Assistant Magistrates of two years' standing only forty years ago; and I

am particular to press this point because, while you find men of the older school like Sir. W. Muir holding opinions favourable to Native claims, you find the great bulk of modern officials vehemently (though in all good faith) opposed to these; and I desire to urge, not only that from the circumstances of the case their opinions on these points must be entitled to very little weight, but that even these gentlemen themselves, if they will only dispassionately examine the subject, will be compelled to admit that they have really never had the opportunities of forming a well-grounded opinion on the question. So far the general argument, but at the risk of being condemned as egotistical, I must say something of the very unusual opportunities that I personally enjoyed of learning what Indians really are.

On being first posted to the Meerut district under my brother-in-law, a very able though extremely eccentric officer, I was at once sent out to a Thana to work there and learn the work.

After about a month, during which I became familiar with the spoken language, I was made to take up the work of the Muharir or Clerk of the Police-station: I was allowed a man to write for me, as I could not then write the Shikust (or current written character) sufficiently well, but I had to dictate every entry in the Roznam-chah (in those days the main Thana record), conduct inquests, make preliminary local investigations on which the Thanadar allowed me to go, and generally I did all the Muharir's work. The Thanadar was, I doubt not, from what I heard later, thoroughly dishonest, but he was far too sharp for me to find him out; was a first-rate detective, and I am bound to say a very good fellow and a good sportsman—a Mahomedan, whom I liked much and always remained on friendly terms with till he died. He certainly took infinite pains to teach me everything: dodges of criminals, dodges of detection, dodges of the police to extract money. Two or three months later I was sent to take up the work of Naib Darogah in another larger Thana, and then for a short time I had charge, as Thanadar, of a small Thana; and it was not till after I had passed through all this that I was allowed to hear

my first petty assault case. After doing a little of this kind of work, I was again sent to a Tahsil, and there actually did the work successively of several of the subordinate officials, including finally the Peshkar; but I never acted as Tahsildar, as the commissioner, whose sanction in this case was necessary, disapproved, and I then went into regular Assistant Magistrate-Collector's work. Even then I was for several months longer kept out at the Barot Tahsil, some forty miles from my station. All this long period (with one break during which I fell ill and had to be sent to the hills) I never saw any European a dozen times, but was surrounded with, and lived amongst, Natives at all times; my only associates in leisure hours being the Thanadar, Tahsildar (an elderly, god-fearing man, absolutely honest: quite an exception in those days), respectable Hindu and Mahomedan Zemindars, and a few retired Resaldars and Subadars, who used to tell me wonderful stories of past campaigns.

Later again I had further unusual experiences of acquiring a knowledge of and respect for the Native character. Besides civil work, I was for nearly eighteen months on more or less active service during the Mutiny; from the middle of May, 1857 (when our people first drew blood, towards avenging the slaughter at Meerut, by cutting up on the Etawah parade ground a party of the mutinous sowars of the 3rd cavalry) to the battle of Harchandpur with Prince Ferozshah in December 1858, which with Lord Napier's destruction of his broken force three or four days later, some seventy miles further south, virtually concluded the outbreak.

At the close of December 1857, under Lord Canning's direct orders, I raised a local force of 500 infantry, 350 cavalry, and five guns (all Natives of course), who thenceforth were continually employed, and so comported themselves as to obtain on two occasions—the battles of Anantram and Harchandpore—the honour of an entire Gazette to themselves. During the first few months of the year I had the assistance of Colonel (then Lieutenant) Sheraiff, and later of Lieutenant Laughlan Forbes, two gallant young officers to whom our great successes (and, considering the circumstances, they were really great) were due. But I had

charge of the whole force, was with them throughout, and was in a better position than even most military men to judge what Natives are capable of in the way of pluck and dash. For we were wholly isolated, we were always opposed to great odds, and we had no European troops with or (except when Colonel Riddle's column moved down about the time of the taking of Calpi) within seventy miles of us.

And it was not only of mere pluck that I had experience, but of administrative capacity. In June 1857, after the wing of the 9th Native Infantry had mutinied, the Gwalior authorities, being afraid of the 1st Gwalior Grenadiers, to get rid of them, sent them over to garrison Etawah. There they mutinied also, and I was obliged to leave the station with the officers of that regiment.

But let me note, before proceeding further, that during the mutiny of the 9th Native Infantry my townspeople stood by us to a man. My life was saved the night of the mutiny when, after getting off the rest of the people of the station, I had remained behind to see if anything could be done, by two Natives, who passed me safely through two successive parties of sepoys who were specially on the look out to shoot me; they having the idea in those days that they could not safely make off with the treasure without first killing the district officer. It was a bright moonlight night; my only disguise was a large chudder over Native Pagree, Native shoes over dark stockings, and my trousers pulled up out of sight. I had no particular claim on these men; one Gyadin was a Chuprassi, one was a townsman. Had I been detected, they as well as myself, would certainly have been shot, and this they perfectly knew, yet they walked with me, one on either side, chatting together through the sepoys, who luckily paid no particular attention to us, and answered unconcernedly a question as to whether it was known what had become of the Collector (myself) by the remark, that he was said to have gone into the city to try and rouse the townsmen. I do not think I am more of a coward than most of my countrymen, but at that critical moment I could not for the life of me have answered in that cheery unconcerned manner.

The sepoys of the 9th Native Infantry

having mostly gone off to Delhi with the little treasure that remained (the bulk of it I had previously sent safely into Agra, by the aid of my friend Rajah (then Kanwar) Lutchman Singh and Kanwar Zor Singh of the Chohan House of Pertabnere), order was speedily re-established. I should say, however, that several Native officers of the 9th Native Infantry and about 20 sepoys had remained faithful under a good old Ahir (note the caste) Subadar, and were with and protecting the whole body of the fugitives down at the Jumna Ghat, at the time of my own fortunate escape.

On the restoration of order and the advent of the 1st Gwalior Grenadiers, I found myself with some 30 women and children. All my Native friends told me (they were many of them Brahmans, and so wormed themselves into the confidence of some amongst the sepoys) that the Grenadiers would certainly soon mutiny, and were only waiting for the word from the rest of the contingent to do so. So I determined to send the women and children at once into Agra. By that time things were looking very black, for tidings of "disaster on disaster" followed fast and followed faster till even our most sincere well-wishers believed that our Raj was at an end. But even at that time, though the intervening country was up, and outside my own district villages were everywhere burning and anarchy prevailed, Rajah Lutchman Singh and our mutual friends Kanwar Zor Singh and Anup Singh volunteered with their own people to escort our ladies and children into Agra.

Kanwar Zor Singh was dead against it. He begged and prayed me not to send them to Agra (where he conceived that sooner or later, as at other places, all would be massacred), but to join them myself and let him escort us all through Central India (to the chiefs of every state in which he was in one way or another related or connected) safely to the sea. But when he saw that my mind was made up, he fell in with the scheme, and he and his brother, Anup Singh, and Lutchman Singh, personally safely escorted the ladies (this was in June) into Agra, and there is no lady living of this party but will testify to the chivalrous courtesy and watchful care with which

these noble gentlemen fulfilled their dangerous and self-imposed task.

When the Gwalior Grenadiers mutinied, they behaved like the brave fellows they were (these were the men who routed Wyndham later at Cawnpore and in the subsequent fight left more than half their number dead at the guns); and though they could have killed every one of us, harmed no hair of any man's head; they only told us that they could no longer obey us and would take us to Gwalior with them and next morning allowed us all to ride quietly off through their lines, pretending to believe that we were only going out for our morning airing.

But they had yet to reckon with the town's people, for that after-noon a number of the sepoys went down to the Bazar and there a fight ensued in which several of the sepoys were killed and all were disarmed, and then the townspeople sent such threatening messages and made such demonstration (the Khatris grain dealers of Etawah were notorious for their pugnacity) that the mutineers decamped in all haste across the two rivers to Gwalior.

News of this was sent after me by several messengers with pressing requests that I should return and again take charge of the district, and promises that, when I came, order should be kept. But these only reached me after I had been two days in Agra, and Government would not, as so many district officers had been killed, and this was so injurious to our prestige, and they had not a single soldier to send with me to protect me, allow me to go; and though I now know that I might safely have done so, I doubted it greatly at the time, and was very glad to be directed to stay where I was.

Then came the battle of the 3rd of July, and it was some little time before anything like order was re-established in Agra. But throughout this time communications were reaching me from my district, begging me to make arrangement for its proper administration.

Then I devised, and Government sanctioned this scheme. The district comprised five very large Tahsils. I constituted each a Subahship, and appointed one Native gentleman, Kanwar Zor Singh (Chohan

Rajput) for Etawah, Rajah (then Row) Juswant Row (Brahman) for Bhurteman, Lalla Laik Singh (Senghur Rajput) for Bidhona, Chaudhri Gunga Persad (Kayat) for Puhpundh, and the Tahsildar of Oreyah, an elderly Baniah of Muttra, for Dullelnugger, as Subah to each, making them suitable allowances to keep up the necessary armed retainers and establishments; all Government officials (of course many had fled) who had thus far remained at their posts being included in these latter. We had here men of very different castes—Brahman, Rajput, Kayat, Baniah—yet each and all rose to the emergency, and during the next troublous five months in the very centre of the out-break maintained order throughout their jurisdictions, and so maintained it that in aftertimes no man ever complained of any injustice, or any abuse of power, and no man had ever anything but good words to speak of their administration. They kept me informed weekly of all that passed; they kept up for us communication with Cawnpore; through them we got the first news of General Niel's arrival; and more than all, directly he did arrive, they collected 700 camels, and under their own men (the Cawnpore district being "up" like the whole of the rest of the Doab, except Etawah) escorted these to Cawnpore and thus rendered an immediate advance on Lucknow possible, which but for this must have been much delayed. Moreover, whilst all over the country Government revenue was being realised by all kinds of pretenders, dacoit leaders and the like, not a rupee was thus made away with in Etawah.

My orders were that every man should retain his revenue until I returned, and then pay it to me, and these orders were carried out to the letter. I do not know how administrative capacity could have been better demonstrated than it was by these five gentlemen. I doubt if any Englishman living could have administered one of those Subahships at that time as cleverly and satisfactorily as every one of these Native gentlemen did; and I am quite sure that no Englishman could have proved himself more heroically faithful to the trust reposed in him than did the Tahsildar of Oreyah. He was only a Baniah, an elderly man, very stout and good tempered, the last man from whom heroism was to be expected; and yet

he gave up his life and underwent torture rather than betray his trust.

The facts were these: when the Jhansi brigade of mutineers were known to be on their way towards Oreyā en route, I believe, to Delhi, the Tahsildar by night removed, in small parcels, his records and treasure to the forts of certain loyal zemindars whom he could trust in the north of the pergunnah. Only one or two of his men on whom he could rely were in the secret. The rest of the establishment got to know that the things were gone, but they did not know where they were concealed. It was a small matter but no Englishman could have managed this much. He reported this to me. At the same time as this brigade was a powerful military force against which our people with only matchlock men could do nothing I ordered him and other officers on the line of march, in order to prevent the looting of bazaars and murder of villagers, etc., to receive it civilly, furnish the required supplies, and keep matters as straight as possible.

The Tahsildar remained at his post and did what was necessary. All would have gone well had not some rascal betrayed to the mutineers the fact that the Tahsildar had hid away his treasure and records. They had taken it for granted that, like all other Tahsils at that time it had long since been looted and had made no enquiries and the Tahsildar passed as being now Subah on the part of the Maharajah of Gwalior whose territory marched with the greater part of the Tahsil. When they learnt the truth, they seized him and called upon him to tell them where the treasure had been hid. He refused to tell them making, of course, all kinds of excuses. Then they threatened to hang him, and when he still remained firm even prepared to do so, but he was a kindly looking old man, and even they, mutineers as they were, seemed to dislike the job, and so they tied him on to one of their brass guns, telling him they would let him go when he chose to tell them.

It was in July, I think—possibly August. He would not tell, and he was dragged on the gun the whole distance to Etawah. When he arrived there, he was insensible; by the intercession of people in Etawah he was released there and carried to his home at Muttra, where he died. He was only a fat

old Baniah like thousands of others whom most Englishmen consider the incarnation of selfish cowardice, but he knew how to suffer and be strong and die rather than be faithless to his salt.

I have mentioned already my dear old friend Raja Lutchman Singh, and I should like to say something more of him. The commission examined him at Allahabad, I think, but none of them probably guessed what a daring and gallant servant of the State that modest little elderly gentleman had shown himself to be in more stirring times. He is a Rathore Rajput, a distant cousin of the Rajah of Awa, and born of parents by no means overburdened with worldly possessions, he entered the office of the Board of Revenue in 1854 or thereabouts as Translator. Poor Christian there became acquainted with him, and when he took charge of the Etawah district appointed him to a Tahsildership, in which I found him when in January 1856 I relieved Christian. There is an idea that Indians are no riders, that they are not active. Now Agra is 70 miles from Etawah. Lutchman Singh's wife and children were in Agra (respectable officials in those days never took their families with them on service), and with my permission, Kanwar (as he then was) Lutchman Singh used on the Saturday afternoons to ride into Agra, spend the day there, and on the Monday morning ride back again to his Tahsil, where I always found him fresh and at work by 10 A.M. I do not suppose we have a Covenanted Assistant or Joint Magistrate, now-a-days at any rate, who could do as much. Later, a specially good Tahsildar being wanted somewhere in the Jhansi Division, he was much to my regret, transferred thither. Just before the mutiny broke out, he obtained leave, in order to visit his family. His only road lay through Etawah, and he halted there to see me. Then came the bad news and instead of going on, he determined to stay with me (he was well known to, and greatly respected by, the people of Etawah), and endeavoured to assist me. There through all our troubles he remained always helpful, always cheerful, and ready for anything, until I sent him along with Zor Singh in charge of the ladies to Agra.

Of his services in the Civil Department to

me as regards my Etawah arrangements, and the Government generally, during the rest of the year 1857, I need not speak; but one point I must dwell upon.

Towards the close of September, and in the beginning of October, Agra was threatened by a large military force from the south. They came within nine or ten miles of Agra and were encamped just on the other side of the Kuanynuddi. That the force was very large and had many guns was known, but Government could not get particulars. In the Gwalior arsenal were mortars, shells and all requisites, enough to knock the old fort of Agra about our ears in half an hour. Had this force got any of this war material? What guns had they really got? Had any part of the contingent joined them?—Government sent out spies in vain; that some had been promptly hung, and that the others had either funked it and abstained from going or been disposed of was known, but this was all. At this juncture, Lutchman Singh volunteered to get the required information. The danger of the attempt was extraordinary. He was a native of Agra, known by sight to every one in the place—known too as a faithful Government servant. About 2,000 of the Agra *badmashes* were in the rebel camp. If one of them detected him, his immediate death was certain. Yet he went disguised as a *faqir*, stayed there two or three days, and brought back the fullest and most accurate information—information which, but for the marvellous mis-understanding between the civil and military authorities, would have rendered impossible the great surprise. A few days later came the events of the 10th of October, of which all that needs now be said is that “all’s well that ends well”. Now I know of no pluckier exploit than this of Lutchman Singh’s—no, not in those fighting times when plucky deeds were as plentiful as blackberries on a Devonshire hedge.

When in December I was allowed to return to Etawah, he accompanied me and was with me throughout—one of my right-hand men and all I can say is that a more *preux chevalier* in the field or a bolder and yet wiser adviser in council never breathed.

Before I turn away from Etawah I should like to recall one more of my brave companions, in arms. If I refer to men like

Resaldar Rahim Khan and many others, who were soldiers before they joined me, it would be of no avail for my present purpose: they were trained soldiers, and no one who can read our history can doubt the bravery of many of our trained Native soldiers. I desire rather to give instances of men who trained solely to peaceful occupations and all unused to arms, yet, at a mature age, when the necessity arose, showed as great a capacity for rising to the occasion as any Englishman could have done, and very far more than many Englishmen did. Such a one was Wazir Ali, a Mahomedan gentleman who for many years had practised as a *vakil* in the Dehra Civil Court, but whom in 1856 I had taken in as a senior *muharrir* in the Revenue Department, and whom later I had promoted to be Joint Revenue *Serishtadar*. Between the mutiny of the 9th Native Infantry and that of the Gwalior Grenadiers, dacoities, for which Etawah was always famous, had broken out in many places in the district, gangs having come over from Gwalior. I had to organise several parties to put these down, and one of these parties I placed under Wazir Ali. His work was excellent, he cleared the whole of that portion of this district to which I deputed him, and, in one case, when a party who had seized a fort absolutely refused to surrender, he stormed it, and though several men were killed in the assault, he was the first man up the ladders into the fort. The circumstances were peculiarly difficult, as the dacoits were far better armed than his men, and a good many of these latter not much inclined to the work, but he carried the place by sheer force of character and pluck.

And now I will only refer to one other case. When Assistant Magistrate in Aligarh, and in charge of the then large jail there, I made the acquaintance of the jailor a Rampur Pathan, a great Pehlwan (athlete) and a first-rate officer. After some time I came to know and like this man greatly. I used to drop into the jail at all hours by day and night, and always found everything as it should be. I made friends with the prisoners soon about to be released, especially long-term men convicted of *Khanajungis* (affrays) and the like and privately told them after their release to come to see me at some time. I thus saw,

as time ran on, a large number of men, mostly respectable, who had been in jail for affrays, etc., and I found out from them everything about the internal economy of the jail, and the more I heard the more did my opinion of the jailor rise. So it happened, that he became very friendly, and when, later, I was specially deputed to endeavour to discover the persons concerned in a whole series of mysterious mail cart robberies that kept continually occurring on the Grand Trunk Road between Mainpuri and Delhi, I obtained permission to take him as the head of my detective establishment, and with him took up my quarters at the Khurja dak bungalow. In consequence of the ability and devotion of my whole establishment and specially of my friend, who was looked up to as a kind of father and earthly providence by all the ex-jail birds of Aligarh and the neighbouring districts, the whole mystery was solved, the greater portion of the property recovered, and the more important of the criminals convicted. As a reward my friend was, at his own request, transferred to the Revenue Department, and when the mutiny broke out he was the Tahsildar of Shamli, in the Muzaffernaggar district. Directly the news of the mutiny reached me, I wrote to him, entreating him to be faithful to his salt and to remember that as it was through me he had risen to his present position, he held my honour as well as his own in his keeping. Thus I wrote every day (the post was not to be relied on during May, 1857), and before all postal communication in the Doab had closed, he had received several of my letters. He had replied, but no reply reached me. Long after, these letters of mine came back to me with, on one of them, pencilled his last message, "Give the Sahib my service. I will never be unfaithful to the salt. What from me was possible, that I have done—afterwards as God wills". What had happened was this. This Shamli Tahsil was particularly open to attacks from wandering parties of rebels sent out from Delhi to forage. He had fortified his Tahsil as best as he could, and had sent for relatives of his (Pathans of Rampur) on whom he could rely to the last gasp. Two or three minor attacks were beaten off, but the news of this reaching the rebel camp, a large force was sent out to attack the place.

The mutineers surrounded the place and called on him to surrender; a great number of them were Mahomedans of the 3rd Cavalry; to some he was known by reputation, and there was a strong desire to save him. They parleyed long with him; they told him the British Raj was over; that all they desired was that he should now transfer his services to the King of Delhi, and hold the Tahsil in his name as he had hitherto held it on behalf of the late British Government. They offered him high place at Delhi if he preferred it, or finally, they offered him a safe conduct with all his people and all their property to their homes in Rampur, if he would quietly surrender the Tahsil. But nothing moved the Tahsildar; he could die at his post, he said; he could not change masters nor surrender. So after several hours of parley the place was attacked. The besieging force was overwhelming; the gate was blown in, and there in the gateway, sword in hand, fell that noble gentleman, true to the last, with all his kinsmen and (such was the force of his character and example) the great bulk of his Tahsil Chuprassies and sub-ordinates behind him, only a very few escaping; from whom the particulars of the attack were later learnt.

I do not know how any Englishman, however true and brave, could have died more nobly or could have exhibited in a higher degree those qualities which characterise the born administrator. He had strengthened his position to the utmost possible; he had held it bravely and successfully against repeated attacks, and, when overwhelmed by irresistible force, not only did he fall himself fighting foremost but he had so imbued with his spirit those who served under him and we all know what a feckless and mixed lot the huge chuprassi establishments of those days were), that they too, almost to a man, fell vainly struggling to defend the breach on which he had already shown them the road to a higher life.

But when the news of the destruction of the Tahsil and the massacre of its defenders reached Muzaffarnager, the head-quarters of the district, the collector, a good little gentleman but of unwarlike tendencies, was greatly troubled and in the dusk of the evening getting into his buggy he quietly

started down the road to Meerut. But his servants, guessing what was happening ran at once to the Serishtader and Tahsildar and these being both strong men, and knowing well that if the news of the flight of the Collector got abroad, the *badmashes* would have the city on fire in a dozen places before dawn, and that then all would be anarchy, pursued him on horse back, brought him back, took care he made no further attempt to escape, issued an encouraging proclamation in his name, posted off a special messenger to the Collector of Saharanpur, explaining the circumstances and begging that some competent officer might be sent to take charge of the district, and till this officer arrived, carried on the administration with the utmost vigour.

When that officer came, the non-fighting Collector was safely guided to Meerut, whence with the earliest convoy he found his way down country, sailed for England, and India knew him no more.

So it is not always the Native gentleman who runs away or shows incapacity in moments of danger for high executive office, and it is not always the English gentleman, even when, like the officer I have referred to, he comes of a blue-blooded stock, who is able to rise to the occasion.

The fact is—and this is what I, who claim to have had better opportunities of forming a correct opinion than most men now living, desire to urge—there is no such radical difference between Indians and Britons as it too generally flatters these latter to suppose. The colour of the skins differs, and the ways and methods of thought of the two races, both descended from the same ancestral stock, have also come, under the pressure of different environments, to differ during the lapse of long ages, but at the bottom their hearts are much the same.

Each race exhibits in a greater degree of development virtues and vices which are less prominent in the other, but if both races be judged impartially, and all pros and cons be fairly set down on both sides, there is very little ground for giving the preference to either. If you compare the highest and best of our Indians with the ordinary men of the rabble in England, these latter seem little better than monkeys beside grand men. If you compare the picked Englishmen we often get in India,

trained and elevated by prolonged altruistic labours, and sobered and strengthened by weighty responsibilities, with the ordinary rabble of India, the former shine out like gods amongst common mortals. But if you fairly compare the best of both, though each class will exhibit excellencies and defects less noticeable in the other, neither can as a whole be justly said to be better or worse than the other.

No doubt amongst India's 250 millions there are only too many of whom no good report can be made, and these being the men who chiefly fawn upon and strive to curry favour with Europeans, are those by whom these latter mostly gauge the national character; but, may I ask, are there any lack of similar ne'er-do-wells, even amongst the 30 millions of Britons?

The whole misconception arises from the habit Englishmen in India have acquired of regarding only the blackest side of the Indian and the brightest side of the English character, and from their theories as to the capacities of the two races being based on a consideration of the worst specimens of the one and the best specimens of the other.

If only they could free themselves from race and class bias, and consider the two races as a whole with absolute impartiality, then all their honest, though erroneous, apprehensions as to the results of a much more extended employment of Indians in even the highest offices of the State would disappear, and all the best men amongst them at any rate would be as eager to promote as they are now to prevent this necessary and just measure.

If it be asked how it comes that I stand almost alone amongst Englishmen in India in supporting this view, my reply, egotistical as it must seem, is that I really know more about the Indian community than most Englishmen; and to all I have already said as to my opportunity for acquiring such knowledge, I would add this, that ever since I left the service I have made it the business of my life to go round the entire country and visit and associate, on terms of perfect and most friendly equality, with all the ablest and best Indians in every Presidency and Province, and all India will endorse this fact.

Whether my countrymen will at all heed these words of mine, spoken in all love

alike for them and their Indian brethren, I know not, though I do know that while I am giving all my time and fortune to promote wise and timely reforms, as essential in their own interests (could they only realise the true facts of the case) as in those of my adopted country, they as a rule denounce me as a dangerous lunatic or a pestilent breeder of evils, forgetting that I am now an old man, with nothing to gain, nothing to look forward to, nothing to hope for save, if it may be, to effect some little good for all my brethren of all races ere I go hence and am no more seen; but whether they give ear to my

pleadings or not, I think that they must be at least just enough to own that, after the experiences I have detailed, (and I have not touched upon a tittle of those that I have met with), of courage, fidelity, nobleness, and administrative capacity in Native gentlemen of all classes and castes and creeds, I should be base indeed and altogether unworthy of my English origin, did I not raise my feeble voice in protest when these qualities are denied to Indians, and do all that in me lies to make others understand what my very exceptional opportunities of learning the truth, and the whole truth, have made clear to me.

THE ACTS OF THE POLISH NATION AND OF THE POLISH PILGRIMS

By ADAM MICKIEWICZ.

[*Introductory Note*:—In a series of articles which will appear in the pages of the "Modern Review", by the courtesy of the Editor, I purpose to place before our countrymen an account of the history, the literature and the present condition of Poland. The Poles, perhaps the most persecuted people in the world, excepting the Jews, have clung with passionate tenacity to their love of their motherland. And it may be said with perfect truth that they alone of all European peoples have succeeded in evolving a true conception of nationality, which in certain ways is superior even to the nationalism of Mazzini. They have risen several times without success against their Russian, German and Austrian rulers, and it was principally during the stirring period of the rising of 1830-31 that Poland produced a wonderful group of writers, among whom the most famous were the poets Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Krasinski, who breathed a lofty spirit of patriotism that stands unrivalled in any of the literatures of Europe. One of the greatest factors in their national life has been the intimate relation between their political ideals and their religious faith. The images of Christ and of the Virgin Mary

are deeply engraved in the soul of the people, and, in the darkest periods of their sufferings, they have never lost the messianic vision of ultimate deliverance from bondage to preach the message of peace and good will.

Before commencing my articles on Poland, I have thought it advisable to give a translation of the *Book of the Polish Pilgrim*, a small work written in poetic prose of Biblical simplicity by the greatest national poet of Poland, Adam Mickiewicz. In order to understand this work rightly, it must be remembered that though Mickiewicz appears to be a narrow-minded Christian aiming at the liberty and brotherhood of Christian nations only, we shall miss the whole political significance of his teaching if we fail to realize the exalted spirit in which he has likened the passion, and resurrection of the Polish nation to the passion and resurrection of Christ.

The *Book of the Polish Pilgrims* was written and published in Paris in 1832 for the benefit of the thousands of patriots who had to flee from Poland owing to the terrible persecution which followed the rising of 1830-31. The opinion has often been expressed that this book will not appeal to

any reader outside Poland. But it was admired in France by great men of letters like Victor Hugo. It is a pathetic testimony to the inspiration of Mickiewicz's little work that copies were found on the dead bodies of Poles who fell in the war of Russia against Japan—in a cause which was not theirs and in which they had to fight under the orders of their inhuman Russian rulers.

The work is divided into two parts; the first is the "Book of the Polish Nation" and the second the "Book of the Polish Pilgrims".—V. C.]

I.

THE BOOK OF THE POLISH NATION.

From the beginning of the world to the martyrdom of the Polish Nation.

IN the beginning there were in the world Faith in one God, and Liberty. There was no law except the will of God. And there were neither masters nor slaves, but merely patriarchs and their children.

But one half of the human race became the slaves of the other half, although they proceeded from the same father. For they denied this descent, and gave unto themselves all kinds of fathers; some believing themselves the offspring of the earth, others of the sea, and others of diverse elements.

And as in the course of this mutual strife, they became slaves of one another, they all fell under the yoke of the Emperor of Rome.

The Emperor of Rome had himself called god, and proclaimed that there was in the universe no law but his own will; whatever he shall approve shall be lawful, and whatever he shall disapprove shall be unlawful.

And he found some philosophers who applied themselves to proving that the Emperor in acting thus acted rightly.

And the Emperor of Rome had neither beneath him nor above him anything that he respected.

And all the world became his slave, and there never was the like servitude in the world before or after, except in the Russia of our days.

For even among the Turks, the Sultan has to respect the law of Mohamammad, and

cannot give it his own interpretation. For this there are the Imams.

Whereas the Tsar of Russia is the supreme head of the Faith, and that which he orders to be believed must be believed.

And it came to pass that slavery extending itself all over the world, finally reached its limit. Just as at the winter solstice the night and the darkness attain their apogée, so during the bondage to the Romans arose a turning-point in slavery.

At that time the Son of God, Jesus Christ, came on earth to teach that all men are equal and brothers, being children of one and the same God.

And that he alone is great among men who serveth them and devoteth himself to their welfare. The better a man is, the more ought he to sacrifice himself for them. And Christ being best of all, sacrificed his blood by the most cruel sufferings.

Thus did Christ teach that nothing is worthy of respect on earth—neither human wisdom, nor power, nor riches, but only the sacrifice of self for the welfare of others.

That he who sacrificeth himself upon the altar of his fellowmen findeth wisdom and riches and the crown of heaven and of earth, through all ages and in all places.

And he who sacrificeth others to himself for obtaining wisdom, power and riches, findeth nothing but folly, misery and perdition on earth, in hell and everywhere.

And finally Christ said:—"He who followeth me will be saved, for I am all Justice and all Truth." And while Christ taught thus, the judges who judged Him in the name of the Roman Emperor were afraid and said to themselves:—"We have banished justice from the earth, but lo! now it returns; let us kill it and bury it."

So they crucified the most holy and most innocent of men; they placed Him in a tomb and cried—"There is no more justice or truth on earth; who will now dare to oppose the Emperor of Rome?"

But this was a senseless cry. For they knew not that in committing the greatest of crimes they had filled up to the brim the cup of their iniquities, and their power ended at the moment of their greatest security.

For Christ rose again, and after having destroyed the Emperors, He planted His cross on their capital. Then the masters liberated their slaves and recognized them

as brothers; and kings anointed in the name of God recognized above them a divine law, and justice appeared again on earth.

And all the peoples who had received the faith, the Germans as well as the Italians, the French as well as the Poles, regarded themselves as one people, and this people was named Christianity.

And the kings of the various peoples looked upon one another as brothers, and marched under the common standard of the Cross.

And this war in Asia was known as the Crusades.

And though it was neither the love of glory nor the thirst for conquests nor for riches that led the Christians to make war, but only the deliverance of the Holy Land, God rewarded them with glory, with vast domains, with riches and with wisdom. Europe became enlightened, organized and rich. And God recompensed her thus because she had sacrificed herself for the good of others.

And liberty spread in Europe step by step in an orderly and progressive manner. From kings liberty proceeded to the lords, and these being free transmitted it to the knights; and from the knights liberty passed to the towns; and in a short time it would have descended upon the people; and all Christendom would have been free, and all Christians as brothers, equal among themselves.

But the kings destroyed all....

And thus the Kings made for the French an idol which they called "Point of Honour," and this was the same idol which in pagan times was called the Golden Calf.

And in Spain the King made an idol which he called "Political Supremacy" or "National Preponderance," otherwise Force and Violence; and this was the same idol as the Assyrians had worshipped under the name of Baal, the Philistines under that of Dagon, and the Romans under that of Jupiter.

And in England the King made an idol which he called "the Sovereignty of the Seas and of Commerce," and this is the same idol as was formerly named Mammon.

And in Germany was made an idol which was called "Brod-sinn" or "Well-being,"

and this was the same idol as was in ancient times named Moloch and Comus.

And the people worshipped their idols.

And the King said to the French—"Arise and fight for Honour."

And they rose and fought for five hundred years.

And the King said to the English—"Arise and fight for Mammon."

So they rose and fought for five hundred years.

And the other nations fought likewise each for its own idol.

And the people forgot that they were the descendants of one and the same father. So the Englishman says, "I have for father a *Ship*, and for mother *Steam*." The Frenchman on the contrary says "I have for father the *Continent*, and for mother the *Exchange*." While the German says, "I have for father a *Work-shop*, and for mother a *Road-Side Inn*."

However, in Europe idolatry increased.

For the Italians created for themselves an idol which they called "Political Equilibrium". Now, this idol was unknown to the ancient idolaters, and the Italians were the first to build altars to it, and in fighting for it they became weakened and besotted and fell under the power of tyrants.

So the king of Prussia traced a circle and said—"Here is a new idol." And this circle was worshipped, and the cult was known as "Political Arrondissement (Division)."

And the peoples, who were created in the image of God, were henceforth considered as piles of stones or as timber-yards. They were hewn and mangled, so as to make each weigh as much as the rest. And a state which ought to have been the fatherland of men, was treated like metal to be cut up into round pieces of money.

And philosophers were found who became the apologists of the kings and of their doings.

Among these false prophets, priests of Baal, of Moloch, of "Equilibrium", there were two who were more notorious than the rest.

The first was named Macchiavelli, which signifies in Greek "greedy for war"—his doctrine leading to incessant wars like those of the Pagans of Greece.

The second lives still and is called "Ancillon," which in Latin means "son of a

slave"—his precepts ending in slavery such as used to exist among the Latins.

Finally, idolatrous Europe had three sovereigns—the first, named Frederick II of Prussia, the second, Catherine II of Russia, and the third Maria-Therèsa of Austria.

And this was a diabolical trinity opposed to the Holy Trinity. It was like a mockery, a profanation of all that was holy and sacred.

Frederick, whose name means "the pacific", devised wars and acts of brigandage all his life, and was like Satan who would breathe the war everywhere, and in derision have himself called Jesus Christ, or God of Peace.

Now, this Frederick, in contempt of the ancient orders of chivalry, instituted an impious order to which he gave the ironic device "*Suum cuique*", that is to say, "render to each man his right". This order was borne by his valets, who pillaged and devastated the property of others.

And this Frederick, in mockery of wisdom wrote a book to which he gave the title "*The Anti-Machiavel*" or the "*Adversary of Machiavelli*", whereas he himself acted in accordance with the doctrines of Machiavelli.

Again, Catherine signifies in Greek "the chaste", whereas she was the most impure of women; just as though the lewd Venus had taken the name of Vestal.

And this Catherine appointed a council destined to frame a code of laws which was really a mockery of all jurisprudence, for she herself destroyed and violated all the rights of her fellow-beings.

And this Catherine had it announced that she favoured liberty of religion, but this was a mockery of all tolerance, for she had constrained several millions of her fellowmen to change their religion.

Likewise, Maria-Therèsa bore the name of the humble and immaculate Mother of the Saviour—in derision of all humility and all purity.

For she was a demon full of arrogance and ever warring to make herself mistress of other's property.

And she was full of impiety, for while mumbling prayers and confessing, she reduced millions of her fellowmen to slavery.

And Joseph of Austria led his own mother

into sin, and robbed of its liberty the Polish nation who had saved his empire from slavery to the Ottomans.

The names of these three rulers, Frederick, Catherine and Maria-Therèsa, are three blasphemies; their lives three crimes; their memories three curses.

Now, this trinity seeing that the nations were not yet sufficiently brutalized and corrupted, made a new idol, the most hideous of all, and named this idol "*Egoism*"; which even the idolaters of antiquity had not known.

And the peoples debased themselves to such a level that there was to be found among them no more than one man, citizen and soldier.

This man counselled them to desist from wars of *Egoism*, but rather to go and defend the liberty of their neighbours. And he himself went to fight in the land of liberty—in America. The name of this man is Lafayette, and he is the last of the men of Europe who practised what is still the spirit of devotion, debris of the Christian spirit.

All the peoples, however, worshipped *Egoism*.

But the Polish nation was the only one that did not worship the new idol at all. There was not a single word in the Polish language to consecrate it, or for baptizing its worshippers whose very name "*egoistes*" is French.

The Polish nation adored God, knowing that in doing so it rendered homage to all that is good.

The Polish nation, then, remained faithful to the God of its fathers from beginning to end.

Its kings and its warriors never assailed any Christian nation; but they defended Christendom against idolaters and barbarians, who sought to reduce it to servitude.

And the kings of Poland went to distant lands for the defence of the faithful; King Ladislas to Varna, and King Jean under the walls of Vienna for the defence of the East and of the West.

Now, never did its kings and its men seize the lands of its neighbours; but, on the contrary, admitted them to their fraternal communion in uniting themselves to them by the benefits of faith and of liberty.

And God rewarded them, for a great people, Lithuania, came to unite herself to Poland as a bride to her husband—two souls in one body. And never before had there been a like union of peoples; but there will be later.

For this union and this marriage of Lithuania and Poland is the symbol of the future union of all Christian peoples, in the name of faith and of liberty.

And God accorded unto the kings of Poland and the defenders of liberty the right to call one another brothers, the richest even as the poorest. And never had there been such liberty on earth; but there will be later.

And the kings and the warriors received into their fraternity more and more people, and often entire legions and entire tribes. And the number of brothers became as great as a whole nation. And among no nation were there so many free men calling themselves brothers as among the Poles.

And finally on the 3rd of May (1791) the king and the knights undertook to admit in to their fraternity all Poles; the bourgeois first, the peasants after.

And they were called "*Slachta*"* or nobles because they ennobled themselves in becoming brothers of "*Lach*", all men equal and free.

And they wished that every Christian in Poland should be ennobled and called *Slachcic*,...

And finally Poland said "Whosoever shall come unto me shall be free and shall be the equal of all, for I am LIBERTY."

But the kings having learned of this, groaned within their hearts and said, "We have chased Liberty from the land, and lo! it returns in the person of a just nation, which offers no sacrifices to our idols; let us go and slay this nation." And they conspired among themselves a great betrayal.

First came the King of Prussia, who embraced Poland and saluted her saying "My Ally." But he had already sold her for thirty towns of the Duchy of Poland, even as Judas had sold Christ for thirty pieces of pure silver.

And the other two kings threw themselves upon Poland, hand-cuffed her, and the

* "*Lach*" was the primitive name of Poland. "*Slachta*" = Z-Lach-ta—Companion of Lach.

Gaul who was judge said, "In truth, I find no crime in this nation; and my bride, France, timid woman, is tormented by bad dreams. However, seize this nation and put it to death by torture."

He spoke and washed his hands of it. And the ruler of France said, "Our blood and our gold cannot buy back this man; for just as my money and my blood belong only to me, even so the blood and the money of my nation belong only to my nation."

And this ruler uttered the last blasphemy against Christ; for Christ taught that the blood of the son of Man belongs to all men, His brothers.

And from the moment the ruler had uttered these words, all the crosses fell down from the heights of the towers of the impious capital. For the sign of Christ could not illumine a people who worshipped the idol of Egoism.

This man was called Kasimir—Perrier, whose baptismal name was Slav and family-name Roman. His baptismal name expresses corrupter or destroyer of peace, and his family name derived from the word "perire," to perish, signifies one who loses himself and loses others. And this double name is that of Anti-Christ, and it will be cursed among the Slav race as well as among the Roman.

And this man tore up the alliance of the peoples, as formerly the Hebrew pontiff had torn his robe on hearing the voice of the dying Christ.

And the Polish nation was put to death and laid in its grave and the kings exclaimed "Now have we slain Liberty!"

But this cry was senseless, for in committing the last crime, they had heaped up the measure of their iniquities, and their power ended then, just as their rejoicings increased.

For the Polish nation is not dead. Its body rests within the sepulchre and its soul has descended from the earth, *i.e.*, from political life, to the limbs, *i.e.*, to the private life of the peoples who endure slavery, in the country or outside the country, in order to bear witness to their sufferings.

And on the third day the soul is to return to its body, and the nation will arise and deliver all the European peoples from slavery.

Two days have already passed. The first day ended with the first capture of Warsaw ; and the second day ended with the second capture of Warsaw. The third day now rises, but it will never end.

And just as after the resurrection of Christ, bloody sacrifices ceased to be offered throughout the earth, so will wars cease in Christendom after the resurrection of the Polish nation.

BOOK II.

THE BOOK OF THE POLISH PILGRIMS.

The Polish pilgrims are the soul of the Polish nation.

And no Pole in pilgrimage calls himself a refugee, for a refugee is a man who runs away to save his life from the hands of the enemy.

Nor does the Pole call himself an exile, for an exile is a man banished by a decree of his own magistrates, and it is by no means his own magistrates who have exiled the Pole.

The Pole in pilgrimage has not yet his own proper name ; but this will be given to him in due time, just as the name of the confessors of Christ was given to them in due time.

And meanwhile the Pole calls himself a pilgrim, because he has taken a vow to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, that is, to emancipated Poland ; and to pursue his course till he finds it.

But the Polish nation is not of the divine essence like Christ. So its soul during its pilgrimage in its place of sojourn, might go astray, and the day of its resurrection and of its new incarnation be thus retarded.

Let us, therefore, read over and over again the Testament of Christ,

And the following instructions and parables which a Polish pilgrim has gathered together from the lips and from the writings of Polish Christians, martyrs and pilgrims.

I

Several vessels of war and a small barque of fishermen were crossing the ocean, when there blew a stormy autumn gale. In such times, the larger a vessel, the more insubmersible it is ; the smaller it is, the greater the danger it runs.

The men who were on the shore said among themselves, "Happy are the mariners of the big vessels ! Woe betide the

men of a fishing-barque in an autumn storm !"

But the men on the shore saw not that on board the great vessels the sailors were drunk and mutinous, that they had destroyed the instruments by means of which the pilot observes the stars and had thrown the compass into the sea. The vessels, however, seemed quite as seaworthy as ever.

But being no longer able to guide themselves by the stars, and being deprived of the needle, the great vessels lost their way and were drowned.

And the barque of fishermen which guided itself by the heavens and by the needle, did not deviate from the right course, and so gained the shore : and though it was damaged against the cliffs, the men were saved together with the instruments and the compass. And they reconstructed their barque.

And it became evident that the size and the strength of ships are useful, but that without the stars and the compass they are of no value whatsoever.

The star of the pilgrims is divine Faith ; and their compass is love of their country.

The star shines for all the world, and the magnetic needle points ever to the north. And with this compass one may set sail for the East as for the West, and without it even the Arctic Ocean is full of perils and shipwrecks.

Therefore, with love and with faith, the boat of the Polish pilgrims will reach its destination ; and without faith and without love, the peoples who are powerful in arms will drift and be shipwrecked, and those who survive will not reconstruct the vessel.

II

Why should your nation be the heir to the future liberty of the world ?

You know that a man who has many relations leaves his fortune not to that one among them who distinguishes himself by his strength, nor to the one who is the most industrious, nor to the one who gives proof of thirst and of a good appetite.

But he leaves it to the one whom he loves more than the others, and who remains by his side when the others run after sumptuous living, after profit or pleasure.

This is the reason why your nation will receive the heritage of liberty.

Why has the promise of resurrection been given to your nation?

It is not because your nation was powerful; for the Romans were even more powerful; they are dead and will never revive.

It is not because your Republic was ancient and famous; for Genoa and Venice were more ancient and more famous; they are dead and will never revive.

It is not because your nation flourished in the sciences; for Greece, mother of philosophers, is dead; and she remained buried until she had forgotten all her philosophy, and when she had again become ignorant, she began to give signs of life.

And the kingdoms of Westphalia, of Italy and of Holland were highly enlightened—kingdoms which you have seen born and die before your very eyes, without their ever reviving.

But *you* will raise yourself from the tomb, because you are believers, and full of hope and love.

You know that the first dead man to whom Christ gave back life was Lazarus.

And Christ brought back to life neither a general in the army, nor a philosopher, nor a merchant, but Lazarus.

And Scripture says that Christ loved him, and the only man that Christ wept for was Lazarus.

And which among all the peoples is today to be likened unto Lazarus?

III

Polish Pilgrim! you used to be rich, but behold! now you suffer poverty and misery—so that you may learn what is meant by poverty and misery, and so that on coming to your own you may be able to say "The poor and the needy are my co-heirs."

Pilgrim! you used to make your own laws and were entitled to a crown, but lo! now you have been placed outside the law on foreign soil—so that you may know what is meant by the absence of legal protection, and so that on coming to your own, you may be able to say, "The foreigners are my co-legislators."

Pilgrim! you possessed knowledge, but lo! now the sciences esteemed by you have become useless, while you recognize the worth of those that you despised—so that you may learn the value of all the science of this world, and, on your return to your own home, be able to say, "The simple are my fellow-disciples."

(To be continued.)

WITH RABINDRA IN ENGLAND

IN a former article, which appeared in the *Modern Review*, entitled 'Rabindra in London' I described my first meeting with the poet and the evening passed at the house of Mr. Rothenstein the Artist. Those who read that article will remember how W. B. Yeats, the most famous Irish poet of the day, recited to the small audience present a selection of Rabindra's translations taken mainly from 'Gitanjali.' It is interesting to me now to read the introduction to that book which Yeats has since written. Much that he told us during his recital on that memorable evening re-appears in the introduction. I remember especially two points. He spoke of the 'richness of the oriental imagery' and what he called the

'Renaissance' spirit of Rabindra,—the poet's joy in the fulness of life rather than in its self-emptying through the pathway of asceticism. He mentioned the story of the monk S. Bernard crossing the Alps and shutting his eyes to the beauties of nature lest they should beguile his soul. This, he said, was the opposite of Rabindra's spirit as revealed in the words,—

'In one salutation to thee, my God, let all my senses spread out and touch this world at thy feet.'

Yeats then went on to recite the rest of the poem, dwelling on the perfection of simplicity in its nature-imagery,—

'Like a rain cloud of July hung low with its burden of unshed showers let all my

mind bend down at thy door in one salutation to thee.'

He spoke of the vividness of the scene presented by a single touch of the master-hand, and quoted the two last stanzas, which are, if anything, even more perfect in their imagery,—

'Let all my songs gather together their diverse strains into a single current and flow to a sea of silence in one salutation to thee.'

'Like a flock of homesick cranes flying night and day back to their mountain nests let all my life take its voyage to its eternal home in one salutation to thee.'

As Yeats recited these and other verses I could not help feeling that his comments, generous and appreciative as they were, did not go to the central mystery of Rabindra's greatness. He seemed somewhat obsessed by his idea of what was 'oriental'—a dangerous theme for one who knows the East only through books. The fact, the outstanding fact, was rather this, that Rabindra is universal,—Indian, oriental, it is true, but none the less universal, as Shakespeare and the Hebrew Prophets are universal. Again, the comparison with the 'Renaissance' spirit seemed to me to miss the mark. The Renaissance spirit was more or less pagan; it leapt forward to the embrace of beauty too often at the sacrifice of moral purity. Rabindra was of the company of the 'pure in heart' who 'see God.' His joy in nature came through this inner purity: this inner purity had its source in a renunciation which the Renaissance spirit recklessly refused to undergo, as it fed greedily from the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge.

But indeed, as W. B. Yeats said quite truly, Rabindra needed no interpreter. He was his own best interpreter, appealing direct to the heart.

The room where we were seated looked out upon the myriad evening lights of the great city of London which lay below. We could feel the 'mighty heart' of the world's capital, not 'lying still', as Wordsworth felt it that morning on Westminster Bridge, but throbbing with tumultuous pulsings. I sat at the window in the dusk of the long summer evening as Rabindra's poems were read slowly one by one. Far down below was the seething multitude hurrying hither

and thither, some bent upon the mad round of money-making and pleasure, others worn out with anxiety and suffering; some dressed in purple and fine linen like Dives, others like Lazarus sunk in poverty and rags. What a restless life it was! And here in this room above was being delivered a simple message from a human heart, which breathed peace to the troubled soul, and high courage in the face of death; a message which spoke truly and tenderly of the intimate closeness of the Presence of God. Thousands of miles of distance, countless ages of tradition, extreme contrasts of climate, separated Rabindra from the English people. Yet the human heart is one; and his message would be as true for them, and win its way among them, as it had already found an entrance into the love and affection of Bengal. It would do this, I could prophecy, because it was simple, because it was pure, because it was universal. With such thoughts as these I sat and listened till nearly midnight and then took my departure.

I remember how immeasurably happy I was that night as I went away. The new wine of Rabindra's poetry had intoxicated me. I had only seen tiny extracts before; but the recital which I had heard that evening was the full measure, pure and undiluted. It was an experience something not unlike that of Keats, when he came for the first time upon Chapman's translation of Homer,—

'Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken,
Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific,—and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise,—
Silent upon a peak in Darien.'

I walked back along the side of Hampstead Heath with H. W. Nevinson but spoke very little. I wanted to be alone and think in silence of the wonder and the glory of it all. When I had left Nevinson I went across the Heath. The night was cloudless and there was something of the purple of the Indian atmosphere about the sky, which made my mind travel thither. The stars looked down in silence as if longing to speak and to sympathise. There all alone, I could at last think out the wonder of it,—the wonder of the unity of the universal human heart, the mystery of the One

Spirit of the human race. Cold words they seem as I put them down on paper—an empty truism some one might call them. Yet Rabindra that night had made them no cold, empty truism to me, but a burning reality. And therefore I needed solitude to work into thought, and store in memory, the emotions that had been stirred.

I heard of Rabindra after that from time to time,—his being 'lionized' by London literary men, the public dinners that had been given in his honour, the public recitation of his poems which had taken place whereat he was obliged himself to be present.

I rejoiced at the honours which were heaped upon him : I was delighted to think of the new glory he had brought to India, his Motherland ; but I could not help being at the same time a little anxious. From all that I had seen of him that evening I could feel how burdensome to his retiring nature this open glare of the world's praise must be. His fame, to quote Milton's words, was

No plant that grows on mortal soil
Nor in the glistering foil
Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies,
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
And perfect witness of all judging Jove.

The physical strain of all that was happening, I also felt, would be very great and he had come to England for health.

I could not rest without seeing him again, and made a special journey from Cambridge to London for that purpose. I found that my surmise was true. He was looking ill and worn and he told me he could not bear the strain much longer. "*I must get away*," he said to me, with pathetic emphasis, "*I must get quiet*. I have been used so much to quiet, I cannot bear this. People are very kind. But this publicity is drying up all that is in me. *I must get away and rest and be quiet*."

I told him of a personal friend of my own who was living in the beautiful, unspoilt English country, miles away from any town or railway station, and asked him to come with me and stay there. I spoke of my friend's little children who would welcome him and the simple villagers of the countryside such as Wordsworth loved. His eyes lighted up, and he promised me to come and remain through the whole month of

August. In a few days I went down again to London to accompany him on the journey. His daughter-in-law also went with us. It was the Bank Holiday season and Euston Station was a maelstrom of traffic. With the greatest difficulty I managed to find seats for my companions. I noticed that all through the long train journey Rabindra sat, with his eyes closed, wrapt in meditation. At Stafford we had to change our train and passed into another whirl of traffic. But the trying journey was over at last and we were met at the station by my friend. The rain was pouring down in torrents and during a great part of the next few days the storms continued. Principal Rudra and his daughter were staying at the house and gave the poet a true Bengali welcome. With our host and hostess Rabindra was at once at ease. He was supremely happy also with their children, who made friends with him from the very first as if by instinct. He was most attached to a baby boy, my own godson, who would consent to be nursed by him long before he would go to me. The baby's eyes would look into the poet's face with a solemn wonderment, and then his mouth would break into a smile as he pulled Rabindra's beard and played with him. They were never tired of one another,—the baby and the poet.

The villagers were at first surprised to see Rabindra among them in his Bengali dress which he never abandoned. He would bow to them courteously as he passed, and very soon the strangeness of his presence passed away and they began to talk with him and greet him as he went by. He went into their homes and into the village school and church, and became for the time being a part of the village life. He loved to go walks, when it was fine, along the country lanes and across the fields. From the first day onwards his spirit revived. As Tennyson said of Hallam,—

He shook to all the liberal air
The dust and din and steam of town.

To me it was a golden time, a time of the growth of a deep reverence and affection about which I scarcely dare to speak. I understood the heart of India in those days as I had never done before. In the evening, when the children had gone to rest and our meal was ended, he would sing

us his own songs in Bengali, telling us beforehand what their subject was. We were all 'India-lovers' in that circle. My friend had only been prevented by ill health from coming out to India as one of the Cambridge University Brotherhood in Delhi. We would talk about India and ask questions of the poet to our hearts' content. The subject that was most often on Rabindra's lips was his school at Bolpur and the boys he had left behind there. They were always uppermost in his thoughts. On other nights he would play games with us, enjoying them as heartily as the youngest of the party. The early morning, up till breakfast time, he spent in the quiet of his own room.

The days went by all too quickly and I was obliged to leave for a week-end to give a lecture to University Extension students in Cambridge hoping to return and find him still there. But this was not to be. The weather became suddenly almost as cold as winter, and the rain was incessant. The village was a thousand feet above the sea and exposed to the wind. The air proved too bleak for Rabindra and he was advised by the doctor to go south. He went to Mr. Rothenstein's country house in Gloucestershire where the air was much warmer. In September he was obliged to return again to London and lived close to South Kensington Station.

During the remainder of Rabindra's time in England he went continually to Mr. Rothenstein's studio in Hampstead to sit for his portrait. A very beautiful pencil drawing by the artist is reproduced in the English edition of *Gitanjali*. The volume itself is dedicated to W. Rothenstein, and deservedly so, for he was the originator of the proposal that it should be published and did much to further it. He has shown also in a thousand ways his devotion to India and India's greatest poet. In one of Mr. Rothenstein's pictures the figure of Rabindra is placed among a stream of pilgrims. He is the leader of the band. The figure is very beautiful indeed. The large portrait also, which is now finished, is full of feeling and delicacy and beauty. The soul of the artist is in every line of the work. Mr. Rothenstein told me that, if it came out successfully, he would be ready to make a replica and present it to Calcutta. I saw

his original work when it was very near completion and there can be no doubt of its success. The subject is very simply arranged. The background is a pale greenish hue, devoid of any ornament or line. The poet is seated in meditation. He wears an ochre robe, placed loosely in folds round his shoulders. His eyes are gazing into the distance with a far away look. His hands are folded. I was often in London during September and the first part of October and used to go with Rabindra to Mr. Rothenstein's studio at Hampstead, and watch the painting as it grew under the artist's hand. Mr. Rothenstein would talk, as he worked, about his one visit to India which had made such an impression upon his life and given him his first introduction to the poet.

It is a strange thing,—I cannot yet account for it clearly to myself, but it is true,—that there are some rare spirits who come to India from the West and at once enter into her life by a kind of instinct, becoming one with her in love. It is a case of love at first sight and very wonderful to witness. Sister Nivedita was one of these; Mr. Rothenstein is another. This instinct of affection is immediately returned by Indians themselves. Love answers in full measure to love. In what deep region of the sub-conscious mind lies this latent affection that is ready to kindle in a moment? Psychologists may never be able to tell us; but, wherever it may be, it points, I believe, to the underlying unity of India and Europe; to a common ancestry in the prehistoric past which gives this immediate and singular sense of kinship to-day.

Matthew Arnold has given for all time the splendid simile of the islands which once formed one continent though now parted asunder. They still, he says, feel deep down beneath the surface the links of the common rock foundations binding them together:—

Yes! in the sea of life enisled
With echoing straits between us thrown
Dotting the shoreless watery wild
We mortal millions live alone . . .
But when the moon their hollows lights,
And they are swept by balms of spring,
And in their glens on starry nights
The nightingales divinely sing . . .
Oh! then a longing like despair
Is to their farthest caverns sent,

For surely once, they feel, we were
Parts of a single continent.

May it not be that, among nations once sprung from a common stock, the ancient ties of kinship still survive beneath the surface? May it not be that in each generation there are some spirits whose latent instincts are suddenly roused by contact with a new, yet kindred world of thought and feeling,—a world which is not really new but old as the hills? However this may be, there can be no doubt that those who have this instinct do more to bind the different peoples together than any other single cause.

I, for one, believe that this theory of soul-kinship in the past is far truer than the shallow misquotation of Rudyard Kipling's verse about the East and West never meeting. They are visibly meeting every day, and these strange stirrings of mutual recognition are coming more and more to the surface. They may find even clearer expression if only they are not stifled by insular prejudice on the one hand and the reaction of resentment on the other.

I have dwelt upon this point at some length, because it came home to me with over-whelming force, from the Indian side, in the case of Rabindra himself. He seemed to appreciate by instinct and to love at first sight the best English characteristics. No word ever fell from his lips of hasty criticism of what he saw around him. He had come across the seas to understand the good in English life, and he saw it with open vision. As an immediate result of this, there were few Englishmen who met him who were not at once attracted by him. A kinship of spirit seemed to spring up of its own accord between him and them. A beautiful instance of this was that of an old invalid inmate of the house in South Kensington where the poet lived. The old man used to sit outside the door in the sunshine, when at rare intervals during last year's wet summer the sun appeared. Rabindra never passed him without a kindly word and the old man's face would light up with pleasure as he saw him coming and he would keep him by his side as long as he could in conversation. The other inmates of the house meant little to the lonely old invalid, but Rabindra's presence was like a ray of

human sunshine. This spiritual kinship is not, of course, so difficult to account for in one whose nature is so wide and all embracing as Rabindra's, but it is noteworthy all the same as an expression of the truth I am trying to emphasise.

Another point also comes out clearly about which great misunderstanding exists. Those who love India passionately, as Sister Nivedita did, are accused of changing their nature, of 'Indianising' themselves, as though that were the secret of their attraction. In reality nothing could be further from the truth. The Englishman, who possesses this instinct of attraction for India, is not less English on that account. The best sides of his English nature expand, rather than contract. In the same way the Indian who learns to appreciate England to the full, by sympathy and love, does not become less Indian, but rather the reverse. Rabindra in England was Indian to the heart's core. Who could doubt it for a moment? But he seemed instinctively to go at once to the heart of true English life, and to be able to make English nature expand and unfold itself in response to his presence, whether in the homes of the cultured or in the dwelling of the simple poor.

My short furlough in England was fast drawing to its close. I was due to leave for Marseilles by the middle of October. I stayed for a time with Mrs. Gupta and my good friend Major Sinha and his family (who occupied a boarding home together at Ealing) in order to be near Rabindra during the last days. Mrs. Gupta was my hostess and told me to regard the house as my Indian home, where I could come and go without formality. I used to take her at her word and run up for a night from Cambridge, when any opportunity occurred, and call at South Kensington the next morning. The proofs of 'Gitanjali' were now coming in from the press, and I was able to go through them all twice over from beginning to end with Rabindra himself. This took up many mornings. In the afternoon we would meet at Mr. Rothenstein's house and then I would hurry away by the evening train back to Cambridge.

Rabindra told me much, during these last days, of his own life and of the history of the literature of his own country. From all that he thus told me, and from all that I saw

with my own eyes, I was able to understand both the truth concerning the poet's 'Renaissance' spirit which Yeats had described, and also the incompleteness of that description. Rabindra, it is true, rejoiced in the many-sidedness of human life to the full. Just as the play of dazzling sunlight was a joy to him, which he was never tired of watching: so the dazzling variety of the play of human life was to him an unending wonder and delight. On this side he is the true prophet of the Indian Renaissance with its bewildering play of new forces. But he is far more than this. Just as Shakespeare and Milton represented the Renaissance spirit of Europe, while reaching, each in his own way, the universal note beyond it: so also Rabindra, in his own way, reaches the universal, and is not merely a poet of the age.

As far as I am able instinctively to judge from my present knowledge, Rabindra appears to arrive at the universal, not like Shakespeare by many different roads, but always by the one pathway of simplicity. The simplest human affections, the child-heart of the young and innocent, the simplest domestic joys and sorrows, the purest and simplest yearnings of the soul for God,—these go to form the unity towards which Rabindra's poetic utterance is striving. This unity of pure simplicity I find in Gitanjali, and the message is for England as well as India; for the centuries to come as well as the present age. It is a universal spirit, not a Renaissance spirit only.

The last day came. I was feeling tired and ill and worn out, for the strain of incessant engagements and journeyings to and fro had been very great, but the hours spent with him that day will never fade from my memory. We worked together at the book all the morning till the time came for me to pay some farewell calls at the India Office. In the afternoon we met again at Mr. Rothenstein's. Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal was there also and my meeting with him gave an added happiness to the day. I

had long wished to meet him and had admired him at a distance for his great and massive learning. Now the opportunity had been given me at last to see him face to face. The afternoon wore on. We were seated near the window looking down upon the mist and smoke that rose above the labyrinth of London streets. Here and there a church spire lifted itself above the mist and the great buildings of the centre of the city loomed in the distant haze. But we ourselves were back in thought in India speaking together of the past and present and looking forward to the future. I was urging Rabindra, when he returned, to let me teach him to read Homer and the Greek Classics; and I was promising him in my turn to get forward with Bengali so that he might be able to teach me to appreciate his own poems in the original. As far as I was able to judge, the poetry of Homer and the great Greek dramatists, representing the Aryan spirit in one of its earliest phases would appeal to Rabindra's own spirit.

In three weeks' time Rabindra was intending to be in America and I should be back at Delhi. More than ten thousand miles of sea and land would have separated us. Yet so wonderful is the ease of modern travel that we talked on as if we should be only a few hours distant and could meet as a matter of course.

We had tea with Mrs. Rothenstein. The children came in and ran at once to greet Rabindra, who had become one of the family, loved specially by the children. All was fun and merriment for the time being. Then a few more words of intimate talk together and the time had come for me to leave for Cambridge. We said farewell again and again, and he gave me the assurance of his affection. I was humbled to the dust with the knowledge that his friendship had been granted to me, and all the weariness and tiredness I had felt throughout the day had vanished in the joy which that knowledge brought with it.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CHAIRS AND READERSHIPS

AN "esteemed correspondent" who is evidently competent to speak on the subject thus pathetically gives expression to his feelings in the columns of the *World and New Dispensation* on the newly created university chairs and readerships:—

"We have here a grand, if somewhat expensive programme and if only our young men could or would take advantage of it, we should see a Calcutta School of Pure Mathematics and of Indian Historical Research in a very few years. I am afraid, however, the procedure adopted by the Calcutta University is wholly beside the mark.

"These gentlemen will make some researches themselves. The lectures which Dr. Forsyth proposes to deliver, will moreover (so I understand) even deal with epoch-making discoveries—but, where shall we get the student that will benefit by and take advantage of them and devote himself to pursuits that they are intended to encourage? It seems to me that the University of Calcutta has failed to appreciate the almost pathetic anxiety, our students often show, shortly after they take their degrees, before the trials of life dull their higher intellectual aspirations to devote themselves to research! A more judicious use of their resources might have enabled work to be done that would have been a veritable asset to the intellectual life of the country. And I can only say, much as we appreciate the honour of having so distinguished a mathematician as University Reader, it is being too dearly bought in view of the strictly limited resources of our University.

"What is true of Pure Mathematics is still more emphatically true of Indian History. Sanskrit Researches by European scholars have not waited for the creation of a Calcutta University Chair. This University, therefore, is not called upon to encourage such research but it is called upon to encourage such research among its own students. And I hold that this will not be secured by the appointment of a much younger European *Savant* than Dr. Thibaut. I may note in passing, that Dr. Thibaut's contributions so far to Indian History have been *nil*, but that, perhaps, is a mere detail. What I am concerned with is the surest way of creating a school of Indian Historical Research in association with the University of Calcutta itself and for that the University has taken a step which, for seven long years, will preclude its making an effective provision."

We are entirely at one with the above writer's weighty remarks. We further learn from the notice issued by the Registrar that Dr. Forsyth will lecture only for one month from the 20th January, 1913 to 20th February following, and if our information is

correct the new university reader will be given £ 600 or Rs. 9,000 *plus* passage, &c., *i.e.*, close upon Rs. 12,000. "The lectures," we are told, "are intended mainly for the benefit of graduates engaged in research work or of those who wish to prosecute special studies in Mathematics". We ask in all seriousness how many such students will be forthcoming? Dr. Forsyth is certainly a name to conjure with. But how many will be able to follow him on the most abstruse subject of the "theory of functions of two complex variables?" Possibly none.

The appointment of Mons. Frechet to the Hardinge Chair of Higher Mathematics for 3 years at a salary of Rs. 15,000 per annum will, we are afraid, be productive of little good. There is no question of the eminent attainments of the French mathematician. The point is: how many will profit by his lectures? 99 per cent. of our students who attend the university lectures do so with a specific object, namely, the passing of an examination. We have already in our midst men like Dr. Cullis, Dr. D. N. Mallik or Dr. Syamadas Mukherjee, who are eminently qualified to teach. It might be urged that the time of these gentlemen is fully occupied with delivering ordinary lectures and that their routine work is not calculated to inspire or stimulate research. But the importation of the European professors at a prohibitive cost will not mend matters. Our students or at any rate the most intellectual portion of them are proverbially poor; what is really wanted is the foundation of fellowships for the most deserving scholars so that at the end of their academic career they may devote themselves to their favourite subjects and as the number of such young men is necessarily very limited they should be furnished with funds to proceed to Cambridge or to Germany and learn at the feet of eminent men who have made their mark and on their return they may be appointed as University Pro-

fessors. The University authorities seem to be anxious to dazzle the public at large by the glamour of some big names and to add to its prestige. But this is being secured at too dear a cost. We are going to pay too much for the whistle, as poor Richard would say. An American University with a Carnegie or a Rockefeller or any other multimillionaire at its back may indulge in the luxury of importing some specialists for a time but with our poor resources and still poorer materials to work upon we can ill afford to do it. Our resources are going to be frittered away in costly pageants.

The appointment of Dr. Thibaut to the chair of ancient Indian History appears to us to be still more exceptionable. The learned Doctor has won reputation as an authority on ancient Hindu Astronomy and Mathematics in general but we have not heard of any contributions of his to ancient Indian History and Epigraphy. Indeed, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar towers head and shoulders above him in this field; but probably he is precluded by his advanced age from undertaking any onerous duties. Moreover, Dr. Thibaut is bidding fair to be a septuagenarian and we doubt very much if he will be in a position to inspire and stimulate the spirit of research. In connection with the foundation of Chairs in our Universities another important consideration should not be overlooked. A European, however well-intentioned he may be, lives in India in a world of his own—there is a wide gulf separating him and his pupils. Outside the class-room there is very little intercourse between him and his students and therefore his personality counts for little; of Dr. Thibaut especially it has never been heard that he ever had any cordial and intimate relations with his students. He has been much too reserved.

To us it appears that the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate would have been better advised if they had confined their choice to indigenous products. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, C. I. E., has materially added to our knowledge of ancient India. His researches have filled up the gaps in many obscure and dark chapters in the pages of ancient Indian history and his discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal has elicited the admiration of European scholars. Professor Jadunath Sarkar's scholarly attainments in the field of the history of India in the Mogul period, specially under Aurangzib, are too well known to need recapitulation. His volumes on India under Aurangzib will, we venture to hope, be a unique production. Surely, a man like him ought to have been invited to fill a University Chair. Mediæval India should not have been excluded from the scope of studies.

As we have already said it should be the foremost aim of our Universities to encourage indigenous talents and from this point of view the claims of Dr. Ganesprasad, who is a devoted student of Mathematics, should not have been overlooked.

We have written the above more in sorrow than in anger. No Vice-Chancellor of an Indian University has ever acted more devotedly and whole-heartedly than Sir Asutosh. We know that the interests of his University are as near and dear to him as are the ruddy drops of his heart. But an imperative call of duty urges us to raise a voice of protest. Sir. A. T. Mukherji and his advisers have, we fear, taken a step in the wrong direction. The cry has been reiterated that our University is not a teaching University and now we are going to have one with a vengeance.

X. Y. Z.

EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH COLONIES

A few months ago, I had occasion to contribute a small article styled the "Indians in British Guiana" to the illustrated Hindi magazine "Saraswati." In

that contribution after giving a little description of the place, I pointed out the necessity of the emigration of educated Indians such as Barristers, Doctors and other highly educated

persons to the British colonies. Indeed I went so far as to extend an invitation for British Guiana to the abovementioned intending emigrants. After the appearance of that article and its reproduction in other vernacular papers a great number of letters were addressed to me from various places in India, but these were mostly from people who are unfit to do anything in their own country and therefore still less fit to achieve anything in foreign lands. Such persons are doomed to serve in the British colonies as indentured immigrants and the fate of these is far from desirable.

It is with the intention of warning these people and other ignorant and altogether uneducated people who fall victims to the cunning recruiting agents in India and thus unknowingly become deported for life (torn asunder by a distance of some ten thousand miles from their dearest and nearest relations to suffer a life of base servitude and misery) that I am writing these few lines. If the leaders of the country would take it into their heads to devise means to stop by agitation the present emigration system, which is nothing but semi-slavery, they would really relieve their fellow countrymen of a great distress; and will well deserve the gratitude of the hundreds of thousands of souls who daily suffer.

A brief description of the coolie-recruiting system in India is wanted here to enlighten our fellow countrymen how under their very noses thousands of their poor people are, so to say, kidnapped every day. In India there are recruiting offices in almost all large towns, the chief of them being Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, Ajmer, Benares, Muthra, Calcutta, etc. Here there are some people always roaming about in the streets (like birds-of-prey in the sky) looking very slyly for a suitable victim. As soon as they see an ignorant-looking, able-bodied and strongly-built young individual apparently without work—walking leisurely they approach him. Some questions are put as to the nature of his work in the town and if they find him a home-sick person and one trying to get any work he can, they entrap him there and then. He is taken to the nearest sweetmeat shop, offered sweets, milk, *puri* and fruits and promised work in Calcutta at twelve annas

per diem for it. Even an intelligent and educated person would not be able to refuse such a nice offer—not to speak of an ignorant villager who never in his life has handled a rupee even after working half a week or sometimes a full week. When these agents have caught a good many of such foolish victims, they send them to the Head Emigration Depot in Calcutta. Here they are kept till a sufficiently large number to make a ship-load is mustered up. In the meantime they are made to sign a bond (or make a cross if they can't read and write) and if any attempts are made to get away from the Depot (if any of them chance to know the real state of affairs) they are threatened with flogging and so have to keep their mouth shut.

I will omit the description of the way they are kept on the steamer and leave it to the imagination of your readers to think what kind of time a person can have when he is on board a vessel with a thousand or more people, all of whom are to sleep side by side, eat side by side and can scarcely have any room to move about.

After their arrival in the colonies they are all put up in the Immigration Depot and examined by the medical officer of health. The Immigration agent and his clerks now assign them to the various sugar plantations according to the demand of the planters and managers of those places.

After his advent on the estate the poor immigrant, gracefully called "a coolie" here comes to know the real nature of his work.

When he is face to face with the hard soil of the sugar fields, with a shovel fork and cutlass in his hand he realises what a fate awaits him for a long and monotonous period of five years. There is no consideration of birth or education. It is imperative that he should reach the field by six o'clock in the morning and so he must cook his food before that early hour. He must be an early riser and very hard worker. No pretence of sickness can help him to stay away from work. During the period of his indenture there are only 3 places for him—(1) The field with his implements of agriculture; (2) The Hospital, if he is seriously sick; or (3) The Prison, if he is an absentee.

No sensible man will complain of his con-

trymen being worked hard and made into good cultivators and agriculturists, but the insults and oppression that they are subjected to at the hands of the overseers, who are mostly London boys and half-castes from the colony, are unbearable. The filthy language that these so-called "Lords of all they survey" use is beyond all decency. Every kind of slummy word that can be imagined is used for these poor "coolies."

This is a brief description of the work and the treatment on the cane-fields. The wages paid and the general treatment at home are still worse and need commenting upon. There is no doubt that a hard-working and strong man can earn a shilling or twelve annas a day easily, but what is the value of these twelve annas in the colonies? To us even less than one-fourth the amount seems to have a higher comparative value in India than in the colonies. The prices of food stuffs and other necessities of life are so high that more than a shilling a day per head is required to keep body and soul together. For the information of the readers I am quoting some of the prices from a local daily paper:—

Potatoes	...	2 annas	per $\frac{1}{2}$ a seer
Rice	...	4 annas	per 1 seer.
Onions	...	3 annas	per $\frac{1}{2}$ seer.
Flour	...	4 annas	per 1 seer.
Dal	...	4 annas	per $\frac{1}{2}$ seer.
Masala	...	6 annas	per $\frac{1}{2}$ seer.
Ghee	...	14 annas	per $\frac{1}{2}$ seer.

Now one can imagine what a shilling of 12 annas means in those places. Sometimes when the dry weather is prolonged the prices of the provisions increase immensely and the wages remain the same. If any attempts are made to approach the planters or managers to lay any grievances before them, nothing is materially done to redress them. If the starving "coolies" show any unwillingness to work or resent their treatment by the estate authorities and try to approach the Immigration Agent General, they are treated as rioters and agitators. In some cases they are shot and have to sacrifice a soul or two out of their ranks, if not more, as in the recent Lusignan Riot case. Any ringleaders, if at all selected, are

sent to prison and flogged (for such is the law about the immigrants) for creating a riot. Lately some cases of complaints about the wages have become too frequent and so the number of persons punished has also increased. So far as the civilized world is concerned flogging is considered as barbarous and antiquated but still one sees it here and Indians are the victims. This reminds us of the old days of slavery, but such is the lot of immigrants in these days of light too.

I have to say only a few words more about the general treatment meted out to them, their religion, their Hindu law of marriage and inheritance of property, and their wives and children. Their religion is paganism (so attempts are made to make them Christians by the missionaries).

The Hindu law of marriage and inheritance is not recognised here and so their children are regarded as illegitimate (if they are offsprings of these marriages), their wives as concubines and so they can run away whenever they like and the law cannot compel them to return to their husbands. As regards their daughters and sisters they are regarded as the best concubines to be kept by the overseers and the half-caste niggers.

Such is briefly the fate of the poor Indian who is deported from India for life. For, mind you there is no provision to give them a return passage at the end of the indenture-period.

After reading these few and plain facts about the miserable state of their fellow countrymen, if our compatriots in India and those that lead us would not make any attempts to put a stop to the system of indentured emigration or rather the system of slavery under that disguised name, all of them, whatever their rank, position or intellectual calibre, would deserve to be treated as slaves everywhere.

RAM NARAIN SHARMA, L.M.S.

George Town,
British Guiana,
SOUTH AMERICA.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION OF 1886

IN view of Lord Islington's Royal Commission which will commence its sittings at Madras on the 8th January, we reproduce below some questions and answers from Vol. VI (relating to Bengal) of the proceedings of Sir Charles Aitchison's Public Service Commission, which held its sittings at Calcutta for the examination of witnesses in the early part of 1887. From the interrogatories framed by the Royal Commission it appears that the present Commission, like its predecessor, will concern itself mainly with the Indian Civil Service, and in particular, with such details as the age of admission, the prospects and gradation of the service, and leave and pension rules. There are one or two questions about the desirability or otherwise of holding the examination simultaneously in England and India, and the proportion of "natives of India" who may be admitted to the cadre of the Indian Civil Service. A comparison of the questions framed by the Commission of 1886 with these questions discloses the fact that the present enquiry covers much the same ground as the one held more than a quarter of a century ago. In the mass of evidence collected by the earlier Commission most of the subjects now under discussion were considered from every possible point of view and a perusal of the proceedings shows that little that is new can, even after this lapse of time, be added to what has already been urged for or against all the various points raised. Lord Morley, in one of his Indian speeches, expressed himself to the effect that a diligent search of the archives of the India office showed that all the problems that crop up from time to time in regard to the administration of India had been examined from all sides and hardly any fresh argument could now be added to what had already been said in regard to any particular measure. A glance through the pages of the ponderous tomes embodying the proceedings of Sir Charles Aitchison's Commission amply demonstrates

the truth of this observation. In these circumstances, the wag cannot be said to be far wrong who defined a Royal Commission as a polite way of shelving a question which had attracted a good deal of public attention. Clearly therefore in the present case what was needed was not a new Commission, for in the opinion of Sir Archdale Earle, then Home Secretary, 'the appointment of a new commission would merely mean waste of time and labour', but a strong desire to do India justice, and courage to give practical effect to the repeatedly declared policy of the Government in the matter of the employment of Indians to higher posts in the public service of the country.

The result of the last Commission, as we all know, proved most disappointing to the 'natives' (this is the word invariably used by the Commission of 1886 to denote Indians). A Madras paper wrote of it at the time as follows:—"The Commission is a lamentable error of judgment on the part of the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) while he departed at Poona from the usual placidity of his demeanour and the customary moderation of his language, and severely criticised the native papers that have regarded the Commission as a mere make-believe or sham. But the native papers are right, and the Viceroy is in a sense wrong." The *Statesman*, then under the editorship of Mr. Knight, while holding that Lord Dufferin had acted wisely in appointing the Commission, said:—"The mistake that has ever been committed is the raising of hopes that the Government was not absolutely prepared to gratify." No question appears to have been framed on the desirability of appointing Indians to what are known as the Minor Civil Services, e.g., salt, excise, opium, telegraph, &c. A large number of fairly well paid appointments for which no severe qualifying tests are necessary, thus seem to have been left outside the scope of the Commission's

inquiry. We very much fear that, despite the immense strides made by the 'natives' since 1886 in education, the assimilation of Western ideas and administrative fitness, the present Commission will prove as infructuous as its predecessor, however imposing the array of questions and searching the investigation.

The proceedings of the last Commission have certain characteristics which cannot fail to strike the eye. The witnesses who gave evidence favourable to Indian aspirations, were cross-examined at great length by the European members of the Commission, and we regret to add, one Mahomedan member also. Reactionary propositions, entirely at variance with the democratic spirit of the West, were set before the witnesses for their consideration. Some of the members suggested as arguments against the introduction of the competitive test, that poor men, and men of low caste, would thereby find admission into the public service; others discovered an objection to foreign travel, regarded as essential by many witnesses for qualifying for higher posts, in the supposed loss of prestige among orthodox 'natives' as its inevitable result. The fear of Bengali predominance in the Civil Service, and the alleged dislike of the Mahomedans and the warlike races among the Hindus to be governed by them, were the other objections raised by the European members of the Commission. Again, witnesses displayed the greatest nervousness in speaking out regarding the weak points of the Indian Civil Service, while they spoke of the defects of the Indian character not only with the utmost frankness, but also, it seems to us, with a great deal of exaggeration. To justify European predominance in the higher branches of the public service, all sorts of irrelevant arguments were advanced, and they were credited with the possession of abstract and intangible virtues, the absence or presence of which can never be verified. The Hon'ble H. T. Prinsep, a Civilian Judge of the High Court and the author of the recent article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the *Vakil Raj*, alarmed at the unanimity of opinion as to the unfitness of the European judiciary and afraid of the possibility of the judicial posts being lost to the Civil Service, did not hesitate to murder history and blacken

a whole people by saying that "native officials should be always subject to supervision and are rarely fit for independent positions", though he, like another ultra-conservative official, Mr. Beames, Commissioner of Burdwan, had to admit that the Indian members of the Civil Service they had known were as efficient as their European colleagues. Even a witness of the position of Sir Comer Petheram, Chief Justice of Bengal, comparing District Judges with Subordinate Judges, could not summon up courage to speak the right word for fear of offending the Civil Service, and could only say that the latter dealt with complicated matters of fact with more 'power' than the Civilian Judges. Asked to explain, he added 'more accurately' to 'more powerfully', but the attribute of greater ability which this addition suggested was left to inference and not expressly mentioned. When the trend of evidence seemed to favour the appointment of a large number of Indians in the higher walks of the public service, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce issued a thundering resolution from which a few extracts have been given below. Now that another Commission has been appointed, the *Pioneer* has taken to the same trick, and given expression to a sense of uncertainty and alarm on the part of the Civil Service, with the identical object of terrifying Lord Islington's Commission into doing nothing but mark time.

Mr. Finucane declared before the Commission that the Civil Service was made for India and not India for the Civil Service and if the claims of the Service were inconsistent with the welfare of the country, the Civil Service must be sacrificed. But the general consensus of opinion that Civilian District Judges obtain their training in law at the expense of the litigant public could not induce the Commission to recommend the small sacrifice involved in throwing open a proportion of the District Judgeships to members of the legal profession. Mr. Beames gave out the true reason with engaging frankness when he said in reply to a question by Justice Mitter: "I would rather keep District Judgeships for Englishmen. There are a good number of Englishmen who want employment, and I would rather give these appointments

to Englishmen than to natives. I prefer my countrymen as you may prefer yours."

Then, as now, those members of the Civil Service who, like Messrs. Beveridge, Cotton and Hume, were not convinced that Indian human nature is endowed with a double dose of original sin, and wanted to grant the 'natives' a small instalment of justice, were elegantly described, as Mr. Hume puts it, as 'dangerous lunatics' and 'pestilent breeders of evil'. The happy phrase, 'white Babus', was not yet invented. If the Royal Commission harbours any desire to do even partial justice to India, it must be prepared for a good deal of vigorous abuse. It is to be seen whether the Commission will have the courage to ignore the abuse and do the right in scorn of consequence.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

Question 125. What has been the experience in your Province in regard to their work as public servants of Natives who have entered the covenanted Civil Service through the competitive channel in England?—On the whole, decidedly favourable.

Question 16. I consider that Backergunge under Babu Ramesh Chandra Dutt is as efficiently administered as a district should be.

The Hon'ble H. J. Reynolds, Member, Board of Revenue.

135—137. If you have a competition in India for one third of the appointments in the Civil Service . . . do you think the successful candidates from any one province would preponderate?—A distinction must be drawn between the best men in a particular province and the average state of education in that province. It does not follow that the best man in the North West will not be equal to the best man in Bengal. Therefore in an examination of this kind you may very well have a fair proportion of the appointments filled by the best men of each province, although the general level of education in one province may be much superior to that in other Provinces.

129—131. Should additional facilities be given to natives for proceeding to England and entering the Indian Civil Service by the channel of the English com-

petition?—It is desirable that Natives should receive such facilities, provided they do not lead to lowering the existing standard of qualification for home candidates. The facilities desired are that the age should be raised to a maximum of 22 or 23, that Sanskrit and Arabic should be put on a par with Latin and Greek, and the principal vernaculars should be marked as French and German, but the number of these vernaculars to be taken up by any candidate should be limited to two.

783. My opinion is that no Native should be appointed to the Covenanted Civil Service.

John Beames, I. C. S., Commissioner.

803. Should any change be made in that system?—Absolutely none; unless it be in the direction of preventing more effectually the admission of Natives.

812. If you take a Native and teach him English, he does not thereby acquire the qualities of an Englishman—courage, determination, vigour, and other qualities which an Englishman possesses. . . . I do not think they (the Natives) possess the qualifications which fit them to be admitted into the Covenanted Civil Service.

809. Have you served with any Native gentlemen who have been appointed to the covenanted service?—Yes, I have had two of them under me, and one is under me still.

810. Have you had any reason to be dissatisfied with them?—None at all.

823. Would there be any objection to the appointment of Indians as District Judges?—I would rather keep District Judgeships for Englishmen. There are a good number of Englishmen who want employment, and I would rather give these offices to Englishmen than to Natives. I prefer my countrymen as you may prefer yours (in reply to the Hon'ble Justice Mitter).

836. Are you aware that a statute was passed in 1833, that no one by reason of birth or descent was to be held incapable of any office or employment if otherwise fit. Your views would be in direct contravention of that policy?—Yes. Let it be so.

1221. I advocate identical and simultaneous examinations in Eng-

H. J. S. Cotton, I. C. S., Secretary, Board of Revenue

land and India, but in India it would be necessary to abandon the *viva voce* examination.

1896. So far as Natives who have got into the Civil Service are concerned, has it been a success?—I think, taken generally, those who have got in have done remarkably well.

1898. And if a larger number of Natives were admitted, do you anticipate that it would affect the efficiency of the service or be in any way objectionable?—No.

2560. I should say that the Civil Service was made for India, and not India for the Civil Service, and if the satisfaction of the just claims of the Civil Service is inconsistent with the welfare of the country as a whole, the Civil Service must be sacrificed to the country. But I do not think there is any such inconsistency.

2900. I would admit persons of proved merit and ability who are members of the legal profession to the Judicial Branch of the covenanted Civil Service. . . . I am very clearly of opinion that the time has now arrived when professional persons should alone be entrusted with the administration of law.

2937. A covenanted Civilian would never be promoted to a District Judgeship under your scheme?—No. I would not put them there; they should look to commissionerships or the Board of Revenue.

2990. Have you seen any of the young Natives who have entered the Civil Service by the channel of the competition in England?—I have.

2991. Have you seen their work?—I have seen some of it. In my experience some of them have been very efficient.

2992. Are they as efficient public servants as the average of covenanted civilians?—The men I have experience of certainly are.

3869. You said that most judicial appointments should be held by natives; you mean a large proportion?—Yes, including District Judgeships.

3870. Do you not think that some small proportion should be held by Europeans in the interests of the Administration generally?—Not necessarily so.

Covenanted Civil Service—I would have two simultaneous and identical examinations in England and India. This examination should be held at one centre only in India, and the examination should be open to all Her Majesty's subjects.

(1) "That the Senate desires to place on record its regret that the present limit of age for entering the Indian Civil Service excludes from that service all graduates who have passed through a complete course of liberal education at this University."

(2) "That a copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the President of the Public Service Commission for consideration."

I agree generally in the view that the Indian Civil Service should be abolished. . . . It has now been decided (as I think rightly) that the European invaders should no longer monopolise the Government of the country, that is, that the Indian Civil Service shall cease to exist.

II.

THE STATUTORY CIVIL SERVICE.

Question 60. The feeling among the educated or advanced class is against the statute itself, in so far as the statute embodies a separate system of appointment. Their wish is to enter in larger numbers the regular covenanted service. They think the Statutory Service is a half measure, which militates against the Government fulfilling the above wish. They look upon the Statutory Service as inferior in status, and specially as involving the appointment to particular posts, and thus conferring no *right* to promotion *pari passu* with the covenanted members of the service. They look upon it as unfavourable to their own class, inasmuch as it allows of selection, instead of enforcing competition.

83. The tests are too severe, and the work is too hard, to make the service attractive to young men of means and considerable social position.

85. Has experience shown that the statutory civilians of aristocratic family are as punctual and regular in their duties as those selected from other classes?—Experience has shown the reverse.

W. H. Grimley,
I. C. S., Magistrate
and Commissioner of Income
Tax.

M. Finucane,
M. A., I. C. S.,
Director of Agriculture.

The Hon'ble G.
C. Paul, Advocate
General.

The Hon'ble
Justice H. T.
Prinsep, I. C. S.

J. Knox Wright,
I. C. S., Deputy
Commissioner.

F. J. Rowe, Indian
Educational
Service.

H. Luttman
Johnson, I. C. S.,
Commissioner.

Bengal Govern-
ment.

2553. Those of the Statutory Civilians who were selected mainly on considerations of social status, generally failed from want of intellectual capacity or for want of aptitude and inclination for work; while those who have not been selected with regard to these considerations would have generally won their way into the service by open competition.

III.

NOMINATION VS. COMPETITION.

Q. 245. No Natives are, it is believed, in favour of a system of nomination, except the higher classes, which regard that system as the only one which affords them a chance of getting into the service.

187. Ought not the uncovenanted service, equally with the covenanted service, to be open to all natural born subjects of Her Majesty who possess the qualifications which may be from time to time prescribed?—Certainly it ought, and if these services were entered by competition, no excuse could be found for the present system, but under a system of nomination the pressure applied to appoint an undue proportion of Europeans was thought to be injurious and led to the absolute restriction which exists.

97. Do you think that in Bengal the consideration of high family or of respectable family has little to do with the influence such an officer might exercise, supposing him to be otherwise qualified to fulfil his duties?—I think so. I do not think it matters much to what family or caste an officer belongs.

367. I would abandon the requirement that the candidate should have aristocratic connections. That, in my opinion is not the only test, nor is it a very certain test, of a man's capacity to govern, or to inspire respect among those whom he governs. A better plan, I should say, would be to make the selection from among Masters of Art exclusively.

845. Have you not found that the Natives attach importance to respectability?—They do, but I know men who are Munsifs who are of exceedingly low origin, but yet are respected.

857. Considering the nomination lies in the hands of covenanted civilians in whom you have the highest confidence, why should you fear jobbery?—They are all human,—many may give way to weakness and prefer their friends or the sons of their friends.

1056. I am in favour of perfectly open competition. It has occurred to me very often that the solicitude shown to benefit a particular class at the expense of others has its root in a desire to benefit a particular individual who may have ingratiated himself in some way or other with, and oftener still in a desire to injure a particular class who may have become the subject of the displeasure of, the person who has the power of giving the appointments away. I think a great deal too much is made of the dislike which the inhabitants of one Province are said to feel at being placed under the administration of officers who belong to another Province.

2609. I am opposed to nomination; under any circumstances it means jobbery, and I am therefore opposed to it. The best men would get in by open competition.

1886. Do you not apprehend that if this system were adopted, which would make four-fifths of the appointments depend upon competition, pure and simple, that a class of men might obtain admission to a great extent, who as a class would not command the respect of the people: poor men, for instance, and men of low caste?—I think the same class of men would get in as have hitherto got into the Civil Service.

2378. You say that the principal reason for recommending competition in India is that some of those who would wish to compete are too poor to do so. If examinations were held in India, these poor people would have a chance of entering the highest service?—I do not think poverty should be a bar to entering the public service.

4207. It is impossible for them (the Government) isolated as they are, a little group of foreigners knowing next to

M. Finucane,
M. A., I. C. S.,
Director of Agriculture.

Bengal Government.

The Hon'ble
H. J. Reynolds,
Member, Board
of Revenue.

Sir Alfred Croft,
Director of
Public Instruction.

John Beames,
I. C. S.,
Commissioner.

B. De I. C. S.,
Joint Magistrate.

M. Finucane, M.
A., I. C. S. Director
of Agriculture.

W. H. Grimley,
I. C. S., Magistrate
and Commissioner
of Income Tax.

Maharajah Sir
Luchmessar
Singh Bahadur of
Darbhanga.

A. O. Hume
C. B.

nothing of the people themselves, and quite uncertain whom to trust and from whom to seek reliable advice—it is impossible for them, I say, to make nominations of young and untried men that shall be generally satisfactory.

4300. I do not see why we need make any distinction of race or creed in such matters. We do not in England look to see whether the number of Protestants and Catholics in the public service bear the same relations to each other that the total populations of each creed do. Nor do we endeavour to prevent a greater proportion of peer's sons getting into our offices than that borne by the total number of peers to the total number of untitled persons. We take the best man we can get, and so we ought to do in India.

—“Patronage has undoubtedly great scope, and has produced among candidates a race of patron-hunters who, with a zeal deserving of a better cause, are indefatigable in this pursuit. This does not foster self respect, and does not find favour with the best and ablest men of the influential sections: others readily bow to the inevitable. Merit alone is of little avail: and while merit and favour combined ensure rapid promotion, favour as opposed to mere merit succeeds as a rule.”

1920. If you allow appointments to the Public Service to be made from all natural-born subjects, and one-fifth of them to be made by nomination by the heads of the local Administrations, will there not be fear of the head of an Administration being sometimes tempted to perpetrate a “job” in favour of Europeans?—I do not think there would be any greater fear of that than exists at the present time.

1924. Is not the fear of jobbery a general objection to all systems of appointments by nomination (by the President)—Yes.

2057. They (subordinate executive officers) could not gain the habits of organisation and command necessary for the management of an independent charge.... Their characters were indeed sometimes trained in the wrong direction,

inasmuch as their promotion often depended more on intrigue, subservience and fawning on superiors than on the qualities demanded by the higher appointments.

2242. I am entirely opposed to the selection of Natives by nomination. Our experience of the men thus selected is against such a system, and it cannot possibly give general satisfaction. The Government of India or the Local Government that has to make the final selection is not in a position to judge of the merits and qualifications of young Native gentlemen with whom it has no intimate personal acquaintance, and it is almost certain to be misled by the relatives and friends of the candidates who are themselves not qualified to judge of the qualities required in men who will have to administer a foreign and complicated system of Government.

2331. You think then that ability for service is to be measured by capacity for passing examination?—If the examination is properly framed, I think it might be a pretty accurate test of a man's ability for service. I know of no other test that can be properly applied, and preliminary references and guarantees can always be insisted on.

IV.

THE FITNESS OF INDIANS, EDUCATIONAL, MORAL AND OTHERWISE, FOR APPOINTMENT IN HIGHER POSTS.

Questions 208 and 1209: The possession of a University degree affords a guarantee of industry, self-denial and discipline maintained through several years of pupilage; and these are moral qualities of a high order...the experience of many years has convinced the Lieutenant-Governor that in sobriety of judgment, in industry, in integrity,—in those practical virtues, in short, which Englishmen chiefly value, the highest class of University graduates do not fall short. For, indeed, the directly moral value of an advanced intellectual education, even outside the range of daily practice and discipline, is a fact that is commonly acknowledged. It has been well observed that “honesty is one result of a sound understanding”—of an understand-

W. H. Grimley,
I.C.S., Magistrate
and Commissioner of Income
Tax.

Sir Edward
Buck, K. C. I. E.,
I. C. S., Secretary
to the Govt. of
India.

ing enlightened enough to appreciate the direct personal value to its possessor of a character for honesty, such as can only be acquired by unfailing honesty in practice. Sir Steuart Bayley holds this to be true also, in its degree, of courage and decision of character.

374. There is not much fault of any remediable kind to be found with the existing system of education in Indian Colleges. It is probably in most respects as good as, and in some better than, that which a pupil would receive in any of the "coaching" establishments in England, such as Wren's. It is inferior in mental discipline to the course pursued at Oxford and Cambridge...

2741. I may say at once that since I have been here, two and a half years, I have never but once seen a case in which I have ever had any reason to doubt the honesty of the Judge (in reply to a question by the President regarding Munsifs).

2747. Is there not a great deal more perjury than in England?—I am not prepared to admit that.

2748. I have had a long experience in this country? (Question by Mr. Hudson)—Perhaps you have not had the same long experience in Europe [Sir Comer was a leader of the Western Circuit and a Bencher of his Inn of Court]. Perjury out here is of a different character to perjury in England. In India they tell an absolutely untrue story; in England witnesses tell the true story, with a colour to change the character of it.

The Director of Public Instruction of Bengal, in his Administration Report for 1876-77, thus speaks of the Honor students: "they are the highest outcome of the University; they in every way reflect credit on the education which they have received. In moderation, in balance of mind, in stability of character, and in all these allied qualities which Englishmen chiefly prize, I have found the Honour students in no way deficient... These are the men who are truly educated, who will become the best citizens, and the best ser-

vants of the State." (Section III, Sub-section B, p. 79).

648. I understood you to say that you would be content to accept as the result of your system that all appointments in Bengal, both executive and judicial, should be filled by natives?—yes.

649. What would be the effect of that in a time of trouble?—I don't think any harm would ensue.

If there were to be a local insurrection, for instance, you think it would not matter if there were no European executive officers in the country—nothing but Native officers and the Military?—I don't think it would matter very much—I think the district Native officers would be fairly loyal.

653. Suppose a serious religious dissension between Mahomedans and Hindus were to arise, what would be the effect of having nothing but Native executive officers in the country? Would they be able to repress such disorders or to reconcile the parties as well as Europeans could?—I think they would.

658. How would it do to have a large number of Native officers in districts where there are a large number of European planters?—The European planters would not like it; but I don't know why it should not answer.

659. You don't think it would matter?—It should not be allowed to overbalance other advantages. To that section of the community it would not be so pleasant. It is only one small section of the community.

665-67. Suppose you have nothing but Native officers in Bengal, do you think European capital would seek investment here, to the extent it does now?—At first there would be some trepidation, but I don't see why it should not afterwards:—I think as soon as capitalists saw that things were going on well, capital would continue to be invested as it is now. There is trepidation at every change, but I think the change must come.

692. Would there be no fear of retrogression if the European element and the Anglo-Indian and the Eurasian element were eliminated or greatly reduced in this country?—There might be a fear of that, but I don't think it would take place.

H. Beveridge, I.
C.S., Sessions
Judge.

The Hon'ble Sir
William Comer
Petheram, Q. C.,
Chief Justice.

Nanda Krishna
Bose, Statutory
Civilian.

693. Would you venture to try an experiment which could possibly lead to such a result?—There must always be some risk about experiments. If it were decided to give all the appointments to natives, it would be attended with some risk, but I think it is a risk which should be run.

695. Is it simply on the ground of economy that you make your recommendation?—Economy is one ground, but a still more important ground is to give the people a voice in the administration of their own country. Although in certain qualifications Europeans are superior to Natives, in others the Native is superior in his own country,—his knowledge of the language and the manners of the people is an immense advantage.

699. Would you still retain the British army?—Yes, certainly.

* 700. For what purpose?—To hold the country.

701. But where is the necessity of a British army to hold the country, if you make the administration entirely native?—We have got India and could not give it up to anarchy—we have produced a certain state of things, and we cannot suddenly break away from it.

714. Is the opinion (that if most of the appointments fell to natives, it would not matter) based on past experience, or mere speculation?—I have been a great many years in this country, and have seen the qualifications of natives. They possess excellent judicial qualities, and many of them excellent administrative qualities. I have read the history of India, and in old times Natives held high posts and did great deeds. The ministers who surrounded Akbar were very capable men.

715. With regard to the Bengal Presidency, is it your experience that natives would make as good leaders as they are subordinates?—I think they would.

716. Men possessed of courage and ready resource?—I think so.

721. Does history justify the opinion you have expressed?—My knowledge of history tells me that men capable of holding high executive and judicial offices came forward, and I think they would be found again.

727. Would you even appoint them Lieutenant-Governors, because most of these high officers have risen from the co-

venanted civil service, and some have even been governors?—Yes, if they were capable of holding the posts. I don't see why the fact of their being Natives should stand in their way when they are found fit.

866. Have you had any experience of famines in Bengal?—Yes, I have been surprised occasionally in times of famine to see the way in which

Native Deputy Magistrates would display activity and go about.

870. Do you think it advantageous to have a service composed of the particular classes (Brahmins and Kayasthas) you have named?—They are highly intelligent classes of men. You could not keep them out.

871. Are they deficient in any respects?—Certainly not.

1244. You cannot expect persons to be all at once fit for charges for which they have not been trained. I have not the slightest doubt that when the

Natives of India are trained for executive functions as carefully as they now are for judicial duties, they will discharge the former functions quite as satisfactorily as they now do the latter.

1245. Have they not been trained in subordinate executive appointments?—Very imperfectly in comparison. It is the exercise of responsibility which brings out the faculties of men, inferior men, when an opportunity is afforded them, are found to display latent capacities which were not suspected before, and even with regard to the best men that is the case. Opportunity and responsibility are needed to develop talent.

4292. Sir William Muir said that “whenever Natives fitted for employment in high offices are found, we are bound to

take their claims into consideration, simply because as natives of the country they have prior and preferential claim to offices in the administration of their own country.” I concur in this view, and would extend the principle to every office, were this possible.

4311. Do you think that if all the appointments now held by the Covenanted Civil Service were held by Natives, England could hold the country?—I am not of

John Beames,
I. C. S., Commis-
sioner.

H. J. S. Cotton,
Secretary,
Board of Revenue.

A. O. Hume,
C. B.

opinion that England is even now holding the country. I am of opinion that India is holding on to England, because it is to her advantage to do so. There is all the difference. As long as the majority of educated and intelligent Natives—those who practically here, as elsewhere, lead the country—cling to England and believe, as they still do, that the continued union of the two countries is desirable, so long will British rule, though in a gradually modified and growingly more liberal and less bureaucratic form, continue. But whenever these classes come to the conclusion that the disadvantages of the British connection outweigh its advantages that connection will assuredly cease.

—As Lord Lansdowne said, "what is the

Babu Jogendra
Chandra Ghose,
Zemindar.

use of great attainments if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose, the service of the community,

by employing those who possess them according to their respective qualifications in the various duties of the public administration of the country? Our books alone will do little or nothing; dry simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward, no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people."—(Section II, Bengal Sub-Committee, page 473.)

"...The publication of the evidence taken by the Commission has shown that proposals, calculated to revolutionise the basis of the present administration of India, and to substitute more or less completely a native for an English administration, are being discussed before the Commission. * * *

"The moment it is felt that India is to be made a theatre for speculative experiments in Government the stream of British capital will begin to flow in other and safer directions and the value of the capital invested in this country will begin to shrink. * * *

"Our interests and those of the bulk of the population are, in fact, identical. What we want and what they want is a stable and efficient government. But our interest and theirs are alike opposed to the sacrifice

of these essentials to the hopes and contentions of certain classes of aspirants to office.

"There are schemes before the Commission, which would, in a short time, flood the covenanted service with natives. * * *

"Many of the schemes before the commission lose sight of the fact that there are well recognised classes of natives especially in Bengal, who are naturally and hereditarily fitted for clerical and office work, but who are ordinarily unfit for executive or administrative duties, and that these are the very classes to whom the prizes of open competitive examinations in India must inevitably fall.

"The result of the adoption of these schemes would be the Government of the Europeans, Mahomedans and other strong races by classes who could never without external assistance either seize or retain the reins of power. Such a Government would be a fantastic creation and not a natural growth. It would neither command the respect or willing acquiescence of the governed, nor possess any other element of stability, and would absolutely disappear in time of trouble. * * *

"While recognising the ability shown by natives in the trial of civil cases, we are of opinion that European District Judges cannot, to any appreciable extent, be dispensed with without retrogression. * * *

"We should have regarded such a scheme as out of the range of practical politics but for the evidence before the Commission. * * *

"...We feel that in allowing such schemes to be discussed, the Government are raising hopes in large bodies of aspirants to office which cannot be fulfilled. Any attempt at fulfilling them would be fraught with political danger and produce a general feeling of insecurity and dissatisfaction which would react speedily on commercial enterprise. * * *

—"The native officers of the Subordinate Executive and Judicial Services perform, often in an admirable manner, the same duties as are performed by the members of the European service

...Subject to the condition that no Native official should ever be placed in command over a European, I should allow Natives to rise to any post..."

H. Luttman-
Johnson, I.C.S.,
Commissioner.

THE JUDICIAL BRANCH OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE PROVINCIAL JUDICIAL SERVICE

(Extracts from the Proceedings of the Public Service Commission of 1886, Vol. VI, Bengal.)

Note, para 21. In regard to District Judges, I accept the generally received opinion that the civil work can be done with perfect efficiency by Native Judges, but that it is desirable that the higher Criminal Courts should continue to be worked by European Judges.

The Honble H. J. Reynolds, I.C.S., Member, Board of Revenue. Question 26: District Judgeships—appointments which Natives are very well qualified to fill.

186. You believe that public opinion is favourable to the existing Native judiciary?—Yes, I have always heard that opinion expressed.

316. What is your experience of the members of the subordinate judiciary? Do they enjoy the confidence of the people?—Generally.

I think they do.

320. Do the subordinate magistracy passess the confidence of the people?—I think generally they do, but I do not think they are good in their judgments as the Civil Judiciary, nor are they, as a rule, as well educated.

361. Which of the two services includes the better educated men, the Civil Judicial or the Criminal Judicial Service?—I think the Munsifs are, on the whole, superior as a class. They are men of more education, and as a rule, selected from pleaders.

418. You consider that there is a considerable proportion of well-educated and a certain proportion of distinguished passed students in the ranks of the lower Judicial and Executive Services?—I do.

Sir Alfred Croft, Director of Public Instruction.

419. In which of the two services do they most prevail?—It is difficult to say, but as a vague and general impression, I should think that the highest level of intelligence was in the Judicial Service, but that the more distinguished men were to be found in the Executive. The reason for that is that men enter the Judicial Service as soon as they have taken the two degrees of B. A. and B. L. They never or very seldom want to take the degree of M. A. (This is not the fact now).

755. With regard to H. Beveridge, the Munsifs, what is I. C. S., Sessions Judge. your opinion?—They all work hard, and many of them are men of ability.

760. With regard to District Judges, would you allow the Bar of the High Court and of the various District Courts to be eligible for appointment to Subordinate Judgeships?—Yes, I would. But I should prefer that the appointments should go to the Service. Munsifs should become Subordinate and District Judges.

763. Have you observed any timidity of judgment at times amongst the Munsifs' whose work has come before you?—I have never seen any timidity amongst Munsifs.

767. Have not irregularities been detected by Judges who have visited Munsifs' Courts?—I should not be surprised to hear it, because the Munsifs have far more to do than they can manage, and their subordinates are very badly paid.

769. Do you know whether it is customary in Bengal for Munsifs to bring in a great many of their caste people into the ministerial offices of the Courts?—I don't think they can do that. The District Court has a *veto* on all ministerial appointments.

771. Have you ever observed that men of the same caste have been brought in freely?—No.

823. Would there be any objection to the

John Beames,
I. C. S., Commis-
sioner.

appointment of Indians as District Judges?—I would rather keep District Judgeships for Englishmen.

There are a good number of Englishmen who want employment, and I would rather give these offices to Englishmen than to natives. I prefer my countrymen as you may prefer yours (in reply to the Hon'ble Justice-Mitter.)

1379. I think the standard of Munsifs is

H. J. S. Cotton,
I. C. S., Se-
cretary, Board of
Revenue.

very much superior to that of Native Deputy Magistrates in Bengal, and that as a body they are more efficient, owing to their

being chosen from a more highly educated class.

1405. Strong complaints have frequently been brought to me of the inefficiency of many Deputies.

1406. Is their official morality good?—I believe it is.

1407. As to Munsifs what is the public opinion?—Munsifs, no doubt, are of a better class. All Munsifs now are both B. A.'s and B. L.'s and have practised for sometime at the Bar.

W. H. Grimley,
I. C. S., Magis-
trate, Commis-
sioner of Income
Tax.

1900. Personally I have rather a high opinion of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges.

2278. As regards the judicial service, what is the reputation

H. M. Kisch,
M.A., I.C.S., Post
Master General.

which Munsifs have?—They are good lawyers, but in-

different as regards equity and sympathy with the people (by which the witness meant that they follow the law too closely and do not allow their own personal opinion to override the rulings of the High Court.)

2459—63. Even if a man in the uncove-

M. P. Gasper,
Bar-at-law.

nanted service showed himself to be exceptionally fit, I should say that by reason

of the subordinate position he has filled, the habits of thought and mode of dealing with things which he has acquired or become accustomed to, are such as would not fit him for superior service...the whole of their career has been of a character which has made them look at things from a subordinate point of view, and they have lost

all habits of independent thought and action....He loses independence of mind and thought; he lacks the power to initiate and to control and regulate matters; to press his own opinion, and so forth.

2527. Do you not think that officers such as the present covenanted civilians, having the advantage of familiarity with the working of offices, are able to supervise the working of the subordinate courts better than the professional men you would appoint to the district courts?—I think men trained in law learn better where defects are to be found, and will supervise the subordinate courts better than untrained men, who have only their natural intelligence to guide them.

The Hon'ble Sir
William Comer
Petheram, Q. C.,
Chief Justice.

2691. Taking the Munsifs, I think they are very satisfactory Judges of Courts of First Instance and of

Small Causes.

2692. What is your opinion of the Subordinate Judges?—The Subordinate Judges in Bengal are, in many instances, very able.

2700. In the appointment of District Judges, the High Courts are consulted?—I have never been consulted since I have been in India.

2702. I think that when they (District Judges) come to deal with complicated masses of fact, their training has not been of the kind to enable them to deal powerfully with that class of case.

2703. Are the cases in which there is a great deal of labour involved in taking evidence usually tried by the Subordinate or District Judges?—Practically always by Subordinate Judges.

2714. If any additions are to be made to the qualifications which now exist (for District Judgeships), I would allow so many years' practice as a barrister to qualify for the office.

2715. Would you appoint Subordinate Judges to District Judgeships?—As to appointing native Subordinate Judges to District Judgeships, I doubt whether, at the present moment, Subordinate Judges, if they were appointed to that position, would have sufficient weight and authority to efficiently inspect and control the courts subordinate to them. I do not feel any grave apprehension that they would be unable to deal efficiently with the judicial work of the

District Judges, but I do feel that at present a European is wanted in every district to supervise the whole of the courts in it.

279. Do you observe the same sort of failure among Subordinate Judges (as among District Judges)?—No, they deal with complicated matters of fact with more power than District Judges.

2730. Do they show the same discrimination in drawing inferences from facts, in marshalling facts and so on?—I can only say, as I have said before, that when you get large masses of complicated facts, Subordinate Judges as a rule deal with them more powerfully and more accurately than District Judges.

2755. Where there are large groups of facts, the want of training is apparent, in my opinion, as much in the criminal, as in the civil work.

2767. I think they (Subordinate Judges) are better acquainted with the customary law of the country than Europeans are.

2815. You would have the higher branch of the Judicial Service recruited from the English Bar?—And the Indian Bar also; men from the English Bar should be of five years' standing, and men from the Indian Bar of ten years' standing.

2861. Munsifs are better judicial officers than Deputy Magistrates.

2862. In many cases I think it is unfair to call upon them (District Judges) to sit in appeal on the judgment of men of long training.

The Hon'ble G. C. Paul, Advocate-General. 2960. I can speak of the Munsifs of Bengal in the highest terms.

2934. In appeals from the Munsifs, when the District Judges differ from the Munsifs on points of law, they are generally in error... The Subordinate Judge is more familiar with the Regulations and Acts and decided cases than the District Judge, and as a rule decides points of law better than the latter. On questions of fact which require a knowledge of Native habits and custom, he is a better judge of fact; but in cases which involve a complicated state of facts which require analysis and dissection, and where a sensitive moral perception and higher educational culture are essential, the Civilian Judge is the better judge and outstrips the native.

2920. Is it an advantage to have in the High Court gentlemen who are acquainted with the revenue and executive administration of the country?—It is no doubt an advantage to have men with knowledge of all kinds; and if in addition to a fair knowledge of judicial business, a Judge has experience as a revenue officer, it would be a great advantage; but it would not be an advantage if a Judge, however conversant with revenue administration, was unacquainted with judicial business.

2932. What is your opinion as to the legal qualifications of covenanted civilians who enter the judicial branch of the service? Do they not generally supplement their training by private study?—Well, some do study and acquire some knowledge of law, but as a rule they are placed in positions which they ought not to occupy, because they do not know law. I do not think you can ever make up by private study that which men obtain by long practice in their profession.

2914. Do not men of high attainments pick up a sufficient knowledge of the law within a few years?—Those who study law do acquire a fair knowledge but there are many who do not take the trouble to do so. But the utmost that men so selected can do is to keep up with their professional colleagues. In my opinion, Judges should not be selected who do not thoroughly understand their work, they ought not to be raised to the Bench in the first instance and then allowed to learn the law.

2915. District Judges... are found to know the law of evidence?—They do not know it. As a rule their knowledge of the rules of Evidence is indifferent and inaccurate.

2916. With regard to Magistrates who perform judicial functions, I do not think that they know much of judicial procedure and evidence.

2917. Are those magistrates who perform the higher Magisterial functions generally efficient officers?—With regard to their judicial work, I cannot say they are very efficient—I should say they were not very efficient.

3011. Are the High Court consulted as to the gentlemen appointed Justice H. T. to District Judgeships;—Prinsep, I.C.S. No.

3024. What is your opinion of Munsifs as a class?—I think they are fairly efficient;

quite as much so as we have any right to expect from that class.

3025. I think their (referring to Subordinate Judges) health becomes very much impaired by what they have to undergo, and I am inclined to think that some of the best men succumb to bad health or over work, or feel the effects of it in their later service.

3408. Comparing them (District Judges) as a class with our Subordinate Judges, do you find the subordinate judiciary inferior to them as judicial officers?—Certainly not; I am inclined to think that the present Subordinate Judges are in many respects superior to them.

3409. If that is the case, why not make provision for the larger admission of Subordinate Judges to District Judgeships?—They are not inferior in legal knowledge and judicial acumen, but I cannot approve of the general training which they undergo in the uncovenanted service. In my opinion it affects their independence very much.

3410. In what way?—They lack the independence which you find in men who have been brought up at the Bar, for instance. It is the fault of their early training.

3443. The moral tone of the (Subordinate Judicial) Service is so high.

3663. What is your opinion of the Munsifs as a class?—I think they are efficient officers. I should like to make one remark applying to both Munsifs and Subordinate Judges. They are most hard working officers and are overburdened with work; they have hardly any time to consider their judgments, and sometimes their work is largely in arrear. With more time at their command they would turn out much better officers than they do at present.

3824. Do you think men appointed from the Bar would be as well for the performance of that duty (inspection of the subordinate courts) as men who are accustomed to the supervision of officers?—Men who are acquainted with the High Court Circulars could always do the work in accordance with these circulars.

3825. But it requires experience of the working of officers. You have to see how

the registers are kept, and to draw inferences from them as to the manner in which the work of the court is done, and whether any branch of the court's duty is neglected: would not that work be better done by men familiar with office work?—Yes; but Munsifs, Subordinate Judges, &c., have all their officers as well as District judges.

3889. Do you think that Natives would discharge this duty (examining courts) as efficiently as Europeans?—I think so, and in some respects more so, if they did their work as inspecting officers, because they would be able to examine the registers themselves, and would not be so dependent upon Sheristadars.

3881. Have you found any difficulty in Cachar in consequence of the entertainment by a Munsif of too many ministerial officers of his own caste?—I have not.

3888. A pleader (if appointed District Judge) would have very little experience of the executive administration of the country, and until he had been appointed to a judicial office he would not have any experience of the supervision of the staff of clerks?—The moment a convened civilian in Bengal elects the Judicial Branch, he has nothing to do with executive work, and until he is appointed a Judge he has had no experience of civil judicial work.

H. W. Bliss, 4039.—I think they (munifs) are very well thought of.

—Purely civil functions, for which they (natives) are, in my opinion, better fitted than Europeans. John Boxwell, I. C. S., Magistrate. ...I think a Munsif is usually a better trained lawyer than a Deputy Magistrate.

I speak specially of men of the Subordinate Judicial Service. W. H. Page, I. C. S., District Judge. who, as a class with legal training, look upon it as a necessary evil that their work should be overlooked by men coming out from England who do not get the same legal training.

"Again, as to judicial capacity; the possession of this by trained Indians, and in a very high degree, is no longer open

Monomohun Ghose, Bar-at-law.

J. Knox Wight, I. C. S., Deputy Commissioner.

Hon'ble Justice Chunder Madhab Ghose.

H. W. Bliss, I. C. S., Commissioner of Salt and Abkari Revenue.

John Boxwell, I. C. S., Magistrate.

W. H. Page, I. C. S., District Judge.

R. C. Dutt, I. C. S., Magistrate.

A. O. Hume, I. C. S., C. B.

to question among sensible and qualified judges; and when Sir John Strachey remarked (and Lord Lawrence concurred in the remark) that he believed 'that every grade of the judicial service, without exception, might with propriety and justice be thrown open to Natives,' he only echoed the universal opinion of all experienced Indian administrators."

Sir James Stephen in his Minute on the Issur Chandra administration of justice in Chakrabarty, India says "that it cannot Vakil, High by any means be affirmed Court. that an appeal from a Subordinate to a District Judge is always, and usually, an appeal from a worse to a better lawyer. There is, indeed, considerable danger that the difference may come to be more and more the other way, for Subordinate Judges and Munsifs are more and more coming to be men who have received a regular education in one of the three Presidencies." Mr. Justice Markby in a Minute on Sir Richard Garth's scheme for the establishment of Appellate Benches in Bengal says: "In discussing the important questions now raised, it would not be safe to disguise the truth, however unpalatable it may be, that the Courts of Appeal in

Lower Bengal are very frequently weaker than the courts immediately below them. It is, I fear, impossible to deny." Sir Richard Couch says: "Appeals from Munsifs are in most cases heard by a Judge who is not superior in knowledge or ability to the Judge whose decision is appealed against: in some instances he is inferior." Mr. Justice Ainsley says: "A District Judge commonly takes his seat on the Bench without ever having previously had occasion to open the Civil Procedure Code." Mr. Justice Louis Jackson says: "Whatever the ability of the new District Judge may be, it must be evident that at first he must be liable to err: that while he is qualifying himself for his post, he may be, and if he is not extremely cautious, must be interfering for the worse with the work of men who have in a long course of years acquired something like judicial aptitude, like some of the best of our Subordinate Judges and Munsifs." Sir Richard Garth says: "If a suitor desires to have redress from what he considers an unjust decision, he must appeal to a Court which, as a rule, is not stronger than that in which he has been defeated, and which, moreover, is not as well provided with the means of doing justice to his case."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Peoples and Problems of India, by Sir T. W. Holderness, K.C.S.I., Williams and Norgate, London, 1s.

This is the 37th volume of the deservedly popular 'Home University Library' series issued by Messrs. Williams and Norgate of London. Sir T. W. Holderness handles his subject with the ease of familiar acquaintance. The book will be of great help as a suitable preparation to the cold weather visitor to India who wants to understand Indian peoples and problems in a few weeks' stay in the country; it will be of almost invaluable help to the young European Civilian coming out here to administer a country whose peoples and problems are quite unlike anything he has known before; and even the Indian who has not the leisure or opportunity to make a deeper study of the subject will find the book interesting and instructive. The book covers a very wide field. In the opening chapter the author gives an account of the natural features and political divisions of the country, and concludes with the significant statement, "An Indian province is not what we mean by a nation, though it

tends to create a provincial spirit, which is not far removed from the beginning of national life." The second chapter gives a summary of the History of India from the earliest times to the present day: and the author's views appear to be, on the whole, sound. In the third chapter which deals with 'The People,' our author adopts Sir Herbert Risley's classification of the Indian population into seven main physical types,—a classification which appears to us to be the result of a hasty generalization based on insufficient data. Sir T. W. Holderness's observations on the Caste-system (Ch. IV) and Religions (V) of India, are not always above criticism. For instance, in making the statement that the caste-system "was obviously designed to glorify the Brahmins," the author ignores the fact that social organisms are in the nature of organic growths, and the institution of caste could not have been an exotic branch grafted into the social tree by the Brahmin gardener, but was the natural product of the same seed, soil, and environment to which the mother-tree owed its growth. In chapter V, the author speaks vaguely of 'animism' as 'the medley of superstitions which are

found among rude and primitive races' and 'includes the worship of inanimate objects,' etc. The name 'animism' is now generally admitted by anthropologists to be a defective one, and our author does not hit at the essence of animistic belief. The last five chapters of the book which deal respectively with 'Economic Life,' 'The Government of India,' 'The Native States,' 'Administrative Problems,' and 'Political and Social Problems,' from the best portion of the book and contain a good deal of valuable information which no one having anything to do with India can neglect.

We regret that the publisher should have thought it proper to price this useful series of books at Re. 1 net per volume for India, whereas the European price is only a shilling per volume.

The Science of History and The Hope of Mankind
by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A. (London:
Longmans, Green, & Co. 2s. 6d.)

Of late years it has been the fashion to consider human history as merely a department of Biology, and human society as a phenomenon, albeit the highest phenomenon, in the science of life. The principles and methods of Biology appear to us to be carried beyond their appropriate limits when they are transferred to the domain of the mind and the soul. And intellect and soul are the very possessions that mark off man from the lower animals. Dr. J. G. Fraser of Cambridge rightly deprecated such attempts at, what he called reducing "multiformity of fact to uniformity of theory." The learned writer of the essay under review follows the current fashion when at the end of sec. II, he declares—"Biology" is thus the true basis of Sociology and the Science of History. Founded on the Science of Life, History will be competent to formulate clear and definite principles about the course of human progress, the development of society and the evolution of civilisation." Our author's practice, however, is better than his precept. Indeed, a writer of Prof. Sarkar's learning and acumen could not have failed to see that man has, to no small extent, been his own 'history-maker.' Section IX of the essay under review shows that its author fully recognises the part that men of high individuality—men of genius, great thinkers, patriots, philanthropists and other men of action—have taken in the making of human history. Barring the passages which show a tendency to exaggerate the claims of Biology, the whole of this interesting essay deserves unqualified praise. The only other defect which the critic might perhaps pick out is that the race-factor in the problem has not been brought out in as clear a light as the factor of environment has been. But this appears to have been due to the limited space at the author's disposal. We expect great things from Prof. Sarkar in the not distant future. So far as it goes, the essay under review is an exceedingly suggestive and well-written one. And, we are sure, our readers will profit immensely by a study of this instructive little book of which we subjoin a summary.

In Section I (Problems of History), the author puts to himself the question, "Are we to think that the rise and fall of nations, the propagation of religions or the extinction of industries, the loss of liberty or the foundation of a constitution,—the results of accidents, or are they governed by immutable laws and may be

foreseen?" And in subsequent sections he sets himself to discover the laws which govern these phenomena.

In Section II, (The Scope and Function of History), Professor Sarkar declares that—History must necessarily be incomplete and quite unable to guess the future destiny of mankind or to suggest lines of advance suitable to any stage so long as it does not concern itself with the whole of human life and its thousand-and-one manifestations. Biology is the true basis of Sociology and the Science of History.

The third section deals with the influence of Environment. As in the vegetable and animal world, so also in the human, the operation of the manifold forces of nature, the attempts of each organism to utilise the environment (in the case of man social and moral as much as physical environment) according to its own needs, and the modification of its organs through the assimilation of surrounding circumstances—all contribute their quota to its special growth and development. Just as plants and other lower organisms display diversity of structure and characteristics in order to adapt themselves to the play of diverse agencies in the universe, so man also manifests various aspects of life and character under various sets of influences, takes recourse to various modes of living, and preserves his continuity and individuality under various forms adapted to the varying conditions of social and physical world. The state, religion, literature and other manifestations of human life assume in this way different characteristics of form and spirit under different circumstances. The progress and degeneration of any of the races of men is thus the indirect effects of the development of mankind as a whole, and is acted upon by the conjuncture of all the forces of the universe. To understand the history of any people, the author rightly tells us, "you must realise the whole situation of the human world at the time, and study the array of forces that has been the result of mutual intercourse between the several peoples in social, economic, intellectual, and political matters".

In Section IV (The World-forces in Ancient and Mediæval History), the author shows how the social, political, and literary life of different contemporaneous nations in the past owed their peculiar characteristics to certain systems of world-forces operating at the period and how different contemporaneous civilisations influence and modify one another, each being, in fact the joint product of the whole process of human affairs. Thus the culture and civilisation of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians bear the impress of their intercourse with other peoples of various origins; Hellenic culture was the product of the world-influences of the Classic Age—mainly Phœnician, Egyptian and Persian; the various stages in the history of Rome were likewise influenced both in form and spirit by contact with the life and thought of the innumerable peoples who came under the sway of the Romans; the literature and life of the kingdoms of the Hellenistic world that came into being under the movement for the expansion of Greece begun by Alexander, were the outcome, in varying degrees, of the contact between the East and the West, and, lastly, the manners and customs, religions, institutions, and social practices, as well as the art and literature of India, owe their special characteristics to the social, political, and religious intercourse of India with the peoples of Tibet, China, and the diverse neo-Greek States, as well as to the influence of multifarious

aboriginal and non-Aryan rites and ceremonies. Coming down to the Middle Ages, we find that the kaleidoscopic changes in the state-systems of the period were due to the stir and turmoil produced by social and political intercourse of peoples with one another—the barbaric races of preceding epochs being received by the civilised nations as members of the same system of life and thought, and as the outcome of this new socio-political environment the old centres of civilisation in Europe and Asia became 'Teutonised' and Islamized and began to be the seedbeds of new thought and culture.

In Sec. V (International Politics and National Advancements in Modern Times), Prof. Sarkar shows how the political or economic rise of one nation cannot be explained without reference to the fall of another;—how, for instance, the political and religious independence of the Dutch Republic, the decay of Spain, Sweden, Austria, and Turkey, the humiliation of the German Emperor, the wars of the Reformation, the ascendancy of France, the establishment of Constitutional Monarchy in England, and the rise and development of other new Protestant powers, were due to the mutual influences upon one another, and hence the combined results of the same set of circumstances. Thus, then, nations can maintain their existence and peculiar national character only so long as they are fit enough to profit by the thousand and one physical and social influences that constitute the environment of nations in the world. Buffer states like Turkey retain their independence not by the innate strength of their national character but owing to the change in the view-point of European politics.

In Sec. VI (International Relations and the Forms of Governmental Machinery), we are told that not only states, but administrative systems and forms and methods of Government are influenced and modified by the surrounding conditions of the world, and also by "internal conditions." As for instances of the influence of external conditions, look, on the one hand at Great Britain and the United States of America, whose insular position and natural boundaries protect them from foreign aggressions, the principle of protection of the people from the Government operating in these countries more powerfully than that of protection by the Government;—and look, on the other hand, at the centralised despotism ("I am the state") of Louis XIV, due to quite contrary physical and social conditions of France in the 17th century, and at the strong military rule and Caesarism of the founders of the Prussian monarchy which was an absolute necessity when the small nucleus of political life was surrounded by enemies on all sides. Again, whereas, on the one hand, a strong monarchy exercising sway over all the spheres of human life—over thought, faith, speech and action,—was the only means of removing the decentralisation due to diversity and multiplicity of independent states, cities, and principalities, when the peoples of Europe were emerging from the conditions of feudalistic disintegration to the new national and unified socio-political existence,—on the other hand, freedom of thought and action and toleration of diversities and disunions were encouraged in India, and the almost absolute independence and autonomy of the ancient village republics were preserved here up to the modern age owing to the vastness of physical immensity of this "Epitome of the world" which presented insurmountable obstacles to the employ-

ment of the principles of Imperialism and Consolidation, and necessarily gave ample scope for the application of *laissez-faire* and let alone in religion, society, politics and industry. As for the influence of 'internal circumstances' in regulating the form and spirit of the administrative machinery of the State, the author begins with the instance of Lycurgus' military pedagogic state which was the direct and conscious result of the existence of innumerable helots and other original settlers who were enslaved by the Dorians in the land of their adoption. Napoleonism becomes a political necessity when revolutions and disorders are imminent; and not sympathy of the people but their terror is the object aimed at by the rulers. "Kings have to be tyrants from policy when the subjects are rebels from principle."

In Sec. VII (Relativity of Religious Movements and of other Aspects of Human Life to the Conjunction of Circumstances), the author shows how besides the State, other manifestations and aspects of human life are equally shaped and influenced by the social and physical environments. Thus, the new religion preached by Mahomet in the 7th century became the connecting bond to diverse tribes and nationalities, and started the process of the overthrow of old and the rise of new kingdoms; and the teachings of Christ quite unexpectedly acquired such secular and political influence, that about the time of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, the Church organizations of the Christian society alone were the real political authorities and intensely accelerated the disruptive forces of the feudal regime of the Middle Ages. "Christianity and Islam thus prospered, not solely because of the needs of moral regeneration and spiritual advancement; but the real cause of their rapid progress and development is to be sought in that unifying force of religion as a principle of association which, under the existing conditions of the world, supplied some of the real needs of humanity." Similarly, the origin of a theocratic state out of a merely spiritual community in its endeavours to seeking deliverance from the temporal thralldom, is exemplified in Indian history in the case of the Sikhs. The state and religion alone are not, however, the sole aspects of man. Human life manifests itself at times in politics, at other times in arts and literature. The same need of adaptation to environment explains also the type of philosophical and social systems of different ages, and accounts for the divergences between Manu, Aristotle, and Bacon as teachers of humanity and pioneers of progress. It is because of this diversity of manifestations of the vital principle that national life is not necessarily extinguished with the mere decay and extinction of political existence. The life of a people may under the force of circumstances have to cease to express itself in the field of economic activity or reveal itself in religious propagandism, or manifest itself in literature and art, or in martial and educational enthusiasm. The influence of the pressure of circumstances on the form of life's activity is to be seen also in the various aspects that the same ideal assumes in different departments of human enterprise. Thus, what is extremism in general thought and philosophy is idealism in art and literature, is transcendentalism and mysticism in religion.

In Sec. VIII the author thus recapitulates the lessons of "the Science of History founded on Biology" as follows:—(1) None of the various aspects of national

life—literary, political, religious, are *absolutely* dependent on the particular people concerned, but are the products and *resultants* of the mutual influences of all nations and national activities on one another.

(2) These international actions and reactions assume different aspects in different times and thus give rise to different nationalities of the human race and different types of national character.

(3) The manifestations of life that give rise to various national types and different national characteristics are always varying both in form and spirit according to the varying conditions of the world, so that as long as man will be able to adapt his movements to the varying circumstances of the environment, we need not despair of the progress of humanity.

In Sec. IX (The World's Greatest Men), Mr. Sarkar points out the fundamental difference between man and the lower organisms as regards the relations with the environment, for it is man alone of all created beings that can make his own environment and create the opportunities, or, at any rate, rearrange the forces of the world, according to the needs of his development. The history of civilisation is therefore the record of man's will-power that has achieved unexpected and almost impossible results by transforming unfit and inefficient peoples into some of the strongest nations of the world. Religion, industry, commerce, state, education, and literature have been consciously transformed by the heroic efforts of great idealists and men of strong will-power who modified, rearranged and regulated existing forces and conditions so as to give rise to new circumstances and situations. It is such creations of circumstances and new conditions in the environment that are really responsible for the diversity of national fortunes during the same age, as well for the diversity of movements and agitations among the same people in different ages.

In the concluding section (sec. X, The Outlook), the author tells us wherein lies the hope of humanity. Says he—so long as there is one man in this universe capable of opening up new fields and discovering new opportunities by making the necessary modifications and re-arrangements, so long humanity's cause will continue to be broadening from "precedent to precedent", and the interests of mankind widening through revolutions and transformations to "one increasing purpose" with "the process of the suns." The interests of modern mankind are hanging on the activities of the "barbarians" of the present day, who, by altering the disposition of the forces of the universe are silently helping in the shifting of the centre of gravity to a new position, and on the transcendental heroism of those great men who are equipping themselves for the magnificent career to be built up by utilising the conditions thus created and creating new situations by timely and skilful re-adjustment of world influences.

Ranchi.

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

Jainism in Western Garb, as a solution to Life's great Problems written by Herbert Warren chiefly from notes of talks and lectures by Virchand R. Gandhi, B.A., (with his portrait). Pp. 129; price twelve annas (one shilling). To be had of Messrs. Meghji Herji & Co., 566, Pydhoni, Bombay.

This book contains the fundamental principles of Jainism as understood and expounded by the late Virchand Raghavji Gandhi, B.A., M.R.A.S., Bar-at-

Law, the Jaina Representative at the World's Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893. His exposition has been declared by Jaina scholars to be a correct and faithful representation of Jainism and has been embodied in this book by Mr. Herbert Warren.

As regards the subject of the book the author makes the following statement in the introduction:—

"The subject of this book is the solution afforded by Jainism to the problem of life and, to make a general statement of the subject, we may say:—we and all other beings living on this earth are from one point of view uncreate, self-existent, immortal, individual souls, alive with feeling and consciousness, and never to lose our own identity (Jiva). We are each of us responsible to others for our conduct towards them. We are responsible to ourselves for our own condition. In whatever degree we are ignorant, in pain, unhappy, unkind, cruel or weak, it is because, since birth and ever previously in the infinite past, we are and have been acquiring and incorporating into ourselves (*asrava bandha*)—by the attraction and assimilation of subtle, unseen, though real physical matter (*Pudgala*),—energies (*karma*) which clog the natural wisdom, knowledge, blissfulness, love, compassion, and strength of the soul, and which excite us to unnatural action.

"Until we leave off (*samvara, nirjara*) this unnatural kind of life, by refusing to obey impulses and promptings which by our own conscience and understanding we believe to be wrong, and which are only the blind automatic operation of those unnatural though sometimes powerful energies in us (*karmas*), the peace of mind which is inseparable from a life of rectitude, and the final pure natural state of existence in everlasting blissfulness (*moksha*) must remain nothing more than matters of faith and hearsay.

"This is the teaching of the Jain Arhats, according to the present understanding of the writer; and in any case it is a rational theory of good, evil and immortality. The idea that we have fallen from a state of purity is not held; for if it is possible to fall from a final state of purity there is no guarantee that the mental and moral discipline, austerity, and rectitude of life will result in everlasting happiness, and, further, in a pure state there are no impurities, and nothing else would move us to fall into a state where we hurt and injure others.

"This then, is the presentation of the subject in a vague general statement. We may now pass on to the analysis of the subject into parts. The subject falls naturally into four parts, namely:—

"(1) The Universe, (2) Man as he actually is, (3) Man as he may become, (4) Means to that end, each of which is considered in some detail in the following pages."

We quote below the summing up of the Jaina doctrines:—

"We live socially in a real and, in a sense, everlasting universe of sentient, conscious beings (Jiva) and of inanimate, insentient unconscious matter, etc. (Ajiva). We attract (*asrava*) subtle forms of this matter to ourselves and we assimilate it (*bandha*), the natural qualities of the soul are thus more or less obscured, and consequent various conditions of weal (*punya*) and woe (*papa*) are experienced. We have been doing this and suffering the consequences for ever in the past,—before birth and since,—perpetuating our

bodily existence through incarnation after incarnation, through deaths and rebirths continually. This continual attraction and assimilation of matter generates in us energies which are not essential factors of the soul's existence, but which hinder the soul's natural activities. These unnatural energies may be stopped and destroyed by stopping the influx (samivara) and by ridding the soul of matter (nirjara). This is effected by practising the thirty-five ordinary rules of conduct, self-control, twelve special rules of conduct, and concentration, as described in the preceding pages; and by practising more advanced forms of mental and moral disciplines, not given in this book. In this process of stopping the inflow and of ridding the soul of matter, the individual develops gradually through fourteen stages in which there is more and more unimpeded activity of the moral self in the form of right knowledge, wisdom, love, strength, blissfulness, etc., until at the finish every atom of physical matter in combination with the soul and the consequent ignorance, foolishness, cruelty, weakness, pain, misery, etc., are removed from us for ever (moksha).

"The above statements are put forward as being literally true, they are not figurative or mystical, they are about concrete realities, are not abstractions, and are of universal application."

His Holiness Ibrahim Ibn Adham (King of Balkh) by his Holiness Syed Ghafur Shah Al Hussamy-ul-Warsy, Islamic Theosophic Missionary. Published by Mubinuiddin Ahmed, 55 Benea Pukur Road, Calcutta. Pp. 14. Price four annas.

This booklet belongs to the Islamic Saints Series and contains the life and sayings of His Holiness Khaja Ibrahim Ibn Adham of Balkh. He was in his early life a powerful King and subsequently renounced the world.

We give below some of the anecdotes of his life:—

"Once Khaja Ibrahim, now Sultan Ibrahim, went out hunting when he caught sight of a deer which he followed to a great distance away from his camp. All of a sudden he heard a heavenly voice crying out 'Oh Ibrahim! I have not created thee for these sports.' The voice was so melodious and impressive that the Sultan forgot the game, became insensible and fell from his horse. When his men turned up and found him in a senseless state, they quickly brought him over to the palace, where, after a while, the king regained his consciousness. The heavenly voice, however, continued to prick his heart and ultimately inclined it towards God."

"On another occasion the Sultan was meditating on the creation of the world when suddenly he heard a noise coming from the above(?) of the roof of his palace. The Sultan was taken aback and asked if any one was on the roof. A reply came 'I am a traveller searching for my camel which is missing.' The Sultan cried, 'Oh foolish one! Is the camel to be found on the roof of a royal palace which is always guarded by watchmen?' A voice was heard again 'Oh earthly ruler! Is it not foolish of you to search for the Almighty Lord in the midst of a material kingdom which always tempts the minds to evils?'"

"Again on another occasion when the king entered his bed room, he saw one of his maids asleep in the royal bed. He was very wrath and beat her, but the more he beat her, the more she laughed. On being

asked to explain her strange conduct, the maid laughed and said, "If I suffer all this punishment for sleeping only a couple of hours in this bed, what must one suffer for oversleeping the whole of his life in this world?" The answer unhinged the Sultan's mind. He became afraid of the divine wrath, held a durbar, appointed his eldest son to be the lord and renounced all earthly connections".

The Blessed Lord Haj Hafiz Syed Waris Ali Shah of Dewa (Barabanki, India), by His Holiness Rev. Haji Syed Ghafur Shah, Al Hussamy-ul-Warsy, Islamic Theosophical Missionary. Published by the author. Pp. 15. Price eight annas.

This pamphlet also belongs to the "Islamic Saints Series" and contains a short biography and some of the sayings of His Holiness Hazrat Haj Hafiz Syed Waris Ali Shah who was known among his followers and admirers as "The Light of India". Many miraculous deeds have been attributed to His Holiness.

The Old Testament of New India or the Essence of all Vedas, Sutras and Puranas, Vol. I. Part I. By G. R. Mokasi of Dharwar, (with his portrait). Pp. 245+4 (errata). Price Re. 1-8.

The author writes in the preface:—"Almost all educated Indians, especially the editors of daily and weekly newspapers and monthly journals admit that India has been growing poorer day by day, and also that owing to want of unanimity among all classes of Indians on account of caste prejudices, some reformation in their religion is indispensably necessary, but none of them has ever tried to find out where the shoe pinches or in what direction reformation should be commenced. Even if some do think that our Hindu religion is based upon myth and fable, yet they do not freely give out their opinion for want of moral courage and independent spirit. However our Indian newspapers and journals suggest some plausible remedies for the short-comings of our religion, but all of them mostly attribute the cause of Indian poverty to the import of foreign goods and mostly lay it at the door of the British Government instead of their own religious extravagances and folly in having allowed to grow idleness among the priestly class, who alone consume India's wealth unproductively under the name of religion. I have therefore ventured to undertake to expose its glaring defects, and its priest-craft which have been based upon fabulous stories concocted by our old Rishis, Manus and Munis, especially our Dwaipayanacharya alias Vyas-Muni from time to time, to decieve the unthinking laity, for, without this exposure I could not suggest any remedies for the thorough reformation of our religion. These remedies will be dealt with in Volume II entitled "The New Testament of India". Unless Indians radically reform their religious views, social manners and customs and the mode of their life, and bring about unanimity among all classes, they will never prosper in this world. This everyone should bear in mind.....In order to produce an emphatic impression on the minds of my dear readers I have used some strong expressions for which they will excuse me".

Our comments are needless.

Essentials of Hinduism, published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Pp. 98. Price eight annas.

It is a collection of articles that appeared originally

as a symposium in the columns of *The Leader* of Allahabad and embodies the opinions, on the essentials of Hinduism, of such eminent persons as—Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee, the Hon. Mr. Justice Sadasiva Iyer, Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore, I.C.S., Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyenger, M.A., F.M.U., Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao, Mr. P. Narayana Iyer, B.A., B.L., Rai Bahadur Lala Baijnath, Dr. Sir S. Subramania Iyer, K.C.I.E., Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanuja Chariar, Babu Bhagavan Das, the Hon. Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, the Hon. Mr. Gokul K. Parekh, Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, Pandit Durga Datta Joshi, Babu Govinda Das, the Hon. Mr. Justice P. R. Sundara Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, Rao Bahadur K. Ramanuja Chariar, Rao Bahadur V. M. Mahajani, Rao Bahadur Waman Madhav Kolhatkar, Dewan Bahadur M. Adinarayana Iyah, Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak, the Hon. Mr. N. Subbarau Pantalu, Babu Sarada Charan Mitra and Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee, LL.D.

The book affords very interesting reading.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. (No. 38). Vol. IX. Part I. *Samkhya Pravachana Sutra*, translated by Babu Nandalal Sinha, M.A., B.L., P. C. S., Deputy Magistrate, Bihar, and Published by Babu Sudhindro Natha Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. ii + 12 + 70. Price single copy Re. 1-8. Annual Subscription Rs. 12 As. 12. Foreign £1.

This part contains not only the Samkhya Pravachana Sutras but also that excellent treatise Tattva-Samasa (known also as Kapila Sutra).

Mr. Sinha has translated the Tattva-Samasa (pp. ii + 20) with Narendra's Commentary, and the Samkhya Pravachana Sutras with the Vritti of Aniruddha and the Bhasya of Vijnana Bhiksu and has given in English extracts from the Vritisara of Mahadeva Vedantin.

"By the help of the Vritti, readers will be able to form a fair and accurate general acquaintance with the principal doctrines of Kapila, the Founder of the School and the Bhasya will enable them to traverse the whole field of Hindu philosophical speculation and thereby to acquire a deeper and wider knowledge of the Samkhya Philosophy in itself and in its relation to all other systems of thought."

In this part the Samkhya Pravachana Sutras have been translated up to I. 47. The translator has given the English equivalents of every word of the Sutras of the Tattva-Samasa and of the Samkhya Pravachana Sutras. The Texts have also been given.

The book is being ably edited and translated.

Chanakya Nitisara Samgraha, by Prof. Jnanendra Nath Chatterji, Kaviratna, of Midnapur College. Pp. 46. Price two annas.

One hundred and eight Sanskrit verses known as Chanakya slokas have here been translated into Bengali verse and English (prose).

The Crown Sanskrit-English Dictionary compiled by Vasudeo Govind Apte, B.A. and published by K. R. Gondhabkar, Poona City. Pp. 366 + 2 (errata). Price Re. 1-8.

An 'excellent' practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Recommended to High School and College students.

Sanskrit words are printed in Devanagari character.

Is religion undermined by Science? by Prof. T. L. Vaswani, M.A. Pp. 25. Price two annas.

The Path of Service by the same author. Pp. 14. Price one anna.

Both the pamphlets are thoughtful and inspiring.

A Prolegomena to a Religious Philosophy by Prof. T. L. Vaswani, M. A. Pp. 54. Price not known.

The address delivered by Prof. Vaswani at the World Congress of Religions at Berlin 1910, has been expanded and published in a book form. The subject has been ably handled and readers will be benefited by the perusal of the book.

The author, though a cultured man and a Brahman of the Twentieth Century, has not been able to throw off the inheritance of sectarianism of the Nineteenth Century. In one place in the "Foreward" he writes:— "And may I not here suggest to friends and fellow-believers that the Movement of the New Dispensation is broader than all the sections of the Brahma Samaj." This projection of sectarian bias was uncalled for.

Where East and West meet: Interview with Prof. T. L. Vaswani, Pp. 16. Price one anna.

The account given in this pamphlet is a reprint from the *Christian Commonwealth*, London, and is an interesting reading.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

GUJARATI.

In the Service of the Modasa Brotherhood. Published by Mohanlal Vithaldas Gandhi, B.A. Printed at the Ramkrishna Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 64. Paper cover. Unpriced (1912).

This little pamphlet contains various essays, on love, brotherhood, &c., in various shapes, dialogue, letters, addresses from various pens. The style all throughout is very high pitched and therefore artificial. The pamphlet is all the same worth notice because of the fact that in such a remote corner as Modasa, there are people who take such a keen interest in literary matters.

Parakram ni Prasadi by Keshavlal H. Dhruva, B.A., Headmaster, High School, Ahmedabad, printed at the Satyanarayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad, cloth bound. Third edition, pp. 184. Price Rs. 0-12-0 (1912).

Only a few months ago, we had the pleasure of reviewing the second edition of this admirable translation of Kalidas's *Vikramorvashiya Natak*, and now a third edition has been called for. Its scholarly translator has utilised the opportunity by adding still more to its worth, in two ways. He has embellished it by means of a series of eight striking pictures, from the brush of the well-known artist of Western India, Mr. Dhurandhar, and thus provided for the reader, according to a Gujarati proverb, both gold and sweet smell (સોનું અને સુગન્ધ). But what would appeal more to the thoughtful and studious section of the reading public is the concise but extremely well-written introduction trying to determine the period when Kalidas lived. He examines the sources—which are at best but few—with great acumen and intelligence and arrives at a result which seems to be as near accuracy as it is possible to have under the circumstances. He places the period somewhere near

the middle of the first century B.C. By employing an ingenious method Mr. Dhruva compels the plays to yield up their chronological secrets. He has noted closely and given interesting tables of the different *કુદ્સ*, used by Kalidas and other poets, and by means of a certain percentage, worked out with great labor, and which increases and decreases with the remoteness or nearness of that particular play in which they are employed, to certain well-ascertained periods, tried to confirm his conclusion, arrived at by other methods. We wish that the research methods of this Gujarati scholar may get a wider public to appreciate them. The only way to do so, would be to publish them in English.

(1) *Patil Bandhu, Devali issue, published by the Patidar Yuvak Mandal of Surat, pp. 105. Price Re. 0-4-0.*

(2) *The Devali issue of the Gujarati, a weekly (Anglo-Gujarati) published by Ichharam S. Desai, Bombay. Pp. 98. (1912).*

There is quite a sheaf of the Devali issues of periodicals—weekly and monthly—coming out every year now, in imitation of the Christmas numbers of English papers. Their number is on the increase, but amongst them all, we have selected the above two as being worth mention, in point of mechanical get up, popular treatment of a diversity of subjects, and their consequent readableness. The first is a sectarian monthly. It represents the agricultural class—the Patidars of Gujarat, who by means of their wealth and intelligence are making rapid strides towards advancement all round. The second is however by far the best production we have seen in Gujarati till now. It is illustrated with numbers of pictures, of great historical interest, of the mementos of old Surat and Ahmedabad and a mere look at them revives the memory of their glorious past. But more noticeable than that is the array of useful subjects—literary and others, treated most informatively by the different writers. The old romances, merging almost into folklore, of Kathiawad, the home of romances, handled here, only whet the desire of the reader to get more. Then there is the article on fishes and fish-life illustrated with pictures, whose lucid and popular treatment should act as a magnet to draw out others, to follow in the same vein. The Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, like so many other English contemporaries, is generally always full of such articles popularly treating scientific subjects. Gujarati literature is sadly lacking in this respect. We wish the void to disappear, now that a beginning has been made. An otherwise excellent work is marred by a piece of literary unfairness. There is a short story at the end by R. A. Mehta. It appears to have been clearly “lifted” from some English book. It is not written originally by the writer, still he has tried to palm it off on his readers as if he were the author of it. This tendency of an absence of uprightness in a

rising writer cannot be commended, and the Editor should put it down for the sake of his own good name.

Hridaya Zaranan or outpourings of the Heart, by the late Mrs. Sumati, daughter of the Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas of Bhavnagar, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, Thick Card board pp. 171. Unpriced. (1911)

Mrs. Sumati died about a year ago, when she was hardly out of her teens, a martyr to chronic illness. Connected on one side of her parentage with wealth and the other with learning, she took full advantage of her position. Her mother belonged to the family of the late R. B. Bholanath Sarabhai, whose progeny with hardly any exception have been well known in Gujarat as the votaries of Song and Saraswati, and it would not be called a mere assumption, if Sumati's literary tastes and ability be traced to her mother. For a very short space of life—only two or three years—did her poetical inspiration find time to grow. The flower withered before the bud had time to open all its petals to the sun. Her verses are not of a high order, but the promise that lay in them, never came to be fulfilled. A strong devotee of Browning, almost all her poems are Browningses. To some it might appear as if a factitious importance has been tried to be given to her work, by means of the Introduction contributed to it, by a very close relative of hers, Mr. Narsinhrao Bholanath Divatia, a distinguished Gujarati scholar and poet. But really it is not so. A perusal of it would convince any one, that he has rated her work at its proper value; and distributed praise and blame even-handedly. The sum total of his appreciation is, that she was a child of nature, that much of her work is crude, not free from faults, but all the same full of promise. Had it pleased Him to spare her longer, she would have greatly surpassed herself.

Vir Durgadas, by Vithaldas Dhanjibhai Patel of Nadiad, published by the Society for the encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Ramkrishna Jubilee Printing Presses, Ahmedabad. Cloth-bound pp. 291. Price according to cover. Re. 0-8-0, Re. 1-8-0, (1912).

Mr. Vithaldas Dhanjibhai's name is known as a writer of good repute and this novel keeps it up. Miss Jane Porter's Novel “Scottish Chiefs” inspired him to produce something like it in Gujarati and the stirring incidents in the history of Marwad, at the time when Aurangzeb conquered Jodhpur, during the minority of Ajit Singh, furnished him with a parallel to the adventures of William Wallace. The heroic part played by the Marwad warriors headed by Durgadas at this time needs no repetition, and the novel at every step takes us over that interesting ground.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N. B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our

space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

The Chronology of the later Pala-Kings of Bengal.

If I was amused by the method adopted by Babu Rakhaldas Banerji for settling the chronology of the later Pala-Kings of Bengal, I am still more amused to find (in the *Modern Review* of November 1912) that he has prefaced his paper with personal reflections against me and my humble work. (1) We do not really *know* that Chandra (mentioned by Sandhyakara Nandi in his poem *Ramacharita*) was Chandradeva of Kanyakubja. Babu Rakhaldas does not furnish us with any better proof in that respect than a *surmise* of M. M. Haraprasad Sastri that "as Madana was Madanapala of Bengal, so Chandra *must* be Chandradeva of Kanyakubja." A *must* in a mere *surmise* may sometimes be happy and convenient, but it is hardly a safe and sound argument. The text (iv, 19—21) as edited by M. M. Sastri, runs as follows:—

सख्या च शस्त्रमालायाश्चाभूतेन चारुतेन ।
सहित परमशमेण च सुवर्णजातेन विधिवदर्खेण ।
सिंहोसुत विक्रान्तेनाज्जुनधाना सुवः प्रदीपेन ।
कमलाविकाश मेघज भिषजा चन्द्रेण वन्धुनोपेतम् ॥
चण्डीचरण सरोजप्रसादसम्पन्नविग्रहश्रीकं ।
न खलु सदनं सङ्गिशमौशमगात् जगद्विजयलक्ष्मीः ॥

No translation of these verses has been published by M. M. Sastri or by Babu Rakhaldas to enlighten the ignorant or the sceptic as to how they supply or suggest materials for establishing the identity of Chandra of the poem with Chandradeva of history. (2) I could not accept another *surmise* that Vighrahapala III "had a short reign", as the contrary was actually recorded in the royal grant of his grandson, who was not likely to err on the point. Babu Rakhaldas *unhesitatingly* "ignored the flourish of words of that grant", because it was a *Kavi-prasasti*. This taint clings to all royal grants and with greater force to all poems including the *Ramacharita*, yet the length of a reign, being a matter of universal knowledge in that age, was less liable to be misrepresented by the court-poet. My *hesitation* to ignore this assertion in the royal grant shows my *timidity*,

while Babu Rakhaldas Banerji's *want of hesitation* to ignore the same shows his *boldness*, which undoubtedly fits in with better grace with his juvenile enthusiasm. (3) I could not accept yet another *surmise* that Harivarman died long before Ramapala; and it has not as yet been accepted by any scholar in the publications of the learned societies. Babu Rakhaldas says, a discussion of this matter has been *reserved* for a future paper. So I must hope to live to learn.

Babu Rakhaldas has not as yet had an opportunity to visit the locality of the pillar of the Kaivarta leader in Varendra. It stands at a place which is rather out of the way. The claims of this pillar, to be connected with the Kaivarta leader, will be discussed in detail in a future publication of the Varendra Research Society; and so I could not anticipate the same, nor could Babu Ramaprasad Chanda, who was in the *know*, help being "caught in the net". I fondly hoped that we had outgrown the age which asserted that "what we do not know is not knowledge". As I hoped against hope, I must apologise. It is, however, a happy sign of the times that these questions have come to be discussed in our monthly journals. But I must note with regret that assertions, which are seldom made in papers submitted to the scrutiny of learned societies, are unhesitatingly employed in contributions to the monthly journals; and that our journals also tolerate personal reflections, which have no place in literary discussions.

A. K. MAITRA.

The Riddle of the Ashvins.

Apropos of Mr. Muhammad Shahidulla's attempt to solve the riddle of the Ashvins in the December number of your *Review*, will you allow me to express here my full concurrence in his conclusion that these Vedic Twin Gods must be identified with the twin stars in Gemini in order to understand clearly the true nature of the Ashvin legends? I wish also to point out that the 'asses' of the Ashvins which Mr. Shahidulla has failed to identify in his paper, may be found in Cancer lying immediately to the east of Gemini. Says

Mr. William Tyler Olcott in his recently published work 'The star Lore, of All Ages' (see p. 92): "The two fourth magnitude stars north and south of the Manger, γ and δ Cancri, were called by the Greeks the Aseli, the asses feeding at the Manger. The Arabs knew them by the same name." The so-called 'manger' is the name given by the ancients to the great naked-eye star cluster "Praesepe," which these two asses, called respectively Asellus Borealis (the northern ass) and Asellus Australis (the southern ass), enclose between them. Astronomical writers like Flammarion, Garrett P. Serviss and others, have wondered why two such inconspicuous stars, having the least resemblance to the donkey, should have been known to antiquity as asses. But whatever the explanation of the mystery, the fact cannot be denied that the ancients knew them as such. I put forth the suggestion that these are the asses which drew the car of the Ashvins. Mr. Shahidulla has gone to a distant constellation like Auriga to search for the 'car' of the Ashvins. But it does not seem necessary to look out for a regular stellar car for the Ashvins. The term 'car' in connection with the Ashvins seems to me to have been used merely figuratively, to signify *movement* on the part of the deity referred to as in phrases like 'car of Agni,' 'car of Ushas,' 'car of Indra,' 'car of Marut,' and so on. When it is said that Surya or Ushas mounted the car of the Ashvins at the bridal procession of the former, what was meant seems to be that the dawn-flush lighted up the constellation Gemini—and, perhaps, also the Cancer—and the whole pageantry of heaven began to move towards the quarter of the sky where the equinoctial sunrise took place.

The identification by Mr. Shahidulla of Surya with Sirius (Canis Major) seems to me to be

against all Vedic tradition. Shaunaka, in his *Bṛihaddevata* (II, 9-10), an ancient work in elucidation of the Veda, observes: "They call her Ushas before sunrise, Surya when midday reigns, but Vṛishakapayi at the setting of the sun". In II, 8, these three goddesses are called the wives of Surya, the sun-god, the whole character of the wedding Hymn of Surya points to the goddess being only another representation of the Dawn-Maiden Ushas. Moreover, Sirius is already identified in Vedic literature with a Divine Dog *दिव्यश्वान*—recalling the curious fact that in Western mythology Sirius is known as the Greater Dog (Canis Major). In some places Sirius is also represented as the Divine Deer-slayer *समव्राध* pursuing the deer in Orion. Both these appellations seem to be in the fitness of things, but the identification of a Dawn-maiden like Surya with Sirius seems to be not only unnecessary but against all Vedic tradition.

There is another curious fact regarding the star cluster in Cancer. It is also known to Greek and Western mythology as the "bee-hive." It will not be strange if the association of 'honey' with the Ashvins has resulted from this source, as the association of 'asses' seems to have originated from the proximity of the Aseli in the same constellation.

As regards the date of the Ashvin legends, which the writer fixes between 6000—4000 B. C., my own studies in the light of the Arctic theory—*pace* Mr. Mazumdar!—have long convinced me that the Vernal Equinox lay between Magha and Purva-Phalguni at the time when the Ashvin legends were being woven by the Vedic Rishis. This would give us a date about 10000—8000 B. C. But, it would be impossible to sum up all the arguments in support of my contention in this place.

RAMACHANDRA K. PRABHU.

NOTES

What we want.

Although the Public Services Commission has not as yet assembled to consider its deliberations, a list of interrogatories has been published which shows the nature of the subjects it is going to tackle. We are bound to say that this list does not convince us that the scope of the enquiry of the Commission will be so comprehensive as the Indian public had expected it to be. Perhaps other lists will be published hereafter. As the answers to almost all the questions

are suggested in the special Public Services Commission issue of this *Review* (November, 1912) it is not necessary to go over all the questions again. So we formulate our requirements for the consideration of the Public Services Commission as follows:—

1. To preserve the "irreducible minimum" of Britishers in the State employ in India—a schedule should be prepared of all those posts which should be held *for the present* by Britishers to maintain English supremacy in this country. As this is a question of

Imperial policy and necessity, at least half of the pay of the scheduled posts should be defrayed by the British Imperial Exchequer.

2. There should be *one and only one* standard service—the present distinctions of covenanted, uncovenanted, imperial and provincial should be done away with. The pay and allowances of British and Indians doing the same work should be equal. Exchange compensation paid to Britishers should be at once abolished.

3. All service examinations should be held in India, since the services exist for India and not India for the services, and also because Indian students are not fairly treated in England.

4. The maximum pension for all public servants should not be more than 500 rupees a month.

All the Examinations should be held in India.

There was a time when Indians in England were well-treated by the people of that country. The number of Indians then sojourning in Great Britain was not a very large one—hardly exceeding a couple of hundreds at a time—and they were looked upon as Indian Rajas and princes. But owing to the large increase of Indians residing in England that has taken place of late, for at present there are no less than 3,000 Indian sojourners in that country—every device is being resorted to, in order to discourage and prevent our countrymen from visiting the land of their rulers. The preliminary preparations for the voyage—the certificates which have to be secured from District Magistrates, Political Agents or Police Commissioners are very troublesome to the Indian aspirants for entering the services and the professions of Law and Medicine. The regulations which the Inns have lately made are, to say the least, most unfair to Indian students.

Imperialism is rampant everywhere in England. This has been brought about by her connection with India. Wrote Sir Edward Sullivan in 1858:—

"In considering the advantages this country derives from the possession of India, we must not omit the immense impulse it gives to matrimony amongst the upper middling classes; and when we remember that according to the first political economists of the day, one of our greatest national dangers lies in the great number of the population excluded from matrimony, by what the author of 'Companions of my Solitude'

calls 'the great vice of great cities' this counteracting influence is no small subject for congratulation.* * *

"Marriage is now a luxury confined to the rich—it is *caviare* to the general public; but it is not so with the Anglo-Indian, whose ample pay and emoluments, and the undoubted existence of a widow's pension, supplies at once with the income and settlements necessary to secure that 'one solid comfort, an eternal wife' years before contemporary curates, barristers, or clerks dare think of such a blessing.* * * Marriage is a most popular institution in India; and I suppose there are a greater number of married men in the Company's Service, than in any corresponding number of men in the world.* * * I should say, that, take the Indian Services through, one in every four was married; and as one marriage with another contributes, on an average, four children to the population of the country, we have, besides the innumerable relatives and pensioners of the 7,000 salaried officers of the Company themselves, about 1,700 ladies with *their* relatives and friends, and nearly 7,000 little brown babies, all of whom share the profits of the Indian Service." *Letters on India*, pp. 55-57.

It is this spirit of Imperialism (*plus* the misconduct of a few Indians there) which accounts for the peculiar treatment Indian students are subjected to in England, since the Imperialists of that country look upon India as the happy hunting ground and close preserve for their "boys." Indians are necessarily therefore considered as "interlopers."

Does India exist for the services or the services exist for India? That is the problem which the Royal Commission should solve to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

It used to be said that the ranks of the Civil and Medical Services were as open to Indians as to Britishers, because the Competitive Examinations held in London were as much open to the former as to the latter. Those who asked for simultaneous examinations were told that English training was necessary for all in the higher posts in the public services. But the regulations which have been made of late do not show impartiality and fairness to Indian students. The Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge do not admit Indian students as freely now as they used to do formerly. Indian students do not receive that fair treatment from their professors which their English fellow students do—aye, even the latter do not look upon their dusky fellow subjects with kindly feelings.

This is no exaggeration, no language of hyperbole, but a naked statement of facts—which, apart even from the natural fairness of the suggestion, would be sufficient reasons for the Royal Commission to recom-

mend the holding of all examinations in India. *The Services must exist for India and hence admission to them should be through the portal of examinations conducted in India alone and no where else.*

Equalization of Pensions.

At present pensions to the Covenanted Civil and military servants are paid more handsomely than persons of the same rank obtain as salaries in other civilized countries of the world. Members of the "heaven-born" Civil Service draw extraordinarily large pay and then they retire on a pension of £1000 a year. The pay and pension of British officers serving in India is a great drain of the money of Indian tax-payers and hence no improvement, very urgently needed for the welfare of this country, is possible. The highest pension for all ranks, whether Civil or Military, should be fixed at 500 Rupees a month and not more. It should be paid in rupees, that is, in the currency of the Indian Empire.

One of the arguments urged for the high salary that is paid to British employes in India is that they have to maintain the dignity of their official position in this country, as well as to remit money home for the education of their children. The same argument can not hold true in the case of pensioners who return to England, where, being in their own native country and amidst their own kith and kin, they must live like their neighbours and not play the role of Indian nabobs of bye-gone days. They can live very comfortably on £400 a year. Besides they carry away a large saving out of their pay and allowances. These considerations should induce the Royal Commissioners to recommend the maximum limit of pensions allowable to Indian public servants to 500 Rupees a month.

Reasoning in a Vicious Circle.

Whenever there is a manifestation of any unrest in this country, it is solemnly advised by Anglo-Indians to increase the number of Britishers in the employ of the Indian Government. After the deplorable bomb outrage of 1908, Sir Charles Elliot, a late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and a great friend of Lord Morley of Blackburn, wrote to the papers that the Government should increase the number of British

officers in India, which, in his opinion, would put a stop to such outrages in the future. It is considerations like these which accounts for the large increase of Anglo-Indians, including Eurasians, in the various departments, because they can enroll as volunteers and thus be useful in defending their kith and kin against the attacks of "wild" Indians!

But they forget that this undue partiality and preference to Eurasians and Anglo-Indians is one of the main causes of the discontent which prevails among the educated ranks of Indian society. This is evident from the speech of Mr. Drummond delivered in the House of Commons on June 7th, 1858, an extract from which is given below. Even after the lapse of over half a century what he said then holds true to a great extent now. He said:—

"The first person whose testimony I shall quote in support of my statement is Sir F. Shore, son of L. Teignmouth, who says, that the insolent behaviour which English people resident in India think it necessary to pursue towards the natives, by way of keeping up their own dignity, is carried to such a pitch, as to lead the latter to avoid as much as possible all intercourse with them in as much as they are far more likely to meet with slight and neglect than with sympathy. The same gentleman adds, that it is not at all uncommon to hear young men, who have been only a year or two in India, and who are wholly unacquainted with the language of the country, except, perhaps, that they can smatter a little Hindostanee jargon, speak of the natives with the utmost contempt, looking upon them as a degraded race, and not allowing that they possess a single good quality. The language of Billingsgate, he goes on to observe, is constantly used towards respectable servants, simply because they do not happen to understand what their masters say, a circumstance which is very often owing to the fact that these do not speak intelligibly. I may also mention the story of a certain magistrate, who insisted that whenever a native on horseback met him, he should at once dismount and make him a salute; while I may adduce the authority of Mr. Norton to prove that we seem disposed to regard the natives now with even less kindness and sympathy than at the period when our relations with them were first established. Mr. Rees states, in his *Narrative*, that the conduct of many of our young officers towards the natives is cruel and tyrannical while the *London Quarterly* declares that the behaviour of Europeans is marked by a high degree of pride and insolence. Lord William Bentinck said, that the result of his observation was, that the Europeans generally knew little or nothing of the customs and manners of the people; and Mr. Fraser Tytler asserts, that the servants of the Company are the least able to supply correct information upon these subjects. Now, if we are proud of our aristocracy, and mindful of their dignity, how can we think that these things do not rankle in the breasts of men who can trace up their

hereditary rank and their possessions to a period anterior to the time of Alexander the Great? Are we so foolish as to imagine that, because they do not retort an insult upon the moment, they do not feel it?

* * * * *

Now, the root of the whole evil is the doctrine that India is a country to be *exploited* for the benefit of the Civil Service. If we are going to look upon India as we have looked upon it hitherto, * * * * * for English officials, we shall surely lose it, and shall deserve to lose it.

So the remedy of the present discontent does not consist in large and larger increases of British officers in India, but quite the opposite.

Scientific Departments of the Indian Public Services.

The Indian Surveys are most important departments of the Government of India. The operations which had been carried out in the different branches of these Surveys from the date of the British occupation were reviewed by Sir Clements R. Markham as well as Mr. Charles E. D. Black, in works which were printed and published by order of the late Queen-Empress' Secretary of State for India in Council in 3 volumes in 1870, 1878 and 1891 respectively. These volumes furnish very useful information on Indian Surveys, such as "Indian Marine Surveys," "Great Trigonometrical Survey of India," "Geological Survey of India", &c. It is in these departments of Indian Public Services, that natives of India are very seldom employed and find no encouragement at the hands of those who are in authority. Before the last Public Service Commission of 1886-1887, one gallant officer who was at that time the Surveyor-General of India did not hesitate to declare before the Hon'ble members of the Commission in a *non-chalant* manner that he never allowed a native to touch a theodolite.

In a memorandum which the then Surveyor-General of India, Colonel De Pree submitted to the Public Service Commission, he wrote:—

"I may here remark incidentally, that my numerous late inspections show me that the tendency of the European Surveyors is to stand and look on, while the Natives are made to do the drawing and hand printing as if they thought themselves quite above that sort of thing. This is a mistake and it cannot be permitted for the future. Besides, it is suicidal for Europeans to admit that Natives can do any one thing better than themselves. *They should claim to be superior in everything and only allow Natives to take a secondary or subordinate part.* [The italics are ours.]

"In my old parties I never permitted a Native to touch a theodolite or an original computation; on the principle that the triangulation or scientific work was the prerogative of the highly-paid European; and this reservation of the scientific work was the only way by which I could keep up a distinction, so as to justify the different figures of pay respectively drawn by the two classes, between the European in office time, and the Native who ran him so close in all the office duties as well as in field duties.

"Yet I see that Natives commonly do the computations now-a-days, and the Europeans some other inferior duties."

How can natives of India show "the faculty of independent research and critical observation" if we are to believe what Sir John Gorst, sometime Secretary of State for India, said in his famous Manipur Speech that "Government had always discouraged independent and original talent, and had always preferred docile mediocrity. This was not a new policy."

Mr. P. N. Bose after a brilliant academic career in England was appointed to the Geological Survey of this country. He was the first Indian to be so appointed. But how was he treated? In a memoir on the Indian Surveys, 1875-1890, by Charles E. D. Black, which, as has been said above, was published by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, we find the following recorded on page 204:—

"Mr. Bose took up new ground in the basin of the upper Mahanadi, but the results were not deemed satisfactory by Mr. Medlicott, who indeed referred prominently to this as an additional proof of the unsuitableness of natives of India for the faculty of independent research and critical observation required to make a good Geologist. Mr. Medlicott adds that *the Geological Survey is about the only branch of the public service in which natives could not as yet reasonably find employment.*" [The italics are ours.]

Mr. P. N. Bose by his career in the department of which Mr. Medlicott was a very mediocre member, has disproved the most unjustifiable assertion of his whilom chief. We wonder that the then Secretary of State for India encouraged the dissemination of such a libel on Her Majesty's Indian subjects by publishing at the cost of the Indian taxpayers the volume from which the above extract is made.

Offer of Battleships by the Ruling Chiefs of India.

There is a rumour that following the example of the Colonies and of the Malay States, the Ruling Chiefs of India are thinking of offering three battleships and nine cruisers to the Imperial Government.

If the rumour be true, whether the offer

be of twelve vessels or one, does not matter, we hope these Chiefs will consider whether the educational and sanitary requirements of their own subjects have been met even up to the standard attained in British India, where it is rather low, before they think of helping the wealthy citizens of Great Britain. They should remember Krishna's advice to Arjuna,

दरिद्रान् भर कौन्तेय सा प्रयच्छेच्चरे धनम् ।

"O son of Kunti, help the poor, do not give wealth to the rich."

In this rumoured offer a political principle, too, is involved. The Ruling Chiefs, at any rate many of the most influential, are not British subjects. The Nizam of Hyderabad, for instance, is an ally of Great Britain. No Chief is strong enough to resist even a hint of the Resident. But would it be quite regular, or would it be consistent with the dignity and self-respect of Great Britain to accept from her allies what amounts to pecuniary help? Britain's trade is increasing by leaps and bounds; she is not impecunious. We know Englishmen do not much care for these oriental notions of dignity and self-respect. For thousands of Englishmen have enjoyed feasts provided by Indian Rajas and Nawabs without ever thinking of returning their hospitality. They are always prepared to receive but not always to give.

By the army which India maintains, she contributes to the defence of the Empire more than her fair share. The colonies do nothing of the kind. So by contributing Dread-noughts, they certainly do not spend more for the empire than India has been doing for a long time past.

That there are influential sections of the colonists who do not want to make direct contributions to the British navy, but want to have navies of their own, will appear from the following Reuter's telegrams:—

Ottawa, Dec. 13.

The Canadian House of Commons was crowded when Sir Wilfrid Laurier moved an amendment to Mr. Borden's Naval Bill, demanding the establishment of Canadian fleets in the Atlantic and the Pacific, each with a super-Dread-nought, manned, if possible, by Canadians, and maintained by Canada. "The Vessels", Sir Wilfrid Laurier said, "would be at the disposal of Great Britain in any emergency." The amendment also urged the establishment of naval shipyards in Canada.

In his speech Sir Wilfrid Laurier condemned Government's policy of direct contribution. It was not Canadian, not British, and was unsuited to the real needs of the Empire. Referring to Mr. Borden's request that Canada should have

a voice in questions of peace and war, Sir Wilfrid said that that was a large contract, which might take years to solve. Meanwhile Canada should continue her preparation for defence. If Canada were represented in the Councils of Empire, then other dominions must be also; and he did not believe that foreign affairs would be much benefitted by a multitude of advice.

London, Dec. 16th.

General Hertzog's speeches since the naval question came into prominence in South Africa have been especially noteworthy. He declared on one occasion that Imperialism was important in his view only when it was useful to South Africa. When it was contrary to the interests of South Africa, it was a distinct enemy to that country. All the noise about the Navy had been started by a few thousand interested people.

There is one other point that deserves consideration. When a colony offers a Dread-nought to Britain, it knows that any white native of the colony can enter the navy and become an officer. But is *any* career in the British navy open to any native of British India or "Native" India? So, if the Ruling Chiefs do offer battleships to Great Britain would they have the courage and self-respect to stipulate that careers in the British navy might be open to their subjects? No stipulation could be fairer. But most probably the arrangement would be like that which obtains in the case of the Imperial Service troops, the money coming from the Chiefs' pockets and the control and guidance remaining entirely in British hands.

Not to speak of the dim past, even in comparatively recent times the Maratha sea-lord Angre proved the ability of Indians to fight naval battles. In merchantmen the lascars still brave the dangers of the deep with the most dauntless white sailors. We have the men, but we have no opportunity.

A ferocious sentence.

Some time ago a Reuter's telegram informed us that in Egypt "a student, named Ahmed Mukhtar, arrested for posting seditious placards, has been sentenced to imprisonment for ten years." If a British student had done a similar thing in Great Britain he would not probably have got even ten weeks. Does Egypt rest secure on the foundation of ferocious sentences?

The Maharaja of Bobbili on Madras Zamindars.

The Maharaja of Bobbili indulged in a bit of plain speaking at the annual meeting of the Madras Landholders' Association. The picture he drew of Madras Landholders

will find its parallel in other provinces, too. He said:—

"For the last thirty years or so I have been closely watching the careers of our Zamindars, and I regret very much to find that they have been rather backward in administration, education and manly sports and in social functions. As soon as they succeed to their estates they give up all sports, generally shut themselves up in their homes and avoid social functions as much as they could. It is a pity to find some of them tools in the hands of their wives. The most regrettable occurrence to be noted is that some of the Zamindars have taken too much to drink and I believe that some of them have shortened their lives in consequence. In many cases the Manager or Dewan is lent by Government, and in him the whole management of the estate is left. In some cases, where a Zamindar is incapable of managing his estate, I see no fault in that procedure, but the Manager's work is often checked or even overruled by the owner's clerk or by a menial servant. Whatever education the Zamindar received when he was young, he never improves it. There is literature to read on all sorts of subjects and one can read on any subject for which he has a taste. Instead of finding enjoyment in reading, they find it a painful undertaking. Many of our present Zamindars do not read even newspapers. They ask some one else to read them and to tell them the chief events of the day. Even then the man thus deputed hardly finds an opportunity to inform his master. Many of our brother Zamindars are regular absentees from their head-quarters. It has now become a fashionable thing to buy a house in Madras or at the head quarters of the district for living. It is true, there are some liberal and charitable men among us but they open their purse rather indiscriminately. It means in many cases a waste of money."

The Maharaja complains, a "mere man" that he is, that some of his brethren are tools in the hands of their wives. We think that is not quite bad. But it may be that he used the word "wives" for the sake of decorum.

The I. C. S. and other competitive examinations.

We have said in a previous note that the I. C. S. competitive examination and other similar examinations should be held only in India. Now, nothing is more natural than that the public servants of a country should be chosen in that country itself. When a country is completely independent, that is what is always done. Germany and France, for example, do not hold their competitive service examinations in Rome. It may be said that when a country is dependent, as India is, it cannot expect that a similar natural arrangement should prevail there. We do not see why. After all, the young British Civilian has to serve in India.

What is the harm in his undergoing the examination in India? It may be asked, as there is no certainty of his succeeding, why should he be expected to spend so much money in coming to and residing in India on the mere expectation of securing a place? In reply, we will ask a similar question: Why should the young Indian be required, as he is at present, to go to and reside in England at such great expense when there is no certainty of his getting a post? In the case of the Indian, the hardship is greater, as he is made to spend money for simply getting a chance to serve in his mother country, which is his *birth-right*. It is not the Briton's birth-right to serve in India, it is only an artificial *political right*, which can not be held to be equal to a birth-right. But it may be urged: "But the Indian is a conquered creature, the Briton is his conqueror; the two cannot be placed on a footing of equality." Leaving aside the question of the character of Great Britain's acquisition of India, we reply: "If there is to be a distinction between the conqueror and the conquered, what becomes of the promise of equal treatment made in the Queen's Proclamation and its reaffirmation by her two successors?"

We do not think it is at all a hardship to ask the young Briton to come out to India to undergo a competitive examination here. British merchants and British Government servants, the exploiters and the administrators, alike come to India for a career. When the merchant comes, he does not come with the prospect of *assured* gain; there are cases of failure. And in such cases, merchants do not consider it a grievance that they have failed in business; though a misfortune it certainly is. Why then should the would-be Government servant of British blood insist upon coming out to India with the prospect of an assured and guaranteed career? Why should he consider it a hardship to be called upon to take his chance as the British merchant does?

Even simultaneous examinations held in Great Britain and India, would not be an equal test. For the Indian candidate would be even then handicapped by having to answer all questions in a foreign tongue, whereas the British candidate would answer them in his mother-tongue. As the court

language of British India is English, all Government servants must know English; —we cannot, therefore claim to be examined through the medium of our mother-tongues. But as some sort of set-off against our handicap of language, the young Briton should be reasonable enough to agree to spend some money and undergo the trouble of a voyage to India.

It may be urged against our position that the citizens of the self-governing colonies do not claim that the colonial service competitions should be held in the colonies. We do not know what they really feel on the subject. But it is certain that *British* civilians do not monopolise all the highly-paid and important posts in the colonies as they do here in India. It is also to be considered that, unlike us, the colonists undergo the competitive examination in London in their mother-tongue which is English. Moreover, they can serve and make money and exercise power anywhere in the British Empire, whereas the Indian is not allowed even to enter the colonies freely, except as an indentured coolie, and efforts are being made to kick him out of his home in the colonies. So the case of the colonists is not on a par with that of the Indians.

It may be said that if the competitive examination were to be held only in India, either no Briton would be able to enter the civil service, or that the successful majority would be Indians. We do not think that the former contingency is at all a probability; the Briton is not so inferior a creature. But if the majority of successful candidates be Indians, that is what ought to be. But, it may be asked, what would then become of

"The Irreducible Minimum."

We do not know whether the man or men who coined this phrase had a clear idea of the probabilities of history. Some of the earlier British statesmen who ruled India did not think it unlikely that a time (and that not a very remote time) might come when Great Britain would give up ruling India. But leaving that contingency apart, it is not at all improbable that India would in future enjoy as great a measure of self-government as the British colonies now do, though it may not be exactly in the same form. Supposing, however, that India conti-

nues to be administered in the same bureaucratic way as at present, we should like to meet the man who could lay down unerringly the exact proportion of British officials, the slightest decrease in which would endanger Great Britain's rule in India. The man or men who saw nothing ridiculous or absurd in inventing the phrase "irreducible minimum" of British officials, when the proportion of Europeans and Indians in the higher appointments is what it is at present, surely had no sense of the ridiculous. For, what is implied in the phrase? It is implied that Indians have already secured the higher appointments in such large numbers that the time has come to draw a line to put a stop to all further "encroachments" on their part. But what are the facts? The statistics published in our last November number should convince every one that in some departments Indians are totally excluded from the higher posts, and in all others they are in a deplorable minority so far as the higher appointments are concerned. Take the Indian Civil Service. Out of a total of 1292 covenanted civilians, only 54 are Indians. In the 11 departments of the Government of India Secretariat there are 112 officers, of whom only 11 are Indians. In the Home, Public Works, Military, Finance, Revenue and Agriculture, and Commerce and Industry departments, there is not a single Indian officer. Perhaps in these departments the maximum represents the irreducible minimum! So the phrase, "irreducible minimum" has been brought into use rather too early. Perhaps the custodians of vested interests have acted on the principle, "to be forewarned is to be forearmed".

No irreducible minimum can be artificially fixed. Nothing can last which is not progressive. The British Government cannot last if it be not progressive. It must be progressive in all directions. If an irreducible minimum of British officers be fixed arbitrarily that would mean that the progress of Indians would be artificially blocked. But no government can be progressive which does such a thing. We think no post which is open to covenanted civilians ought to be too high for Indians to aspire to. The British Indian empire can exist even with all the posts now held by European civilians, filled by Indians. There is no irreducible minimum of these posts which

must be held by Europeans. There cannot be any arbitrary limit. But there may be a natural limit. That is if we can not perform the duties of any office we are naturally shut out from it. But there can not be any declaration of our unfitness for any office on *a priori* grounds. No one can be declared unfit who has not been given a chance to prove his capacity. One may devise the stiffest physical, intellectual and moral test, and impose it equally on candidates of all races and creeds; we will not complain. But we object to any direct or indirect racial, credal or complexional tests whatever. But if an irreducible minimum must be fixed, we say, let it be fixed for the present that the Viceroy, the Governors and the Commander-in-Chief must be Britons; and let half their salaries be paid from the British Imperial Exchequer.

The need of European training and experience.

It may be objected that if competitive examinations are held in India, how are the candidates to have British training and experience? The solution is easy. The selected candidates may be asked to spend their period of probation in Great Britain. We would go further and say that they should spend some time in France, Germany and the United States of America and acquire a knowledge of the systems of administration of those countries.

The Civil Service Syllabus.

The Civil Service Syllabus is very unfair to Indian candidates in one respect. The maximum marks assigned to Arabic and Sanskrit are 800 each; whereas the maximum marks assigned to Greek and Latin are 1100 each. Arabic and Sanskrit are not easier for Indians to learn than are Greek and Latin for Europeans. Nor are they less valuable; on the contrary they are more valuable for persons who wish to govern the people of India. Sanskrit literature has moulded the Hindu people to a very great extent; so has Arabic literature moulded the Mussalmans. To understand the people of India aright one must know both or at least one of these literatures. Without understanding them, how can one govern them well?

Yet we find Arabic and Sanskrit arbi-

trarily undervalued. It would be quite easy to quote the opinions of European savants and British Indian administrators as to the value of Arabic and Sanskrit, but it is unnecessary. We will quote only the latest. In the course of the annual convocation speech of the Punjab University, delivered on the 7th December last, Sir Louis Dane, the Chancellor, said:—

Personally His Honor could speak for Arabic and Persian and confidently assert these classics were in no way inferior to Greek and Latin, as excellent exercises for the mind and storehouses of concentrated wisdom of the past. His Honor had no doubt that Sanskrit, the mother of Aryan tongues, was even more valuable in India.

The principal Indian vernaculars should be included in the syllabus. They are not less valuable for Indian civilians than Italian, French or German. If it be said that it would be very easy for a Bengali, a Hindustani, a Gujarati, &c., to secure high marks in Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, &c., respectively; we would reply that it would not be easier than for an Englishman to secure high marks in English composition and English language and literature. What is sauce for the gander ought to be sauce for the goose also.

Some Public Service Commission Interrogatories.

Some of the questions framed for the Islington Commission clearly show that the Commission would consider certain proposals which we cannot but consider as retrograde and mischievous. We print some of them below.

7. What could be your opinion with regard to filling a fixed proportion of the vacancies in the Indian Civil Service Cadre by Natives of India, recruited by means of a separate examination in India, or by means of separate examinations in each province or group of provinces in India? If you favour such a scheme, what proportion do you recommend?

8. If you do not approve of simultaneous or separate examinations in India, are you in favour of any system under which Natives of India would be selected in India for admission to the Indian Civil Service by means of (a) nomination, (b) combined nomination and examination or (c) any other method? If so, describe fully what system you would recommend. In particular do you consider it desirable that all classes and communities should be represented in the appointments so made? If so how would you give effect to this principle?

9. If you are in favour of a system for the part recruitment of the Indian Civil Service by Natives of India in India do you consider that "Natives of

India" should still be eligible for appointment in England?

We are for the entire abolition of the Covenanted Civil and Provincial Civil Services, and their substitution by one standard service, open to all races and creeds through the door of a competitive examination held in India. However, if the Covenanted Civil Service be not abolished, our answer to question 7 and to each of its subdivisions would be unhesitating and clear. We do not want any fixed proportion of the Indian Civil Service to be filled by natives of India, we do not want a *separate* examination in India, we are still more strongly opposed to separate examinations in each province or group of provinces. We do not want a fixed proportion for various reasons, some of which we shall mention. (1) When we are theoretically entitled to hold *all* the appointments and may secure all of them in course of time, why should we barter this natural right for any present small gain? (2) This fixed proportion would be assigned as a sort of favour. But we do not want any favour. We want justice. We want only what we can get by our ability and character; nothing else is worth having, as nothing else conduces to real national strength. (3) This fixed proportion would be most probably a very small proportion, say, one-fourth or one-sixth of the whole cadre. But can any one say that we can not secure more as the result of a fair competition, however stiff? But even if the proportion assigned were 90 per cent., we would not accept the arrangement as final. For how can it be said that we can at no time get 95 per cent. of the posts by competition? (4) A separate examination held in India, however stiff, would be characterised by Anglo-Indians and their friends in England as an easier test than the one held in England. So that would be made a ground for assigning to successful candidates here a lower status and lower pay. The examination must be *one* examination. (5) The idea of holding separate examinations in the different provinces or groups of provinces, is very mischievous. It may become a very effective weapon in the hands of designing men in the game of fostering provincial disunion and jealousies. It may say, "Look here, I am your friend; I am giving you protection against the Madrasis or the Parsis or the Bengalis, by

holding a separate examination for you." But let nobody listen to its siren voice. Whoever reads newspapers knows that non-Bengalis are now holding their own in all examinations very successfully and even beating the Bengalis. Moreover, nothing is really so good for a people as keen competition. If a test be made easier for us than for others, it is an enemy in the guise of a friend. For it will keep us backward. Whereas if we have to pass a severe test, we must gird up our loins and be strong. If we could not be strong at any time even in the future by our utmost efforts, it were better that we perished. High posts or wealth obtained any how is not the *summum bonum*, the greatest good, not even continued existence is the highest good. The highest national good is the strength to survive, morally, intellectually and physically. We must not take it for granted that we are weaklings and must for ever remain weaklings. Let no province of India consider the proposal of an easy test for it (if there be such a proposal) in any other light than that of an insult to its capacity, though it may be quite unintentional.

In answer to the eighth question we say that we are for an open competition: nomination, combined nomination and examination or any other similar method we emphatically and utterly condemn. They are sure to promote jobbery, favouritism, patron-hunting and flunkeyism. The competitive system is not without its defects, but it is far superior to any other method that human wit has so far devised. It should be observed that nomination, &c., are proposed *for India alone*, not for England as well. If nomination, &c., be good, why not give Great Britain the advantage of these celestial methods? Or are we to be told that all retrograde backbone-softening methods are good for India alone?

But the most mischievous part of the whole question is: "In particular do you consider it desirable that all classes and communities should be represented in the appointments so made?" So, is the poison of communal representation to be introduced even here? Is India not to know any peace? Agitators are blamed for the unrest in India. God knows what portion of the blame ought to fall upon the shoulders of various Government servants and the regulations

and proposals made by them. We tremble to think how communal representation in the services may become a worse bone of contention than communal representation in the legislative councils. May God give all classes and communities of Indians right understanding and genuine patriotism!

We know that if these questions indicate a Government policy already decided upon, not merely the idiosyncrasy of the framers of the interrogatories, nothing that we or the witnesses may say, will avail to alter it. But still we must do our duty. So we ask, if for the sake of good government it be necessary artificially to secure in the public services the representation of all classes and communities, why is there no arrangement for securing such representation in Great Britain? The greatest British friend of India cannot say that he is more anxious to secure good government for India than for his native land. The only possible argument that may be adduced is that here in India there are the clashing interests of various sections, and racial, communal and other conflicts. Let us admit that there are and let us not enquire what causes are responsible for them to what extent. But are there not such clashing of interests and conflicts in the United Kingdom? Can anybody deny that they are more widespread and serious there than in India? There the hand of one sex is raised against another. The Ulster Protestants have declared themselves on the verge of rebellion and made armed preparations, because justice is going to be done to the Irish Catholics. The whole class of workingmen are in deadly conflict with capitalists. All these have led to strikes, acts of violence, riots, bloodshed and the paralysing of trades, unparalleled in India. The Commons are against the Lords. Even "religious" riots are not a monopoly of India. We shall quote an instance or two. Here is a Reuter's telegram which appeared in the papers in August, 1911:—

"Owing to attacks made on the Jews in South Wales a number of Jewish refugees have arrived at Cardiff. They endured considerable suffering and were frightened out of their lives. Rioting continues at Bargoed and Gilfach. It is described as a guerilla warfare against the police and infantry. Two Jewish shops have been burned at Senghenyod. The Daily Telegraph's special correspondent states that as a result of a lengthy enquiry he is convinced that the tales of extortion [on the part of the Jews] are absolutely devoid of truth."

Here is another Reuter's telegram:—

"London, June 23, 1909. Fifty Liverpool Schools have been closed owing to fights between the Protestant and Catholic children aided by their mothers."

In India we have not yet advanced to that point yet, though in future we may; our mothers and children have not yet taken part in "religious" riots, leading to the closing of schools.

We still remember the commotion caused in England by the eucharistic procession of the English Roman Catholics in September, 1908. It gave rise to angry feelings in Protestant breasts and might have led to serious disturbances, if the Catholics had not been deprived of some of their rights. The situation was so serious that if England had been under foreign rulers, and if religious bigotry had been sought to be exploited by them in pursuance of a "divide and rule" policy, blood would have flowed in no stinted measure.

But we need not give more examples.

The United Kingdom, then, is not better than India as regards the clashing of interests and religious and sectional riots and conflicts. If communal representation in the public services had been necessary for efficient administration or popular welfare, it would have existed in that free country. But it does not exist there. Hence if it be proposed to make such an innovation in India, it may be for some other reasons of State than the efficiency of the administration or the good of the people.

Our answer to the ninth question is that if the Indian Civil Service be recruited partly in England and partly in India, Indian candidates should be free to choose their country of examination or recruitment. We are entirely opposed to the existence of any pretext for dividing the civil service into a Pariah section and a Brahman section.

The first Telugu Brahman I. C. S.

Mr. S. V. Ramamurty, B.A., I.C.S., was born in Vizagapatam (Madras Presidency) of respectable parents. His father, Mr. S. V. Ramanayya Pantulu, B.A., B.C.E., was the first to take the B.C.E. degree in the Northern Circars and much respected for his capacity and character by Government. He was an Honorary Assistant Engineer of the Madras Public Works Department. Mr. Rama-

murty matriculated in 1903, from the London Mission High School, Vizagapatam, and passed the First in Arts Examination from Mrs. A. V. N. College, in 1905, having stood first in the University in both the examinations. He passed his B.A. from the Presidency College, Madras, in 1908, and took a high place in first class in English



MR. S. V. RAMAMURTY, I.C.S.

and headed the list in first class in Mathematics—his optional subject. He obtained the record marks in Mathematics in the University up till then and obtained the 'Marsh Prize' from the University. While he was continuing his studies in that branch for the M.A. he secured the Government of India Scholarship in 1909, to study for the I.C.S. Examination. He joined the Trinity College, Cambridge, and soon obtained a major scholarship there of £100 per annum tenable for five years and a half. In 1910, he passed Part I of the Mathemati-

cal Tripos in first class and subsequently Part II winning the 'B. Star' of high distinction. Referring to his signal success in this Tripos Examination, the London Correspondent of the *Madras Mail* wrote at that time thus:—

"Mr. S. V. Ramamurty, of Trinity, has clearly justified the high anticipations formed of his abilities by his teachers in Madras. He gained the Government of India Scholarship to England from the Madras University. He has gone on from strength to strength and is one of those marked in the list as deserving of special credit in the opinion of the examiners."

Regarding his success in the I.C.S. Examination of 1912, the London Correspondent of the *Madras Mail* wrote thus again:—

"Special honour must be awarded to Mr. S. V. Ramamurty, of the Madras Presidency, who comes out second on the final list. Mr. Ramamurty, . . . was very high up in last year's examination, in which he obtained 2,904 marks. In the final examination, in which his knowledge of Indian Languages no doubt served him well, he scored 1,648 marks."

He was awarded the 'Bhavanagar Medal' for being the first of the Cambridge I.C.S. probationers. The Andhra country feels elated by having the first Telugu Brahman I.C.S. of such distinction and promise. He reported himself to duty at Madras on Saturday the 23rd November, 1912. Mr. Ramamurty, in addition to achieving intellectual distinction, has shown moral courage by not undergoing any "prayaschitta" after returning from England. It is fervently hoped that Mr. Ramamurty will distinguish himself in service as splendidly as in his scholastic career and bring credit and renown to the Andhra country which has given him birth.

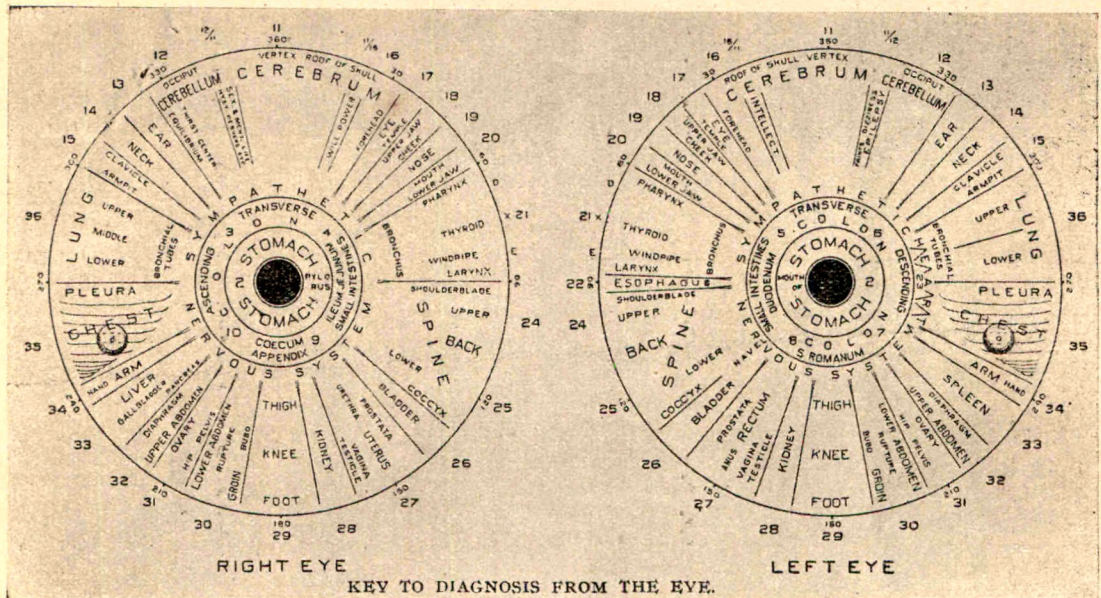
K.

Diagnosis from the eye.

Diseases are diagnosed at the present day of scientific advancement by many different methods, to which the diagnosis from the eye, added, is a great improvement and a sure aid to the exact condition of the involvement of the organs.

The eye, the highest developed of all the organs in the body, is the mirror of the soul. As it expresses all the emotions of the mind, so it is impressed upon by the physical perversions, though unfortunately the fact is unknown to many.

The physical perversions are impressed on the Iris which is a circular muscular septum situated in front of the lens and behind the cornea. From the diagram it will



show that the different parts of the body are represented on the Iris at certain sections.

Not only the diseases but the poisonous drugs taken into the system show in different shades in different organs according to their affinity for that particular organ.

"This important discovery was made by a layman through an insignificant incident. When a boy of eleven years, Peczey wanted to catch an owl in his garden; the bird in self-defence clawed the hand of the lad who could free himself only by breaking the bird's leg. As the boy and the owl sharply looked into each other's eyes, the former observed in the lower parts of the bird's eye the rising of a black stripe. Young Peczey dressed the owl's leg, nursed him and finally gave him his freedom. The bird however stayed in the garden for several years, and Peczey observed later in that part of the Iris where the black stripe had risen before, the appearance of white and crooked lines."

The circular area, surrounding the pupil, as represented in the diagram, is the area which stands for the stomach, next to this is the sympathetic nervous system. The other parts of the body are represented according to their situations. The deeper parts of the one longitudinal half of the body represent on the inner half of the Iris, and the superficial on the outer half of each eye.

So all the affections or perversions from

the normal condition can be diagnosed just by the examination of the eye. Thus many important lessons in some of the deep-seated organs which could not be diagnosed by the ordinary method were revealed by the examination of the eye.

The marks that are found on the section of the Iris representing a certain organ are different in different stages of a disease.

The sections representing the organs and the marks showing the involvement of the parts have been found out after many years' experience and observations. Now we are quite sure about the division of the Iris into its sections corresponding to each and every part of the body as well as about the change of color according to the affections of a certain part.

N. K. BOSE, B.Sc., M.D.,

Resident Physician, Dr. Lindlahr's Sanitarium, Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

The Calcutta University Chair of Indian History.

For the salaries attached to our University Professorships, it would not perhaps be possible to have the services of European orientalists of the front rank for any long period. Instead, therefore, of trying to have European orientalists, we should give opportunities to indigenous talent to make researches in the field of ancient Indian history. Such research is not something

marvellous, nor is the "critical Western method" some mysterious process which is unattainable by Indian students of history. The examples of R. G. Bhandarkar, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Bhau Daji, Bhagwanlal Indraji, and many lesser men show that we can find out our own ancient history.

We cannot approve of the appointment of Dr. Thibaut to the chair of ancient Indian history, and that for *seven* long years. Had he been an Oldenberg, a Rhys Davids, a Hœrnle, a Pargiter, a Fleet, a Berriedate Keith, or a Vincent Smith, we should not have objected. But though he knows Sanskrit and Pali and has done work of some note in Indian Astronomy, Geometry and Philosophy, he has done absolutely nothing in the field of Indian history proper. For the history of the prehistoric Indian races, we require to know Palaeontology and Anthropology. For the history of later periods, we are indebted to Pali and Sanskrit literatures and to Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics. Dr. Thibaut has done no work in these fields, nor is it known whether he knows much of Palaeontology, Anthropology, Epigraphy and Numismatics. He may, of course, pick up knowledge from the work done by others. But if an old man like him can do it and *if that be indeed the work of a University Professor*, cannot younger Indian men who have done some historical research work do this work of reading, memorising and compilation? It may be that, as "a prophet is not honoured in his own country," Bengalis need not expect to fill such a chair. In that case men like D. R. Bhandarkar, Pathak, &c., might have been appointed.

And why has Dr. Thibaut been appointed for *seven* years? We cannot bring to mind that any other University professor, lecturer or reader has got such a long term appointment, though they are much younger men. We have heard it said that he has been appointed for seven years to give continuity to the work. It would seem then that continuity is required only in the teaching of Indian history. As no professor of history can be entirely right in all his views of ancient Indian history, the University could have tried the expedient of having two or three professors in the course of seven years, without imperilling its

existence. Our own view is that the appointment is a life pension granted to an old man.

It is possible for some of us to have an exaggerated idea of Dr. Thibaut's work in the fields of Indian Mathematics and Philosophy, as it is not known how much of his reputation he owes to the collaboration of men like Sudhakar Dwivedi and Ganganath Jha. We find that so competent a judge as Dr. Paul Deussen, with whom Dr. Thibaut "had attended Weber's lectures on Sakuntala," says of him in "My Indian Reminiscences:"*

"Strangely enough, though a German by birth, he taught English there [at Allahabad], Sanskrit lying in the hands of his principal, Gough. Both are notable savants in the province of Indian Philology, but I can recognise in neither any deeper insight into the philosophy of the Indians, despite their efforts."

The historian of a nation must not indeed have any partiality for the nation, but he must not also prejudice it unfavorably. Whether Dr. Thibaut's attitude towards India and her civilisation is the right one for a historian, we do not know. But the following extract from Deussen's "My Indian Reminiscences" may furnish some indication:—

"I hastened to pay my visit to the Thibauts before we met at dinner, so we sat down to that meal at a table to ourselves. Our opinions concerning India differed widely; Thibaut warmly praised the English supremacy, which had conferred order and civilization upon the land. He was no enthusiastic admirer of the scenery either. He preferred Europe because in India, though garden flowers were to be met with, there were no wild flowers, though he cannot be supposed to have meant literally what he said, for if there are no wild flowers how can there be garden flowers? Does he mean to imply that the English were the first to introduce garden flowers, and must we suppose that the rain of flowers so frequently mentioned in ancient Indian poetry came from some other planet? I had still greater difficulty in getting on with Mrs. Thibaut, she was so sharp and contemptuous in speaking of the natives that I felt obliged to contradict her, on the strength of my own personal experiences, rather more energetically than is my wont in a discussion with a member of the fair sex." P. 209-210.

The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore.

A correspondent writes as follows to the *Hindu* about the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore:—

"All is not going on well between the Professor,

* *My Indian Reminiscences*. By Dr. Paul Deussen. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Re 1-4. A very interesting book.

who is at the head of the department of Applied Chemistry, and his students. The students find that they have so far derived no advantage from their study in this particular branch and out of twelve students who were admitted to the Institute for this department there is not, as a matter of fact, one single student who is continuing the course. It would be of public interest if this could be explained. The Institute has been at work for the past 18 months. Several lakhs of rupees have been spent on buildings and appliances, and the professorial staff has been drawing handsome salaries running into several thousands per mensem for the past five years. The Professor has among other industries dealt with (1) extraction of oils, (2) preparation of citric acid, (3) distillation of wood, (4) ghee and butter substitutes and (5) tanning. These among other industrial subjects have been taken up by his students who were up till recently attending his class. Has the Institute appliances for the above, and if so, what are the results of the experiments? It is now no secret that the department of Applied Chemistry is studentless because they, the students, find after 18 months that they are just as wise to-day as they were when they entered."

Contrast this with the results of Dr. P. C. Ray's teaching at the Calcutta Presidency College, of which an account appears in this number. It is not for nothing that Mr. Taraknath Palit has stipulated that in the College of Science endowed by him only Indians are to be professors.

The composition of the new Duma.

Reuter says that according to the final returns, the new Duma, that is, the Russian Parliament, is composed of 63 members of the Right, 90 Nationalists, 34 Centre, 95 Octobrists, seven Mussulmans, 59 Constitutional Democrats, ten Labour members, 15 Socialists, and 60 others.

The British Empire contains more Mussalmans than the Russian Empire. So the Indian Mussalmans should try to have some seats in the Imperial British Parliament earmarked for them on the principle of communal representation to which they attach so much importance.

Exchange of British and French Possessions in India.

A recent Reuter's telegram runs as follows : -

"London, Dec. 20.

"The French Chamber is discussing the Colonial estimates. M. Violette, the reporter, alluded to the exchange of small tracts of land between Great Britain and France in India. M. Bluysen, Deputy for French India, although not opposing the exchange, protested against the idea of giving up the territory which still held many memories of Dupleix. M. Violette urged a ratification of the exchange which would entail no

political drawbacks while great economic and administrative advantages were expected to result from it."

British and French subjects in India are *subjects*, no doubt, but they are not *property*. Before anything is finally decided upon the people of the territories proposed to be exchanged should be consulted.

Himalayan Exploration.

Dr. and Mrs. Bullock Workman, the mountaineering explorers, have, we learn, arrived in Bangalore for their usual rest before working on their next book concerning the location of the great Seachen glacier. They covered as much as 850 square miles of new ground on their last expedition making many important ascents varying from 17,000 feet to 21,000 feet in altitude and returned to India by a pass hitherto unknown. They have also discovered two new watersheds between the Indus and the region of Chinese Turkestan and have mapped many new mountains and glaciers.

The achievements of Puran Gir, Nayan Singh, Kishen Singh, Sarat Chandra Das and others show that Indians can do the work of mountain exploration. Some of our adventurous young men ought to take to this kind of work.

An important Archaeological Discovery.

Reviewing the report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-9, which is written by Dr. J. P. Vogle, Officiating Director General, and has only recently made its appearance, the "Englishman" says : -

We gather that the year under report has been especially fruitful in discoveries, including some of unusual historical interest. Foremost in antiquity ranks the Garuda Pillar of Besnagar, in Gwalior State, which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham so far back as 1877. General Cunningham, however, just missed a very important discovery regarding this pillar, the real significance of which was brought to light by Mr. Marshall, the Director General, in January, 1909. This is described in a special article by Dr. Vogle, who, says Mr. Marshall, on scraping away the red lead, came upon some lettering which disclosed, on being deciphered, that the memorial was set up in honour of Vasudeva by Heliodoros, the son of Dion, a Bhagavata, who came from Taxila in the reign of the great King Antialkidas. This ruler was one of the Indo-Baktrian kings who ruled in the Kabul Valley and in the Punjab. It is conjectured that he must have ruled in the second century B. C. His coins have been found as far south as Sonapat, the ancient Suvarnaprastha, north of

Delhi. Heliodoros, the son of Dion, by whom the pillar was set up, calls himself a Bhagavata, and was thus a worshipper of the Lord Krishna, and the pillar was erected in honour of this incarnation of Vishnu, and probably bore the effigy of the sun-bird Garuda, the vehicle of that deity. At present the pillar is crowned with a fan, which is not the original crown. The famous iron pillar of Kutb, near Delhi, is also described as a "standard" of the Lord Vishnu; hence the connection between the two pillars.

If Dr. Vogle's conclusions be correct, they show not only how far south Greek influence extended but also how the Indo-Greeks acknowledged the spiritual sway of the Hindus.

Pandit Ramavatar Sarma.

Professor Ramavatar Sarma, Sahityacharya, M. A., President of this year's Indian National Social Conference, has sent to the



PANDIT RAMAVATAR SARMA.

press the following very interesting communication :—

For some days past there have been remarks on my life in the vernacular and English papers. Hence I wish to make it known to the public that my life is divided into two distinct periods as most men's is. (1) Early, irresponsible orthodox (in the degenerate sense) life up to about 25 and (2) mature, thoughtful life ever since. When in my mature life I began to study the social, educational and religious problems, I found that early marriage, purda, polygamy, caste, illiteracy, forced celibacy of sadhus and widows and sectarian superstitions were the seven curses and shames of the so-called orthodox Hindu life. In early life owing to the society in which I lived I had been a victim to each of these seven curses either personally or indirectly. But ever since I began to think about society, I have been remedying their effects upon my-

self. I have been trying my best to eradicate them from my society. In this work I chiefly depend upon myself and do not depend upon societies, conferences or samajas only to avoid the charge of backwardness and want of moral courage to join any reform scheme that is advanced on a sound basis. For my mature views the public are referred to my Sataslokiya Dharma Sastra in my Inter. to Paramartha series (Vol. I). Others have generally taken to reformer's life after conversion to another religion. I have not forsaken my real Dharma (the Eternal religion). I have only been eradicating what is non-eternal in to-day's orthodox doctrines. This has nettled the orthodox, for they consider it a breach in their fort and being unable to boycott me they often try to prevent other reformers from joining me.



SIR N. G. CHANDAVARKAR.

Pandit Ramavatar has had a very interesting academic career. He at first received his education in a *tol* or indigenous Sanskrit seminary. His education on Western lines came later. He owes this entirely to his own efforts.

Prisoners in the Andamans.

The Bengalee has been doing good service by calling attention to the condition of political prisoners in the Andamans. One of

them has committed suicide, two have become insane and tuberculosis and other diseases prevail among the convict population. The imprisonment or transportation of criminals is meant to prevent them from doing further injury to society and to reform their character. The undermining of their health or the infliction of such pain as would cause insanity is not an object that Government has or can have in view. So an enquiry into the state of things in the Andamans by a high authority unconnected with the Jail department is urgently needed. We think, as the Andaman islands are very unhealthy, convicts should be removed from them altogether. Insane prisoners should be placed under the care of their parents under such safeguards and guarantees as may be necessary.

The Depressed Classes Mission Society of India.

We are very glad to learn that the Maharaja Holkar of Indore has promised a donation of Rs. 20,000 for a building of the Depressed Classes Mission in Poona to be called after his ancestress the Rani Ahalya Bai of sainted memory.

The Society has to manage and finance about forty institutions in thirteen different places. Five out of the eight sections are still without any missionaries, while in Poona, Bombay and Mangalore the want of additional workers is being felt most urgently. The cost of maintaining five such additional workers, will be Rs. 5,000 per year, and to make a provision at least for five years Rs. 25,000 are required. The Mission has already succeeded in evoking the enthusiasm of some capable and earnest volunteers who may be perhaps induced to join permanently if only it also succeeds in making adequate provision for them at least for some years. The Mission has not yet been able to possess its own buildings in Bombay and Poona, places where it is doing most work and where adequate accommodation is therefore most urgently needed. The Mission is now paying an annual rent of Rs. 2,500—Rs. 1,700 in Bombay and Rs. 800 in Poona. An attempt has to be made to raise at least Rs. 60,000, which together with proportionate grant-in-aid from the Government, will enable the Mission to save the heavy annual expenditure, by erecting buildings of its own.—*Subodha Patrika*.

"History of Aurangzib."

Professor Jadunath Sarkar's History of Aurangzib is a very important work of which the first two volumes have been published. During the reign of Aurangzib

the Mughal empire was at its zenith, but that reign also saw the beginnings of its decline and fall. The subject of the decline and fall of empires is instructive and interesting to statesmen, sociologists and, in fact, to all students of human history. To Indians particularly, the history of the period chosen by Prof. Sarkar must be of abiding value. He has approached the subject not in the spirit of an amateur or dilettante, but in that of a true worker who is not afraid of what the world may call drudgery. The two published volumes represent 10 years' labour. They are based entirely on original Persian sources—manuscripts and works, most of which were altogether unknown to previous writers. Prof. Sarkar has travelled far and wide in India in search of his materials. He has fully utilised the Mss. and books collected in the Bankipur Khudabakhsh Library, as well as whatever was available at Rampur, Lucknow, Delhi, and other places. But he has not confined his search within the limits of India. He has laid under contribution the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Cambridge University Library, Royal Library at Berlin, Bibliotheque National of Paris, Royal Society of London, India Office Library, &c. The collection of materials has entailed enormous cost and labour. The most valuable of these are the letters of Aurangzib and contemporaneous personages, numbering more than 3000.

The work is written in a simple and attractive style, and, when complete, will be a valuable addition to the world's historical literature.

Patriotism and worldly possessions and relatives.

The Christian Register of Boston rightly observes:—

Whatever one thinks of the prospects of peace and the curse of war, there is something noble and impressive in the loyalty of the Greeks and Bulgarians in this country who, far from home and involved in pressing affairs, are rallying at the call of their native land, abandoning their shops and homes, and laying all their possessions on the altar of patriotism, and are returning to give their lives in their country's cause. One man in the Far West, just married, has even left his wife in order to join his countrymen, believing that he who loves father or mother more than his country is not worthy of her. Such devotion proves citizenship more than a name.

The Bankipur Congress and Conferences.

By the time this number reaches our readers, the sessions of the Indian National Congress and the Social, Industrial and other conferences will be over. Christmas week is so crowded with events that even



MR. HAR KISHEN LAL,

President of the Indian Industrial Conference.

daily papers find it difficult to comment on them all. The result is that many an important topic fails to receive due attention. But in the present state of our public spirit and the paucity of public workers, this drawback has to be put up with.

The mote in others' eyes.

The Christian Register of Boston says:—

But back of all the technical and material superiority which the allies have shown over their old oppressor is a great and vital moral force. Behind each gun, behind each bayonet, aimed at the Turks is an overwhelming resentment, a maddening sense of wrongs endured during a long and frightful period. Something of the hot passion of hate that has made each individual soldier in the armies of the allied states an avenger is suggested by the well-authenticated reports of unspeakable atrocities inflicted by the fleeing Turks upon Christian non-combatants all along their line of retreat in the face of a relentless, untiring foe. The sight of the bodies of murdered children, mutilated women, tortured

old men in the path of the conquerors, has contributed as much perhaps, to the terrible efficiency of the Bulgarians in battle as the completeness of their commissariat or the excellence of their equipment. These fresh instances of Turkish savagery have reminded them of the urgent necessity for a triumph that shall drive the authors of such outrages out of Europe for ever.

All our journalistic writings will show that we do not tolerate or condone any atrocity or outrage, be the authors Asiatic or European, black, brown or white, Hindu, Moslem or Christian. Turkish atrocities we condemn and have condemned in no uncertain tones. But the Balkan allies, too, have been guilty of barbarities. The Italians have been guilty of atrocities and barbarities in Tripoly. Why do not Western journalists demand the expulsion of the authors of these outrages from Europe? The Russians have been guilty of atrocities in Persia. Why do not Western journalists demand their expulsion from Asia? European peoples of various countries were guilty of treachery and cruelty, of violating all the commandments and of successful wars of extermination against many Red Indian tribes in North and South America. But Western journalists never demanded the expulsion of the white races from America on that account. The stories of Red Rubber in the Congo and in the Putumayo district are fresh in peoples' memories. But Western journalists have not demanded the expulsion of Europeans from Africa and South America for that reason. The doings of the early colonists in Australasia afford gruesome reading. We have not the least desire to revive painful memories. But we do desire that when Western writers speak of Moslem atrocities they will bear in mind the horrors of the slave trade, the atrocities committed by colonisers, the cold-blooded cruelties of rubber, cocoa and other concessionaires, and the savageries of Westerners in China, Persia, &c., and moderate their judgment against non-Christian and "coloured" peoples.

Europe versus Asia.

The Christian Register of Boston writes:—

There is a mistaken notion that the war in the Balkans is a "religious" war. On the side of the Turks, to whom the sense of nationality is conveyed only by the word "Islam," the conflict which is appalling the world with the tremendous consequences it foreshadows may well be termed a "religious" one. On the side of the allies the conception of the issues is much broader. The Christian nations are

fighting Turkey, not because Turkey is Mohammedan, but because it has become intolerably abhorrent to their collective mind that Asiatics should continue to hold the power of life and death over Europeans. The struggle is not between Christianity and Islam, but between Europe and Asia. If Mohammedanism as a religious institution and a social system is to be judged by the conduct of a large number of its votaries of Turanian stock, then it manifestly is unfitted to be the dominant influence upon the lives of millions of people of South-eastern Europe whose traditions amply share in the achievements upon which rest the thought and the feeling of our race and our day. The dominance of the Turk over the Slav and the Greek in the Balkan Peninsula is as much an anachronism as would be the dominance of the Hindu over the Briton in India or of the Mongol over the Russian.

Comment on the above is needless.

The Bomb outrage at Delhi.

The fanatic or maniac who threw a bomb at Lord Hardinge at Delhi, in addition to doing a foul, wicked and detestable deed, has done a distinct disservice to India. For, though the tone of the British and Anglo-Indian press is generally temperate, voices are not wanting which counsel renewed coercion and repression. We hope, however, the opinion of the wiser section of the public will have its due influence with the Government. We are strengthened in this hope as it transpires that in the course of a conversation on the afternoon of the 23rd December when lying wounded from the bomb which had been thrown at him His Excellency the Viceroy spontaneously said that the attempt upon his life had not made any change in his feelings towards India and the people of India nor would it cause any change in his attitude or policy. He was only filled with sympathy at the shame and horror with which India must be filled and depressed by that thought. This is quite worthy of a high-minded statesman. There is at present no excitement in the country, and the outrage is not probably the work of a considerable body of conspirators.

It is very fortunate that by God's grace His Excellency's life has been saved. It is clear from the latest bulletin that he will soon recover.

Universal sympathy is felt for the family of the Jamadar who died at his post of duty.

On the 25th December a largely attended service was held at St. Stephen's Church,

Delhi, Lady Hardinge being amongst those present, when thanksgiving prayers were offered for the escape of the Viceroy. In the course of his sermon Bishop Lefroy in referring to the universal abhorrence of the attempt upon Lord Hardinge's life, protested against the suggestion that this feeling was in any way not universal in Delhi, a place which he knew well. He referred especially to a published story which could not be believed to the effect that the words "Shābāsh Mārā" (Bravo, well hit!) were heard at the time of the outrage from men on the roof of a building opposite to where the deed took place. Next day the reverend gentleman in the course of a Christmas sermon at St. James' Church, condemned and asked every Englishman to give the lie to the report circulated in the "Pioneer" regarding the cry of "Shābāsh," said to have been heard when the bomb struck. Criminals were not in the habit of giving assistance to the police. Then the balcony was filled with women. Also the occupants, who were Punjabis, did not use the expression. All Englishmen writing Home should avoid such a statement, which is most obviously untrue. The Bishop begged the congregation to remember that Indians, as well as Europeans, were deeply indignant and were deploring the incident for which, after all, India must suffer. People at the Christmas season should not allow their judgment to be warped and, above all things, avoid blaming the incident. The Bishop said that it was fitting that they should on that day, above all others, remember the family of the Jamadar who died doing his duty to his master and the country.

The "Times" in a leading article warns its readers against allowing the outrage to make a wrong impression. The keynote of attention should be, not the thrower of the bomb, but the ringing cheers of Princes and notable Indians which greeted the news of the Viceroy's escape from dangerous injury.

The "Times" is sure that the vast majority of people in India regard the outrage with as much horror and reprobation as the people of Britain.

Column after column of the daily papers are filled with messages of sympathy and indignation from all sections of the people in all parts of India. On the top of all these comes the following resolution adopt-

ed by the Indian National Congress at Bankipur:—

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of horror and detestation at the dastardly attempt made on the life of His Excellency the Viceroy who has by his wise and conciliatory policy and earnest solicitude to promote the well-being of millions of His Majesty's subjects entrusted to his care won the esteem, the confidence and the gratitude and affection of the people of India. The Congress offers its respectful sympathy to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge and fervently prays that His Excellency may have a speedy recovery and restoration to health.

These ought not to leave any doubt in the mind of any fair-minded man regarding India's feeling.

The Indian National Congress.

The Congress met at Bankipur on the 26th December in a spacious and splendid pandal. The Hon'ble Mr. Haque welcomed the delegates in an appropriate speech. There was dead silence when he referred to the Delhi outrage and an expression of indignation was visible in every face. In the course of his address he dwelt briefly on the glorious past history of Behar. It is an undoubted fact that no province of India has had a more inspiring past or even an equally inspiring past. Or why should we confine ourselves only to India? Which country in the world can boast of so many



MR. MAZHAR-UL-HAQUE.

eminent teachers of humanity and so many illustrious monarchs in that dim past to

which our mind travels back at the very mention of the names of Vaisāli, Rājagriha, Buddha-Gayā, and Pātaliputra?

Behar has become a separate province. Its future depends on the sons of Behar. Mr. Haque was right in saying that "the future of a people lies largely in their own hands. Character and capacity are the chief attributes which lead to success." It is the besetting sin of us Indians that we only boast of our past glory; we do not feel ashamed of our present miserable condition. Our past ought to incite us to life-long efforts to make our present and future worthy of our past. Mr. Haque was right in saying :—

We derive inspiration from our past history, a few incidents of which you will find inscribed on the twenty-seven gates of this Pandal and believe that a people who have produced mighty rulers like Asoka, Chandragupta and Sher Shah and great religious teachers like Buddha, Mahavira and Guru Govind Singh can still make history.

Regarding Hindu Moslem relations in Behar, he observed :—

We in Behar claim for ourselves the unique position of a people who are not troubled with the Hindu-Musalman question. By this it is not meant that every single individual is free from it. In this mundane world such an utopian condition is impossible. As long as human nature is human nature, there will always be people who for selfish ends or temporary advantages or under some mistaken notion, will be ready to jeopardise national interests. But what we do claim is that the heart of the people is sound to the core, and any unfortunate difference which may crop up as it occasionally does, passes away and leaves no permanent mark on the general good relations of the two great communities. Both are imbued with the same ideal, both work on the same platform and both try for the good of their motherland. As I have often said before, the solution of this question will prove the salvation of India. This is the question of questions which every true patriotic Indian should try to attack and solve. To me it has been a cause of deep and abiding regret that my own co-religionists have not seen their way to join this national assembly. It is an undeniable fact that Musalmans as a community have kept themselves aloof and those who have joined, have joined in their own individual capacity. Although in spite of this regrettable defection the Congress has got on very well, the Congress ideals have triumphed and most of the items in the Congress propaganda have been accepted by the Government, yet I believe that we would have got on better if our Muslim brethren had joined, and made common cause with us in the great and noble task of building up a nation. Then would we have moved on with quicker pace. A people counting among themselves seventy millions of souls and some of the very finest intellects and specimens of manhood, is a factor and a force which cannot and ought not to be lightly ignored. Often

have I dreamed of a picture in my mind of three hundred and fifteen millions of human beings with one ideal, one aim, full of determination and enthusiasm, marching on the road of peaceful progress to the ultimate realization of their destiny. Such a force would be irresistible anywhere in the world. Perhaps the picture is too idealistic for its ever coming to be true. However, its reverse side where seventy millions of people detach themselves from the main group and march in the opposite direction is too gloomy to be contemplated with equanimity.

He next dwelt on the *rapprochement* that has been brought about between the two communities by Hindu sympathy with Turkey in her misfortunes, particularly as contrasted with the unsympathetic and bigoted attitude adopted by eminent British statesmen and European nations generally. Mr. Haque, however, acknowledged the sympathetic and statesmanlike attitude of the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge and the provincial rulers. Hindu sympathy "clearly demonstrated the fact that in times of danger and distress the two sister communities of India could still unite." Referring to Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's services in this connection he said :—

You have brought the Hindus and Musalmans of India appreciably nearer to each other. It is only a question of time when the two will stand side by side on this our national platform and work shoulder to shoulder for the regeneration of our common motherland. I do not know whether you are aware of the fact, that already a great and powerful party of liberal Musalmans has arisen, whose aims and ideals are the aims and ideals of the Indian National Congress. It is their firm determination to work with their Hindu brethren. Your sympathy in their hour of adversity has accelerated the work and strengthened the hands of this party. And this is the party which is bound to lead in future the Muslims of India.

Mr. Haque went on :—

To my Hindu brethren I say, treat your Muslim brethren with sympathy and please do not run away with the idea that all Muslims are hopelessly reprobate and there is no hope for their regeneration. Nothing of the kind. Try to understand them by putting yourselves in their position

Addressing his correligionists he said :—

To my own co-religionists I say, as you are Musalmans you cannot but look beyond India, but do not forget your motherland. India has great claims over all her sons and your neglect of her interests is almost sinful. I invite you, nay I call upon you in the sacred name of your motherland to join this national assembly, which knows no distinction of class or creed, no distinction of Hindu or Musalman. I have heard some friends say that the Indian National Congress is a Hindu organization. I deny the charge altogether. I repudiate it entirely. It may be worked by the Hindus; but why? Simply because Musalmans will

not come forward and take their proper share. Its ideals have always been national and never sectarian. If the Muslim community have any grievances against the Congress, I invite them to come here and ventilate them on this our common platform. I prophesy that they will find all their grievances chimerical and imaginary and will go away absolutely converted to the Congress cause. But perchance, if I prove to be a false prophet, then we have a safeguard in our constitution to the effect that if a majority of the Muslim delegates object to a certain resolution being passed, it shall be dropped. Can there be anything fairer than this safeguard in our constitution? I know and I am confident that this appeal of mine will not go unheard and unanswered. It has already been heard in my own province. Look around you in this Pandal and you will find many Musalmans of light and leading taking part in our proceedings. Those who are not in the seats reserved for the delegates, are there in the seats allotted to the visitors. Perhaps thinking of the past, they have felt a little delicacy in openly joining us this year, but they are now as true Congressmen as any of us. Only their body is in the gallery there, their heart is with us on the dais here. I have dwelt a little too long on this Hindu-Musalman question and I have no doubt that I have tired you, but I could not help myself. *This is my life-work.* I wish the two sister communities to understand each other, have tolerance for each other's weaknesses, join hands and work together. To my mind this is one of the greatest works to which an Indian could devote his life.

He then dwelt on Provincial Autonomy, Legislative Councils, South Africa and the Public Service Commission.

The Revolution in Modern Art.

The following is included in a leading article in the 'Times' (London) of November 15, entitled 'The Revolution in Modern Art':—

"There are signs everywhere that the great movement of art which began with the Renaissance, and had such splendid fruits, has at last exhausted itself all over Europe, as it exhausted itself in Italy in the seventeenth century. For good or ill, a change has come over the European mind, and, in the midst of all its mechanical triumphs, it is no longer sure of its moral, aesthetic or intellectual supremacy. Like Rome in the midst of all the unsatisfactory splendour of the Empire, we hear suddenly that whisper that comes everlastingly from the East and tells us that we are children playing with vulgar and stupid toys. Hearing it, we ask ourselves whether, having learnt how to make all kinds of things, it is not time that we should begin to learn how to live. And our artists see that for a long while they have only been making things and occupied with their skill in doing so. After all the curiosity of imitation, a new kind of curiosity has overcome them. They would discover, if they can, how the mind can express itself in painting as directly and as simply as in poetry and music . . . this desire, constant in the East, at certain periods is communicated by it to the West, and causes then vast changes and renewals of life."

Mr. Mudholkar's Address.

The address which Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar delivered as President of the twenty-seventh Indian National Congress at Bankipur was able, moderate and statesmanlike. On some points he was too cautious. The address was bound to be critical, but



RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR.

its special merit was the constructive character of the suggestions contained in it for the people and the Government.

Mr. Mudholkar described the aim of the Congress in the following words :—

Born and placed in a country on which nature has showered her rich gifts bountifully and the inheritors of great civilizations, lofty ideals and stirring traditions, the Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsis, the Christians of this land have a mission as inspiring and as glorious as any that has moved ancient and modern nationalities to achieve feats of renown or conquests over mind. To create a nation by the fusion of what is jeeringly called a jumble of races, castes and creeds, to weld together communities which have often been in sharp antagonism to one another, to wipe off the memories of centuries of rivalry and hostility and reconcile

conflicting aims and ideals, to develop unity and solidarity amongst them, to raise their intellectual power to the highest attainable point, to secure for them a position of equality and respect among the nations of the world : this and nothing less is the work before them. And this and none other has been the object set before itself by the Congress.

In his opinion, though the Congress is a political organisation,

We do not regard politics as everything, as the be-all and end-all of life. Political rights and privileges, political institutions, political power itself are only means to an end. They are useful only in that they facilitate the establishment of that higher, more harmonious, more perfected life in which men dedicate and consecrate themselves to the service of their fellow-creatures and the glory of God.

Brethren, the people of India have a great mission to fulfil, a great part to play in the progress of the world. The reconciliation of jarring creeds, the harmonising of all religions, the unification of all faiths, the spiritualisation of life in which, in the language of the holy Bhagavadgita, every thought, every word, every deed ought to be consecrated to God, is the task assigned to us. And it is to enable us to effectually perform this sacred duty that we are striving for the establishment of a social organization in which peace and order reign, which enjoys immunity from external trouble and aggression, in which knowledge and devotion flourish and in which love for one another and for the whole human race, aye, for all sentient things is the basis of life.

Then he went on to pay a well-merited compliment to Behar, "the country which gave birth to Gautama Buddha and Mahavira, the land which sent to distant climes the light and message of peace, of universal love, of universal compassion."

After paying homage to the memory of Mr. Hume, he observed that in no better way can Indians "demonstrate their admiration and esteem for" Mr. Hume "than by continuing the work of national unification, of mental, moral and national regeneration, and of the promotion of British and Indian unity."

He gave "expression to the profound sorrow and sympathy which the Hindus and all non-Moslem Indians feel for our Moslem brethren in the great misfortune which has overtaken the Khalifate, and the struggle for existence which the Turkish empire has to carry on against a powerful combination."

Regarding Provincial Autonomy and Decentralisation his opinion was :—

If delegation is to be real and substantially greater powers and a large measure of independence are to be given to provincial governments, it would not only be anomalous but hazardous and out of tune with the

spirit of the new constitution, that these authorities should be absolute and unchecked. Not only will it be necessary to have Executive Councils with Indian members established for each province, but the Legislative Councils will have to be granted larger powers, the number of non-official members therein increased, the composition of these bodies made more fully representative.

Then he dwelt on the defects in the council regulations and showed in detail how they could be remedied. Nor did he fail to point out the responsibility of Indians.

But after all the success of the reformed Legislative Councils and the new type of Executive Councils depends more upon ourselves. It can be achieved only by insisting upon a high tone, solid output and real efficiency. Institutions in themselves can do little good if the spirit which should animate them is absent. Genuine interest in public affairs, burning zeal for the welfare of all classes, a high standard of work based on a thorough study of all the questions that call for consideration, freedom from bias, class prejudices and predilections are demanded more than ever. The work with which these Councils have to deal is by no means light, and as every day passes its complexity must increase. Members of the Legislative Council must be prepared to devote their whole time to it during the session and no inconsiderable portion all through the year.

He dwelt on the need of the direct representation of India in the House of Commons, and showed by a historical survey that the idea was not a new one. But not till the days of Imperial Federation, can this be treated as a question of practical politics. The development of local bodies next claimed his attention. He then pointed out how Divisional and District Advisory Boards were a necessity and refuted official objections against them.

The position of Indians in South Africa and other countries was another subject on which he spoke at some length. "We do not ask for free immigration," he said. This opinion in this unqualified form will not be endorsed by every one. But the subject is too complex to be dealt with in this note.

The introductory remarks in the paragraphs devoted to the position of Indians in the Higher Services are important.

The position of Indians in the Empire and the treatment accorded to them in the self-governing colonies or elsewhere, will in no small degree be determined by their political status here and their power to influence the affairs of Government. The scant consideration which is shown to our people by outsiders is only a reflex of the position that we hold in the country. Improvement in our political status among the nations of the world can only come when we have a potent voice

in our legislatures and a commanding position in the executive machinery. This is one of the reasons why such immense importance has been attached by the Congress and by the political associations of pre-Congress days to the larger and ever increasingly larger employment of Indians in the higher grades of the public services of the country.

The questions of the Civil Service and simultaneous examinations were dealt with ably and somewhat exhaustively. Regarding the "other departments" his observations are worth quoting.

In the case of these other departments, even the specious plea urged in regard to the Indian Civil Service, that the majority of higher appointments in the Executive branch of the general administration must be held by Europeans to maintain the British ideals of government, has no application. Race and colour have nothing to do in Education, in the construction of Public Works, in Medical Relief, in Sanitation, in the conservation and working of Forests, in realising Customs dues and preventing smuggling, in making Surveys, in constructing and working Railways, in maintaining Telegraph lines or sending or receiving messages. We of the Congress have not asked, will never ask for high appointments being conferred on Indians merely because they are Indians. All we ask is that these places should go by desert and desert alone; and we protest most emphatically against the exclusion of Indians of even proved merit and ability.

The Dacca University Committee's Report.

We learn from the daily papers that the Report of the Dacca University Committee has been published and that their editors received the volume on the 26th December.

Raphael's "Madonna of the Tub."

BY THE LATE SISTER NIVEDITA.

Is it a scene from the market-place itself? It is said, at least, that it was while standing in the market at Florence that Raphael saw before him the bare end of a cask, and rapidly sketched on it the outlines of this immortal group. One cannot help asking, if he caught some glimpse, with his quick eye, and transferred it to the wood. Was the beautiful baker's daughter of his adoration seated, perhaps, in the market-place before him, that day, with her children about her? Whether or no, this is one of the immortal painter's immortal revelations of beauty and maternal love.

China and Tibet.

The Chinese Government has replied to the memorandum of Sir John Jordan on the subject of Tibet.

The reply is courteous but firm. It begins by citing Article 2 of the Anglo-Chinese-Tibetan Agreement of 1906 in which England engages not to annex Tibetan territory, nor to interfere with the administration of Tibet, China undertaking not to permit any other foreign State to interfere in the territory or internal administration of Tibet.

The reply also cites the Tibetan Trade Regulations of 1908 requiring Chinese police in trade marts to protect the lines of communication.

After this preamble the reply declares that the Chinese Government has no intention of converting Tibet into another province of China. Government's Tibetan policy is governed by the provincial constitution of the Republic, by the abdication edict, and by the President's inauguration oath and the restoration of the Dalai Lama to his former titles and honours.

The reply insists that "Union of five races into one family" is wholly different from converting Tibet into a province of China. It declares that the preservation of the traditional system of Tibetan Government is as much the desire of China as of Britain.



THE FIREMEN IN THE BALKANS.

JOHN BULL—"Have you put it out, Ivan?"

RUSSIA—"Sure, John, I doused it thoroughly."

—*Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

The reply maintains the right of despatching troops to Tibet as necessary for the fulfilment of the responsibilities attaching to the treaty obligations with Britain which require her to preserve peace and order in that vast territory. But China never contemplated stationing an unlimited number of troops in Tibet.

Regarding the British demand for negotiation of a new treaty, China considers that the present treaties signed by the late dynasty define Tibet's status with sufficient clearness, therefore there is no need to negotiate a new treaty.

China expresses regret that the Indian Government should close all communications with China and Tibet *via* India, especially



DIVISION OF LABOR.

The kits will catch the mouse and the cats will catch the kits.—*Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

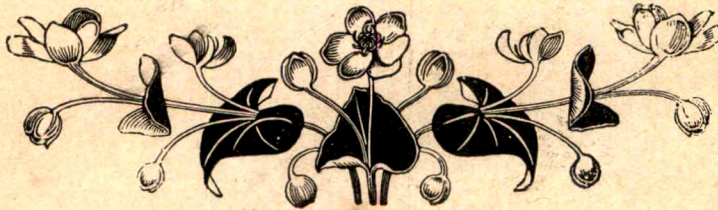
in view of the friendly relations between England and China, such an act being rarely resorted to except by nations at war. China hopes that England will reconsider this attitude.

Finally, the reply regrets that England should threaten non-recognition and asks England to give recognition, declaring that it would be of mutual advantage to both countries.

The reply is certainly reasonable and dignified.

Turkish Press opinion on the conditions of the Allies.

The Turkish press unanimously declares that the conditions of the Allies are not acceptable. No Turkish Government would subscribe to terms not preserving Adrianople to the Empire. The Delegates want to conclude peace, not commit suicide, and unless honourable peace is possible the Turks will draw the sword.





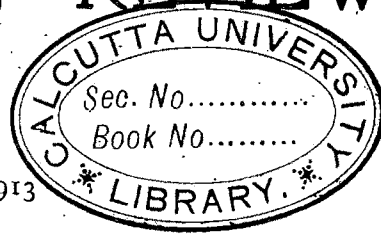
SAKUNTALA.

By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Sailendranath De.

Three colour blocks by U. Ray & Sons.

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A BASIS FOR THE APPRECIATION OF WORKS OF ART

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

By WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN

IF I am venturing to address you on an abstract subject, unequipped as I am by habit or education for such a task, it is with the hope of helping to give you what I have called a basis for the appreciation of works of art. I do not mean by this phrase a body of canons or dogmatic principles of aesthetics, drawn from the critical study of acknowledged masters; of such you will find enough and to spare in many handbooks and monographs. The appreciation I speak of is rather your own immediate and personal appreciation of art, whether of your own time or of any earlier age. I shall try to suggest a distinction between the qualities which any work of art must possess, if it is to deserve sympathy and encouragement, and those which more easily get their reward. The clear conscious view of this distinction is what I mean by a "basis" for appreciation.

I wish, further, to urge that contemporary, living art, quite as much as the work of bygone ages, has claims upon your attention.

The artist of to-day may justly complain that he does not meet with an orderly and discriminating appreciation on the part of the public to which he must address himself. There has never I think been a time when such immense sums have been spent, and so much light and learning brought to bear upon works of art as now,

yet never has there been less encouragement for and understanding of the aims and ideals of contemporary artists and craftsmen. Unhappily the great patrons of art are patrons of the past only; and neither Church nor State has the means or the incentive for the intelligent encouragement of sound art. The craftsman has become a parasite, not of his own choice, but because there is no public need for his services expressed; and until these services are regarded as similar in character to those of men of science, who work not for their individual profit and glory only but for the common welfare, a parasite he must remain.

So low a view, unfortunately, do we ourselves take of our generation that we now regard a picture, or indeed anything designed to appeal to the public taste, as synonymous with trivial and insincere work, and the true craftsman is forced to stand apart, tasting the herbs of exile, appreciated only by the initiated. That this has not always been the case, the history of architecture by itself sufficiently proves—architecture the mother of all arts, at whose broad breast they have taken their sustenance—and we may still see in the churches scattered generously over the land, robbed as they are of most of their glorious ornaments of painting, enamelling, carving, and noble sculptures, with what zeal men were wont

to give of their best for the glory of God and of mankind.

Probably for the first time in any known history of the world great cities have grown up where every form of activity has been practically and efficiently carried on excepting only this one pursuit of beauty, and where men appear to believe that a great civilisation can be complete without a noble representation of life and nature.

This surely on the face of it is a state of things which a self-respecting community should itself resent; it will be a bitter thing if it be some day cast in our teeth that a democracy was dead to those great humanistic traditions carried on by countless artists in the service of tyrants and oligarchies. Are none of our aims and visions to be set down in stone and marble and painted upon the walls of our public buildings, so that those who come after us shall not find us altogether wanting?

What man that has seen given up to the confusion of the builder green fields where "late the sweet birds sang"—fields where the farmer drove his plough behind his patient beasts, and in turn sowed and reaped and bound his corn and built up his stacks under the spreading oaks and elms, what man I say who has seen all this has not felt a bitter protest at the sight of reckless destruction? It is true that out of destruction fair things can be made to arise, and there still stand many cities whose towers and steeples glitter in the light of the sun, watching over walls and roofs built by strong hands to shelter men and their wives and children. But our cities are not fair. Alas! almost before we have realised what we owe to the gods of nature we have driven them from their groves and their streams, to take shelter farther afield; and where they once blessed the labour of the husbandman, can we wonder that they throw a curse upon the sordid life we allow to grow up where a little before the shepherds led their flocks?

Expiation has to be made sooner or later for this rude violation of sacred haunts. We are beginning to realise this now that it seems almost too late, and having driven comeliness from our sight, we are considering once more how we may coax her back again. Alas! beauty once free as a bird, building her nest where she chose, is now to

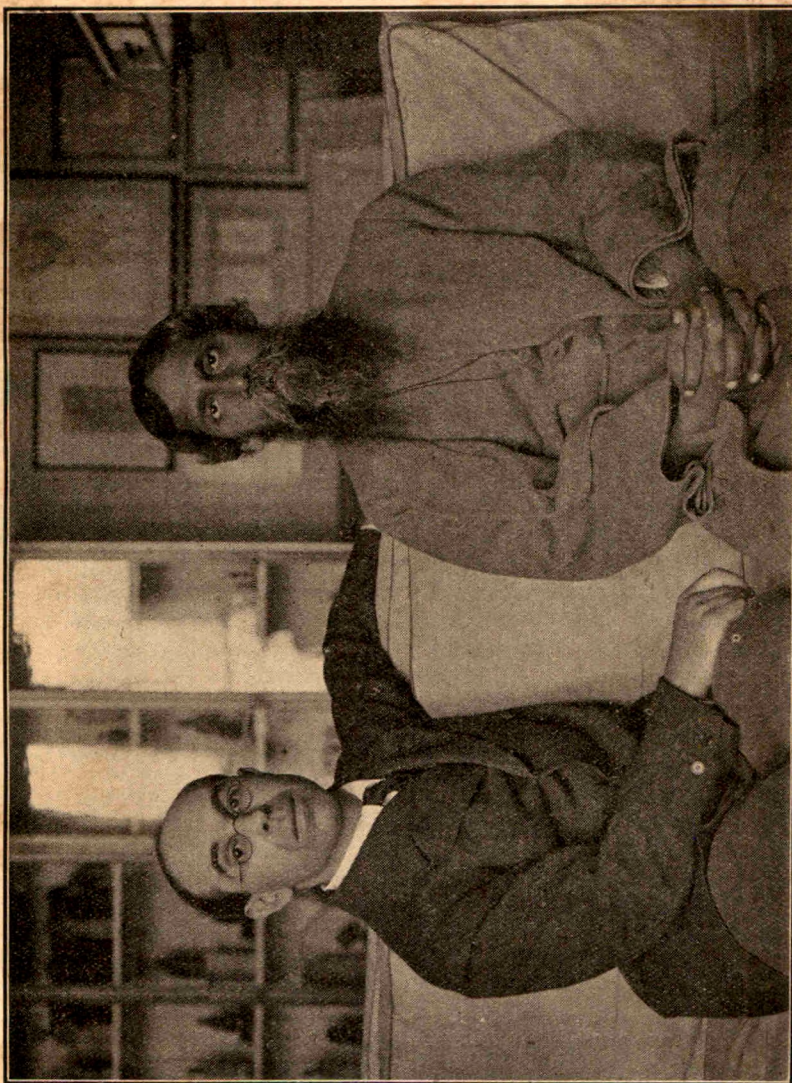
be enticed into a gilded cage, the art gallery, there to sit moping and chained—she who once beheld the world from the high peaks, and swept east or west as her fancy commanded.

There is perhaps nothing that so directly encourages pessimism as this: that man seems to grow so little more perceptive through inherited experience, and that each generation has to labour to build up for itself the same fabric of experience through error as their fathers before them. The moment the battle has been won, it has to be fought over again.

It is an ill thing to quote the past in order that we may belabour the present, and in our own defence we may at least plead that there is a notable difference between the difficulties the people of the past met with and those infinitely more complex ones by which we are now-a-days faced. What cause then, can art serve, and what use can we make of the artist who still struggles for expression in our midst?

We all of us know, I think, the immense stimulus and inspiration we get from meeting with any profound interpretation of life, when it is expressed in terms of great beauty. We get this exaltation forcibly from those writings which are so instinct with wisdom, understanding of the hearts of men, and grandeur of vision that the several nations to which they belong have claimed for them a divine origin. We are inclined to admit the greatness of Dante, Goethe, Shakespeare, etc., without reading their works, and spare ourselves a great effort. If the basis of all art is similarly intellectual, must you not be content that it shall not be recognised by the public generally, but only by a few superior persons of intelligence? Some such inspiration is to be found in all true works of art, and this exaltation, this added sense of the value and significance of life must, I think, form the basis for our appreciation of every form of beauty. I do not say that it is the avowed purpose of a work of art to give us this sense of human interest; what I suggest is that the fact of its being able to evoke something beyond mere beauty of form proves it to give out a quality of genuine inspiration.

The beauty of nature adds to our sense of the value of life, and I think tends to encour-



MR. W. ROTHENSTEIN AND MR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

age in us a wiser, kindlier, and more courageous outlook on life; and I believe that the more abstract expression of architecture, of music, of painting, of sculpture and of beauty of every kind has precisely the same effect. I do not think that this spirit can ever be consciously put into works of art; artists are inclined to deny that any such ideas would ever come into their minds. The question is whether their works give us this excitement and illumination, this quickened sense of the value of things and added zest for existence. I think, if works be sound, they do actually serve this purpose, and it is for this reason I hold that living art, in so far as it does this, has claims on our serious attention.

It is necessary then, that we should realise that the important quality we are to get from works of art is an added sense of life. Will you say that music, the dance, architecture, jewellery, dress, add a sense of understanding of some definite side of life? I prefer the position in the preceding paragraph, that art quickens the sensibilities. The vitality of nature is that which poet and artist seek to render, and often what is popularly thought to be beauty fails to interpret this. Beauty regarded as a transcendent virtue is an awkward customer. Real beauty is allied to something more vigorous than mere gracefulness, and when truths of high import are to be expressed they must be shown under the noblest and sincerest aspect.

The artist does not himself invent his subjects; it is life which supplies them and forces them on him, as a conjuror forces a card from the pack. Hence his task is not often that which those entrusted with no such responsibility imagine they would set themselves; only charm and beauty they think would be theirs, and they wonder why the artist so often seems to go out of his way to choose the ugly. But it is the artist's privilege to see the element of hope and of beauty in much that appears sordid and hopeless. It is not that he cares for sordid things, and were it in his power to choose he would love to linger over the flowers and butterflies and birds that delight him with their miraculous splendour. He must make his own flowers grow from his own rough earth, and obey impulses which come to him from he knows not where.

Nor does the artist invent his own methods, for he finds them ready for his use, handed down to him from the consecutive ages, methods which he alone can use naturally and unconsciously. True, he may be aware that at an earlier stage in the development of these methods, pure and beautiful results have been the rule rather than the exception, but he goes back at his peril. There is to-day a technique quite adequate for the expression of anything sincerely felt; I have many times been moved by the beauty of what is called amateur's work, where the means employed have been of the simplest. Indeed the amateur often possesses qualities which the professional artist, if he ever had them, has long lost, qualities of pious and simple love for things that have touched him on his pilgrimage through life. Technique is nothing but the language of the artist; and he can no more reasonably find fault with it than with the language he speaks; words must mean what each generation understands them to mean. To go back to an earlier form of language, to lend to words a significance other than their contemporary one would be absurd pedantry. A good method is simply an expressive method. It must convey what the artist wishes to say in the most eloquent and precise form. If it fails to do so, no other charm it may possess can be real value. Above all, the workmanship must be in perfect accord with the spirit and aim of the work, and the inspiration be worthy of the dignity of the labour required to produce a fine work of art. Mere dexterity, satisfactory as it always is to meet with, will never give us this; without inspiration no amount of skill will enable the artist to pass on inspiration. How then, can we discover whether the artist has been inspired, for upon our sensitiveness to the presence of inspiration our judgment must depend?

We have an excellent standard which we may apply at least to painting and sculpture—that of our common experience; for art is a living thing, and the source of its inspiration has always come from the most common realities by which our lives are surrounded. I agree "Art" is a concept, invented by philosophers for the greater ease of understanding life. The public truly is not concerned with art at all, but

with life. All that the artist can demand of the public (this is a practical matter) is normal sensibility. The artist should insure greater contentment to the public. He may not exact special knowledge, but simply the consciousness of greater ease. The attention of the public should fix itself not on the vessel, but on the contents; not on the decanter, but on the wine; not on the art, but that to which the art is attached. Every essential fact of life gives us a basis for our imagination to work on; and without such a basis we can make no legitimate appeal to our fellows. There is no mistake greater than that of holding that poet or artist of any kind needs exceptional or fresh experience for his inspiration. Death is one of the commonest facts of existence, yet even the crudest mind is immediately awed and impressed by its presence. To every one comes the commonplace of love, which colours the most everyday life so that it seems filled with a new and wonderful romance, and gives many who have never been aware of it before a momentary key to the secrets of heaven. Do we ever lose our wonder in the delightful qualities of children, their joyful laughter and bright and curious minds, yet what more common thing than parentage? As we ascend in sensitiveness we discover many more common facts which give out this illuminating spirit of significance, and there have always been a certain number of men to whom life has given emotions of wonder and awe as impressive as those brought to all men by the presence of death. In every material fact there lies the seed of great mastery, and this it is the task and pleasure of poet and artist to make men aware of. Art is in reality a statement of fact—fact, that is to say, rid of its accidental associations, so that it appears clad in its shining mantle of significance, standing in its natural proportions to the rest of life. This is Benedetto Croce's position, art as intuitional truth. It involves some trouble with the question of beauty, and seems only applicable to arts of representation. It seems to contradict experience to regard music as the expression of truth.

Thus a true work of art does not only give us what the artist set out to do, but something more than this—a certain sense of an infinite world beyond the actual

limit of its subjects, a peculiar sense of life in addition to what is actually set down. In a painting of a tree in blossom we may get the sweet delicacy and hope of all the spring; in the sower and reaper the sense of the eternal toiling of men and the course of the seasons; in the Madonna and child the understanding of all that motherhood means; in the uncovered form of sleeping nymph the spell of all youth and all beauty. Nay, in a mere piece of still life we may get, as we do in works by Chardin, a finer sense of calm repose and wholesome order than in many a more elaborate genre picture. If we may make, then, a clear distinction between the essential facts of life, such facts as the charm of childhood, the beauty and nobility of men and women, the grandeur of earth and sky, the joy of spring and the awe of death, and those casual accidental happenings which have no relations to the ultimate realities of existence, we have at once something concrete as a basis. In fine, a good work of art helps us to understand and to love something better than we have ever loved or understood it before. If any work fails to do this for us, we may fairly pass it by; either we have not felt its true significance, and in that case this may come upon us more forcibly at a latter time, or it has on its surface no moving quality to touch us.

The means by which the artist expresses these things concern him, but need not trouble us; they are naturally of great interest to craftsmen themselves, but we have to do only with their result. The important thing is for truth to enter our understandings as naturally as an electric shock affects our nerves and muscles, and this can only be if our minds are kept constantly in touch with the essential realities of life. Indeed our instincts are apt to be better guides than our reason as to what is true. For truth is something quite different from accuracy—it is the soul, and not the body of material fact.

I say then, that only when our appreciation of art goes hand in hand with our experience of life can it be trustworthy. It is a constant surprise how otherwise cultivated men and women will unhesitatingly accept in works of art what their judgment protects them from in other

directions. It is an unfortunate thing, and which has come about largely through the fault of artists themselves, that beauty, the most precise expression of the significance of life, is now too often regarded as a meaningless, and merely temperamental expression of highly skilled individuality. If sound art is the expression of kinship with mankind, bad art is equally the expression of inferior feelings. One lacking in elevation loves to think of himself as triumphing over his fellows; to satisfy his immediate tastes and sensuous desires is all that he requires from works of art, and provided this is done he cares little for the dignity of mankind, or for any remoter qualities of beauty. Hence the popularity of most of our plays, pictures, and books; for the presentation of false pathos and untruthful sentiment, of false patriotism and false beauty is flattering to people with low ideals of life. Each sees himself as the hero, and his enemies as the villains inevitably discomfited. To the flattery of these baser sentiments much patriotic art likewise belongs. The clash of forces, the pitting of the strength of one man or one country against another is a noble and legitimate subject for art; but it requires to be expressed with an equal comprehension of the nobility of each antagonist, and defeat must be the defeat which may happen to either, and the victory the reward of what manhood and courage may bring to all men. The old idea that victory came from God is, like many old ideas, a very noble one. It has nowhere been better expressed, I think, than in the wonderful decorations at Arezzo, where victory is represented awful and solemn as defeat.

Clearness of form and of expression are the most important qualities in a work of art, if it is to give us lasting inspiration. We must, I think, be ourselves endowed with something of the Artist's own faith, and surrender our own personalities as he has surrendered his, for the full significance of beauty to enter into our souls. Just as our digestive organs automatically absorb the nourishment requisite for our sustenance so should our brain. Weak imaginations, like weak digestions, lacking the energy to extract what they need from natural food require ready-idealised pictures, which

flatter them with that sense of vagueness which passes too easily for beauty. This vagueness, common enough to-day, is the outcome of intellectual laziness and technical weakness; it is a short cut to poetry, giving the effect of mood and reverie, of fantasy and originality, of scholarship and distinction, without any basis of imaginative vitality. For in every work of art there must be some suggestions of life that has burst as it were through a resisting material, and blooms at last radiant and triumphant, freed from its bondage. This can only come through the limitations dictated by the forms and spirit of nature; without it beauty is little more than a formula, and energy, which is the crown of beauty, will be wanting.

In whatever form life is presented, however abstract or realistic, we can only be convinced if the work be whole-hearted and sincere, and if the form created carry within it the seeds of this conviction. A precise mind with a real grasp of form may give us the spirit of life under the most varied aspect. A centaur may be more real than a labourer, a pastoral more symbolic of life than a contemporary subject. But before we accept any of these things, we must feel that the appeal they make is essentially real. It is easy enough to borrow the symbols of poetry and romance from the past, and to use them merely as ornaments, without any clear relation to existence; it is easy to give a romantic formula of energy to representations of the building of cities, of the loading and the unloading of ships, of ploughing and digging and tilling; but if we are to be infected by the true spirit of these facts, it can only be if the artist's mind has clearly realised their ultimate reality.

It is, indeed, a very general idea that vagueness is a poetical quality; but poetry is rather the precise expression of what is too often vague in the minds of unimagined people. Imagination is as it were the perception of those waves which ripple out from every essential fact into infinity; it is to fact what the prism is to light. Just as all colours of the spectrum are contained within the common light of the day, so do all the potentialities of life lie within common human experience. To interpret the mystery of the night requires as clear a

vision as to render daylight; one must see into the darkness, if one is to express its elusive beauty. The world at twilight is no less solid than at mid-day; it is we who see less clearly when the sun has withdrawn its light, and we become aware of that yearning sense of beauty, that spirit of sad ecstasy born of the marvellous mood and temper of the evening hour. So it is with works of art; the facts of a great picture are wont to be solid and of the earth; but a good artist will give them just this sense of mood, and will extract from them a vision of sweetness and grace; or of solemnity and awe, according to their nature and the character of his own inspiration. The artists of the East have this quality of imagination more highly developed perhaps than any Western ones; in a single painting of a flower, in the lines of a hill overshadowing a lake, in the drop of a waterfall, or, in the contemplating figure of a saint, a Chinese artist can draw aside the curtain to give us a momentary vision of the infinite, so great and simple is his faith in the soul of form and matter, so absorbing is the love which instructs his hand and brain. He must be leaden-souled indeed who feels no answering ecstasy at sight of the sun rising, of poplars glittering in the mid-day light, of clouds chasing across the blue sky, or at the hush of twilight; which of us has not thought each time afresh, as a suddenly remembered truth, This is the true spirit of life; too often has my face been turned away; it shall be so no longer?

We require no special sensibility, no extraordinary talents to feel these things; why then should we require more for the recognition of this same spirit in works of art?

At the present time when books and reproductions of every kind can be acquired or consulted by every one with little trouble and expense, it is more difficult perhaps to retain that innocence of mind upon which beauty most readily acts. Historical facts about works of art, treatises on architecture and the various schools can never for one moment take the place of the natural exaltation the works themselves should directly produce upon it, if they be worthy of our consideration. At best, the knowledge that connoisseurs can be referred

to at leisure encourages people to evade this direct effect; or they have informed themselves beforehand as to what they should feel, and their minds have spoilt their innocence. When we are content to have faith in the simple vitality of beauty to dispense with intermediaries between ourselves and works of art, allowing our minds to be receptive and unprejudiced, I think many of us experience their direct appeal. Such emotions as we may get can only be brought into being through the native activity of our own minds; they will be intense or slight according to the range of our own experience and imagination.

The art-loving public may be roughly divided into two classes. Those who visit such exhibitions of pictures as may be open at regular intervals, with no very clear idea of what they are to get in the way of interest; and those who are quite ready to accept all Greek and Italian works, so long as they belong to the past. It might be expected that familiarity with the works of acknowledged masters would plant within their minds the seed of an understanding for the principles of art in general, so that whether they were confronted with a picture, a carving, or a design by a modern or by an ancient craftsman, they would in any case be able to recognise its merits. It is depressing to see how trifling is the influence of this taste for the genius of the past upon those who cultivate it, and how rarely it makes them able to recognise the same spirit when it animates contemporary work.

The most direct lesson we can learn from the earlier masters is to be gained from a perception of the faith they themselves held in every manifestation of life. We can see that this faith was strong enough to allow of their presenting the most abstract and religious ideas in the persons of their friend and neighbours, wearing the usual dress of their own period. We see them seeking for no setting other than their own houses, cities, and local landscapes, however far removed both in date and topography their subjects were supposed to be.

Worship of the past and of the softening effects of age on form and colour had not yet come among men, they delighted in strong rich colour and firm line, and were

so alive to the direct appeal of emotion that its effect was not weakened by its being expressed in a vigorous and familiar form. The artist uses reality in order to make beauty and human dignity apparent and credible to all men. It is a sign of weakness, I think, if we cannot get these things from the normal material Nature gives us. When we require it ready poetised, so that it may appeal at once to a mood of vague reverie and cloudy sentiment, we are encouraging a lack of vitality both in ourselves and in those artists who are content to give us nothing more than sentimentality. It is to gain a standard from which we should not easily depart that the past is of such value, for time, if not a perfect critic, is still by far the justest and most efficient we have. It is in its clearness and single nobility of statement that we find to be characteristic of those works most generously handled by the ages. For we must use precisely the same judgment in approaching living work as we exercise on that of the past. If art is to be a part of life, as I think you agree, may it not be questioned if we should approach it critically and with knowledge as we consider past works rather than virtually, immediately and without analysis? and if we are unable to admire the spirit easily recognisable in acclaimed masterpieces, when it appears, however rarely, in our own times, we are not only deficient in real appreciation, but we are also lacking in the sense of a very serious duty towards the community.

For it is not the master we must revere, but that spirit he makes real and alive for us in his work. Too often a picture is itself worshipped as a kind of relic, miraculous and precious, in its frame of gold, while that for which it stands is neglected. Now contemporaneous work of the rarest kind can have none of this sacrosanct atmosphere, but to miss its spirit is to waste a great force instead of making rich and practical use of it. Surely this is a reasonable duty, to have watchmen on the walls and stalwart men down at the wharves, so that when the ships come to unload their treasures, there may be strong arms to take it in. To be unaware of a great soul among us is to get but half of his message; the use of half of his force only, for

few realise how much we can get for the seeking, and how difficult it is to produce great work if there is no special call for it. Never has there been a greater need for men who can inspire those about them than at the present time; for the sources of inspiration are not wanting and much that seems dark and hopeless must carry within it the seed of new hopes. Why should we not have epics of our commerce, of its growth and portentous energy, of great docks and warehouses and factories, of mighty ships, and tremendous machines of her conquests on land and sea? Are we content that our great cities should go down unsung, to be looked on as dark and sordid and hopeless, when their strength and significance might be made clear, as beacons signalling across the ages? When will a democracy once more require of its servitors the same fair promise of the radiant face of the world, the same expression of faith and hope that enabled church and temple to hold up a material vision of the possibility of existence to their worshippers?

It is a mistake, I think, to suppose the artists of the past were inspired because they believed in the form of the creed they practised. It was because the church called for his knowledge and inspiration and was served by him nobly, wherever man has given to his Gods the highest attributes he can conceive. They were inspired because art is based upon the same realities as those upon which religion rests. Art has ever been the necessary adjunct to religion, and artist's inspiration has ever served the church, to its own profit and glory. A creed grows old and feeble, but never the spirit upon which it is based; sculpture and painting no longer are living ministers to our religions, but music still helps with its rich and solemn inspiration to keep alive the flame before the altar.

It may seem a paradox to suggest that there is more chance for inspiration to enter into the work of an artist when subjects for his work are strictly limited, as they were, for instance, in the days when countless madonnas and certain incidents in the lives of Christ and his apostles or of the saints were asked of generation after generation of craftsmen. Yet true it is that freedom is an ill thing for the artist as it is for the

worker. The break up of the old faiths and the levelling of the old castes have brought him fruitless license for which he has to pay every day of his life. By right a slave to the noblest of masters, it is only when he is chained to a definite demand established on a basis of the highest possible standard of intelligence, that he can realise to the full the inspiration that is his by birthright.

Nowhere is it easier to detect inspiration than in Italy, where hieratic subjects are treated lifelessly by minor artists, and richly endowed with life, dignity and drama by the sound ones. Indeed it was the discovery of these emotional and imaginative qualities lent by the great craftsmen to everything they fashioned, that first enabled modern students to detect and separate the works of imitators from those of the masters. Not to form and colour alone were the masters so exquisitely sensitive but they were equally sensitive to the human or mystical interpretation of the subject given them. Take away the significance they gave to their saints and madonnas, their Annunciations and Holy families, imagine them without grandeur and dignity of conception and treatment, and you may readily conceive that their pictures and frescoes would no longer stand out as unique works of art. That great works express certain ideals has always been recognised, and countless volumes have been written about those of Greek art alone. Nothing could well be more mistaken than the idea that the Greeks invented an ideal through their dissatisfaction with actual human form as they saw it. Surely it is rather because the Greeks had a stronger faith than any other race of artists, in that secret soul which, as they knew, lies hidden within everything that lives, and devoted themselves to making it apparent to men, with this one constant preoccupation—faith in the expression of abstract beauty through the medium of physical beauty. They were aware above all else that it is only by the profound comprehension of form in its subtle relation to dignity and life that anything in the nature of an ideal can be wrested from it. Such strong and clear faith was theirs, that they made use only of the simplest possible motives for those works, for which the admiration of mankind has never been

dimmed. Gods and heroes were alike rendered with the least possible departure from the simplest human aspect, yet from the clear and noble understanding of form, we are made aware of a radiant and exalted spirit of beauty.

Those endowed with less of this robust and fearless faith do not believe that a direct statement of significant fact can be made to give out such potent inspiration.

In all early periods of art, humility and faith lead to a certain wonderful absorption and trust in the power of the simplest possible statement. The Greeks, we have agreed, had this quality to a supreme degree, and the foundation of their religion upon their impression of the beauty and awe of nature gave to their theology a character admirably suited to an abstract expression of the actual divine quality of man and of the material world. The early Italian masters set down a more dramatic statement of life; and the Christian ideal of poverty, pain and suffering as sole guides to the gates of Heaven, dictated countless subjects of damnation, and of beatification.

These were interpreted with the most moving simplicity and we find that the drama is stated in the clearest and most direct manner, and above all, preserves a natural relation to the rest of life.

While angels descend; while Christ is being born, or walks with his disciples and performs his miracles, while saints are being massacred, the ordinary business of the world goes on; the sun shines, the birds sing among the trees, the peasant is busy with his plough, and the woodman with his axe, men and women pass up and down the streets of the city. Yet nothing of the dramatic force of the situation is lost; on the contrary, we are made aware of the deep and passionate symbols of the gospel drama through this mystical relation to fact.

In later times a more conscious interpretation and a more ingenious and complicated stage management take away from this deeper significance, and the appeal is made more to our sensuous emotions of form, colour and harmonious composition. According to the temperament of each individual, even more perhaps according to the spirit and aims of each generation, is early or late work admired or neglected.

Never before, perhaps, has there been so much sympathy for, and insight into, the beauty and noble intellectual expression of the earlier periods of art than has been shown during the last half century.* If people would but use their sense of this gift of faith which moves them so strongly in these works, by applying it to the recognition of any signs of it they may discover in their own day, much good would, I think, come of it; but most of us appreciate noble qualities platonically and demand different ones for our own consumption. People too easily take the shadow for the substance, and when there lies in a work of art a superficial and consciously manufactured resemblance to something generally recognised as great, they quickly jump to the conclusion that this too must be great art. It is for this that I have insisted so much on the basis for our judgment being one of precise form and spirit,—for a receptive and expectant attitude, rather than a spring forward to meet what one imagines to be present. To set down simply what is felt sincerely, this is no mean occupation for an artist; and if patrons would demand nothing more of him than this we should not be without a noble school of painting. According to their intellectual and technical accomplishment, there would be need for their services, and each of us would meet with that which most fits into his own horizon.

Our galleries and exhibitions are filled with pictures and statues which no man with respect for the possibilities of human effort would hold worthy of his serious attention. True, but is the fault with the public, which can never be actively critical? Is it not with the exhibitions? Abolish those, set the artists to perform the tasks exacted from the Italians, and will not the minor men disappear at once as incapable of meeting the conditions? I put it that it is for you to insist upon a seemingly standard of intellectual capacity, and to refuse to have your most trivial senses appealed to. Then only will those who propose to devote themselves to a career of art once more

understand what it is that is expected of them.

If I were asked what quality I consider to be the most necessary one for an artist to possess, I would say—faith. For I do not think it is so easy a task to deceive nature as to deceive men. She has a mysterious way of responding to genuine humility, and of knowing when we are only pretending, and it is just that touch of her spirit she allows to be absorbed into her lovers' work which gives it the quality of life we call inspiration.

For I hold that the surface differences among pictures of various schools are of no importance. However foreign may be the first aspect of a work of art, if you would apply your understanding to it, and not your prejudices, I think difficulties many people find insurmountable on being brought face to face with what appears a new manner will often disappear. It seems odd to us now that fierce denunciation should have been hurled at works of art which once appeared wilfully anarchical, and are now accepted as sound and noble; yet in our own day this has been the case, and I need only mention in proof of this such names as those of Watts, Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt, Millais, Maddox Brown, Rossetti, and Whistler. It is clear that without some standard all is confusion in the public mind, and people think one method or school is right and another wrong; one picture is praised because it is brilliant, and another because it is low in tone; one is good because it resembles an old master, and we cry up one kind and decry another, as though there were Liberal and Conservative pictures, everyone as it were wearing his party colours. It would be absurd on my part to assert natural taste and instinct not to be necessary for the fine discrimination between excellent and secondary works, but I do believe the use of plain intelligence and common sense to be the surest guide for those who are not thus gifted. I believe, too, that in this way a solid basis is gained, which will allow of a steadily increasing perception of the value of beauty, and as such knowledge grows it will serve to illuminate many things in life which might otherwise pass unobserved.

We all agree that it is the province of art to glorify mankind and not the individual

* The interest in the art of bygone periods is intellectual. Do you not here invite us to adopt an intellectual attitude towards the work of modern artists? If this is your position I have misunderstood you before.

man, and the subtle relation of the individual to the general spirit of life is what a good artist is able to express. A great painter does indeed sum up in his work the ideals and culture of a generation of men. How else does the past live but through the genius of artists and poets? The object of a portrait is not merely to give the structural likeness of the sitter and a rendering of his or her particular personality: the painter must give to his sitter this subtle relation to the drama of life also. A vulgar mind requires the difference between himself and other men, his personal tastes, dress and habits accentuated; a noble personality surely wishes to be represented by something of the distinction and dignity which belongs to all life. There is a quality of simple grandeur in the portraits by Van Dyck, Holbein, Titian, Rembrandt and Velasquez which places them on the level of the most imaginative works of art. Almost alone among modern men, Watts has summed up in his wonderful series of portraits all that is generous and distinguished in the last generation. It is the radiance of the world and the dignity of all living form that artists have ever loved to interpret, and so long as they continue to do this we shall have sound art among us. But once they divorce art from those realities from which alone it is able to draw its inspiration, art it ceases to be; it is rather pictures or statue manufacturing, no longer a glorification of real but an advertisement of trivial things.

We have among us good sculptors and architects and craftsmen; we have historical painters, landscapes and domestic painters, painters of peasants, of princes, of animal life, of cities, and of the sea; well, from all of them you can get excellence, but the primary condition must be that the work of each of them bear this mysterious relation to the essence of life, which alone can give it value. Without this, history becomes anecdote, landscape mere topography, or a more or less adroit effect of light and shade, and beauty is prostituted to the level of prettiness. Surely we may refuse to accept these things as representative of the age in which we live; let us ask and seek for noble things from our contemporaries, and to him who does not disappoint us need offer no greater honor than that

of asking him for the best he has to give.

I have tried to suggest a standard which may at least be applicable in some degree to their works and to give some hint of what it is artists are best fitted to do.

It seems wasteful that this should not be required of them, that the energy, invention, and knowledge which they are only too willing to devote to the service of their fellows, should not be regarded as a practical asset of the nation. Unhappily the best men are too often left to their own resources, to put their treasure into the world in the face of indifference, if not actual hostility, and their genius is apt in consequence to become rather the flower of fine taste and scholarship appealing to the few than of great human ideals, capable of inspiring all.

You have passing through your schools and universities a constant stream of young men and women, many of whom will later hold positions of influence in the public service. While their courage and faith are still undimmed, and while they are so generously moved by the many social difficulties to which we are all alike heirs, it would be no ill thing, I think, to suggest more clearly than is now done, just what place the quality of beauty may hold in our lives. If you will help to make the artist realise that his true business is to exalt courageously what is noble and elemental, and to show sympathy with everything that lives—ideals older than any technique—you will not only prove that you yourselves have a basis for the appreciation of works of art, but by ignoring all that is insincere and trivial, you will be encouraging among craftsmen the only sure foundation for the use of their imaginations and the proper cultivation of their high gifts. Then the artist will take his place once more among his fellows, no longer regarded as half an outlaw, but as one of the most useful among those who live in cities. Man can create nothing: to show his passion for the radiant face and form of truth is all the best of men can do; he is content to worship her, happy if he be but named among her servants. To win easy victory has never appealed to nobler minds, and those who follow the light of

loves of art will know nothing of the secret of her soul.

But you must realise that connoisseurship and taste are things of insight; and that so long as you have photographs of the masterpieces of the world on your walls, side by side with countless things which

bear no kind of relation to their essential nobility, so long as your houses represent no vital culture but are made up of an aggregate of trivial, accidental and formless things, so long will a stream of laughter flow down from Heaven at the mere thought of any general appreciation of art.

INDUSTRIALISM IN ENGLAND

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

OF one thing, I think, there can be very little doubt, *viz.*, that in the near future India will embark upon a policy of industrial expansion, an event that will have momentous consequences for India. The ultimate effect of such embarkation will be the modification of Indian life, thoughts and habits in a thousand directions; the production of a wholly new outlook upon life; the establishment of new conditions, new institutions, new ideals, and possibly the destruction of many customs, realities and institutions that are intrinsically good and a real means of well-being.

But whether good or evil accrue from such a change, it cannot be expected that India will forever be content to buy the bulk of her goods from foreign countries and not try to produce them for herself, or to rely upon the brains and genius of other nations for all those structures, improvements and conveniences which an advanced civilisation and an awakened intelligence seem inevitably to call for. It would be a sign of moral and spiritual impotence were she to do so. People of intelligence, grit and spirit would find it an oppression to rely upon others for the satisfaction of most of its needs; for its conveniences and improvements, and could never rest content until it became itself the author and finisher of the things whereby it lived, and wherein it found satisfaction. It is indeed a nation's right, so soon as it has developed the power, and knows how, to produce or construct whatever is found to be necessary to its comfort, well-being, or development. Whether we consider the fabrics whereby a

people adorn their persons or their homes; the conveniences, such as bridges and railways, which they make use of in order to live their lives and attain their ends; the theatres, halls, churches, clubs, offices, etc., in which they congregate in order to work, play or worship; these things ought, so far as is possible, to be the product of the people who make use of them, and thus serve as an expression of national thought and feeling, as a manifestation of the genius, aspiration and spirit of that people. Thus for deep spiritual, as well as for economic, reasons a nation ought, as far as circumstances will allow, to be self-supporting, the author and producer of all the means of its advancement.

This truth India, unconsciously where not consciously, is instinctively realising. That is why the movement towards nationalism is becoming so powerful. It is a holy desire that is moving India towards nationalism, the desire to be the author of her own civilisation. And it is a similar desire that is impelling her towards industrialism. For quite apart from any economic considerations, such a desire would be sufficient to induce or compel India to embark upon a policy of industrial expansion. We need not be surprised, therefore, to see signs of restlessness in many parts of India, signs which show that Indians are beginning to rebel at the thought of their country's industrial impotence and dependence, and to realise that the time has fully come when they must prove to themselves and show to the world that India possesses ideals, genius and spirit of her own.

Hence the increasing demand for education, and especially for practical and scientific education that is being made throughout India at the present time. Technological and agricultural colleges are spreading on every hand. Chemistry, mathematics, mechanics, electricity, and all the other sciences which fit one for a specialist's career in the domain of industry, engineering, or agriculture are being developed to an enormous degree. Moreover, Indian students interested in these branches of knowledge are coming over to this country, to America and to Germany, to become conversant with all the latest achievements of science, in larger and larger numbers. And we might go even further still. We might refer to the latest statistics and point out, for instance, that the cotton industry is developing, and that the area devoted to cotton-growing is rapidly increasing.

But there is one vitally important consideration which must not be overlooked by Indians: it is that industrial advancement is fraught with dangers of the most terrible and revolting kind. These dangers are many and crucial; and so far as the Western world is concerned, not one country alone, but every country that has taken to commerce, has fallen a victim to them. Probably that circumstance is to be accounted for by the fact that industrial development has taken place simultaneously in all these countries, so that one nation has not been able to benefit by the experience of the others. But the question I wish to ask here is this: Can India, and can the East, generally, profit by the example of the great nations of the West, learn in time the deep lessons that I am confident a close study of the industrial history of such countries as England is bound to discover? Or is it a fact that India must travel the same treacherous road that the nations of the West have travelled? Pass through the same experiences? Fall a victim to the same horrible evils? With all my soul I hope not. But I have sufficient faith in the power of reason and in the possibilities of public opinion to believe that the terrible social evils which have arisen in the West, as the direct outcome of industrial expansion, can be avoided if an earnest and desperate effort is made to do so. Indeed it is because I believe this that I have undertaken to write

the present and following articles on the industrial question. In this short series of articles it is my chief endeavour to reveal the pitfalls and dangers which stand in the way of industrial development, and to state what steps I think ought to be taken in order to avoid them. The present article is for the most part a description of the industrial and social condition of England at the present time. In a second article I propose to state what I believe to be the faults and needs of our English industrial policy. And in a third article it is my intention to state for Indians what I believe to be the chief lessons of English, and may I not say, Western industrialism.

A hundred years ago England was essentially an agricultural country. To-day she is just as essentially a commercial country, occupying, in the commercial age, the first position among the great industrial nations of the West. At the close of the eighteenth century England was a land of woods and fields, of farmsteads and villages, the great bulk of whose population earned a living on the land, either as farmers, or as gardeners and labourers on the estates of the wealthy. Sheep pastured on the lonely hills; cows browsed in the sunny valleys; while most of the sons of toil were engaged in growing grass and corn and gathering them into barns. There were just a few towns, but these, for the most part, were market towns, old, slow, picturesque places, consisting of a few score of variously shaped hovels formed into streets, a large central thoroughfare, which, like the main streets leading into it, was laid with cobblestones, and possessing a population of essentially "country" folk. There was little or no industry in these towns except, perhaps, an occasional tannery, the inhabitants being mostly shopkeepers, who supplied stores and provisions to the farmers in the district. Such industry as there was could scarcely be said to be centralised, even the weaving being done by handlooms, which were kept in the houses of those who worked them.

But now, what a contrast. To utter the very word "England" to-day is to bring to the mind scenes of restless, nervous life; of vast, quick-moving cities; of ceaseless industry; of dreary-looking factories belching forth thick streams of dense black smoke from gaunt, defiant chimneys; of a

people burdened with care and many burdens yet desperately endeavouring to rise above such and to find rest and pleasure. So far as the great bulk of the people of England are concerned the peace and leisureliness of the life of a century ago have completely departed, and, as it would seem, for ever. To the average city-dweller of to-day the nature of the life that his grandfather knew seems quite as foreign and as ancient—and shall we not say as romantic?—as that of the marauding, sea-faring life of our ancient forefathers. The town-bred lad of to-day learns about the life and ways of the eighteenth century handloom weavers with the same surprise and romantic curiosity that he learns about the doings of the ancient Northern Vikings.

Not that the country-town, or agriculture have altogether disappeared. Far from it. As a matter of fact the greater part of the South of England is still covered by a rural population; but even here, although one can sometime feel something of the atmosphere and movement of the old English rural life, the spirit of that life has almost completely departed. Science, speed, the craving for vast wealth, as also the manners, ways, ideas and spirit of the city and of the life of commerce, have penetrated to the nethermost parts of the land, and have conquered and destroyed that older, and in so many respects finer spirit. Visiting the industrial towns and the great cities oftener and oftener, partly to buy new machinery, and partly to see what marvellous things were going on there, and sending their sons and daughters to those centres to be educated and "accomplished", the spirit of the city and of commerce has gradually invaded the country, until it has become almost all-pervading there. Little by little the quaint homeliness, the family-unity, the leisurely life and ways and the peaceful spirit of a once rich sweet and glorious life are fast departing from our midst.

But it is in the North of England, in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, etc., but especially in Lancashire, that the effects of commercialism are most apparent, and that the commercial spirit is strongest and most rife. It is scarcely too much to say that Lancashire is commerce-mad, for at the present moment

she is literally consuming herself with the passion to make wealth. And yet, strange to say, it can hardly be said that Lancashire is aware of the fact, otherwise she could not tolerate the customs and practices that are devitalising and demoralising her. But, happily, she is at last just beginning to realise that somehow things have got sadly wrong: that she has been the victim of a species of fever, by reason of which she has become seriously reduced both physically and spiritually, and gravely demoralised; and when that process of self-realisation has proceeded a little further, Lancashire will suddenly awaken and go in for some drastic reforms and changes.

At the same time it must not be taken for granted that there are not green fields even in Lancashire, although it must be said that there is very little agricultural life in the great Palatine county. For miles and miles along her well-watered valleys, one huge town follows close upon another, with only a few fields between, a score of towns often occurring in almost as many miles. Practically no grain is grown in Lancashire, only grass, the great masses of population requiring all the milk and butter that can be produced. So sure as there is a well-watered valley in Lancashire, and there happens to come a boom in trade, factories and houses will spring up and a new town take its rise. In this way the peaceful, fresh green valleys of Lancashire have been claimed and despoiled, one after the other, by the ruthless hand of commerce; covered with black, grimy, unadorned workshops and thousands of small, box-like cottages, plastered together, as it were, into rows, then multiplied, and huddled together in great confusion, and constituting an intricate medley of narrow, dismal, characterless streets, which are over-cast by the thick smoke from furnace and factory chimney, and by the countless fainter streams which issue from the workers' houses. That, briefly, and externally considered is the sort of change that takes place whenever industry in Lancashire takes a leap forward.

But in addition to these outward and physical changes, the industrial revolution of the last century has given rise to inward and spiritual changes, the effects of which are both vital and far-reaching. Not only are the general conditions and outward

characteristics of Lancashire, and; indeed, of English life, vastly different from what they were before the Industrial Revolution, but the people's entire habits, outlook, ideals, as well. For one thing commercial progress has meant, on the whole, material prosperity, and the possession of greater wealth has been the means of throwing open to the people at large many avenues of life that would otherwise have been closed to them for a long time to come. Partly as the result of increased wealth among the workers generally, and partly because of various forms of agitation, social, political, industrial, religious and intellectual, which the thickly populated life of the town has made possible, and, indeed, necessitated, many good things, like literature and the franchise, have been democratised. The result is that to day men of humble birth and circumstance possess rights and opportunities which two or three generations ago were thought to belong almost exclusively to the aristocracy.

In other ways, too, the accumulation and distribution of wealth has been the means of producing momentous modifications in the life, thought and habits of the people. On the whole people live more comfortably and dress better than they used to do. Thousands of working men and women live luxuriously, even extravagantly, while many of them dress like lords and ladies. Not that this is an unmixed blessing, by any means, but possibly it is only a temporary reaction from a life of penury and poverty, although there can be no doubt that it is an evidence of the wandering away from that beautiful simplicity which is always the mark, and the indispensable condition, of real well-being and true happiness. Then, too, it is the case that people indulge more in pleasure now than formerly, and are keener in the pursuit of pleasure than they used to be. Indeed, when we talk about pleasure in these days we need to spell it with a capital P, as the pursuit of it has become a veritable craze. In former times the craftsmen and peasants of England worked moderately during the day and played soberly at night. Now they spin like machines in the daytime and seek pleasure and the means of distraction like madmen at night. The people no longer play. It is one of the saddest reflections that confronts

our nation to-day, that Englishmen are fast losing the art of playing. We are even forgetting that playing is an art, or that it is necessary or good to be able to entertain oneself. But the patent fact is that with all our boasted wealth and education, the number of Englishmen, whether among the poor or among the rich, who can entertain themselves, provide their own pleasure, and who have not been demoralised by the idea and practice of buying their pleasure, is very small indeed. The only play which the majority of Englishmen seem capable of in these days is that which consists of playing the "Gentlemen", that is, going here and there, to theatre, café, club, saloon, concert hall, or scouring the country in a motor car, without expending any thought whatever, or doing anything for oneself, except paying the bill. No matter whether we go to London and the other great cities, or to the small industrial towns, the same phenomenon is to be met with. Because of the growth of wealth which unfortunately has not been accompanied by a growth in the knowledge of life, and also because of an inhuman and unnatural industrial system (a fact to which I will refer again later), the great bulk of the people are sacrificing their lives for pleasure, literally consuming themselves with a feverish passion for pleasure.

Another product of our English industrialism is a strong Class-feeling, marked antipathy between the Classes and the Masses. The possibility of making a vast fortune in a very short space of time has caused large numbers of people, especially the more ambitious and less scrupulous, to try and accumulate wealth, and then, by a most revolting and vulgar ostentation, to try and persuade the world that they are superior beings who ought to receive the obeisance of the poor and humble. This spirit, now so strong and common, has brought into existence a strong Class-feeling which threatens to produce a great social upheaval in the immediate future.

Then too, as a result of this mad and foolish pursuit of wealth, it will be quite readily seen that dissatisfaction among the workers is bound to arise, and to produce agitation, sternly opposed political parties, rival social and political theories. It is thus that Socialism has arisen, is advancing, and is creating such bitter feeling throughout

the country. Almost from the commencement of the Industrial Revolution, but especially during the past half-century, the working classes of England have lived almost perpetually in open revolt against the tyranny of crafty and greedy employers, of ruthless capitalists who absolutely refuse to consider any interests or rights but their own, the supreme right of wealth and force to make unlimited wealth. Of the English capitalists of the nineteenth century it can with great truth be said that they considered nothing wrong or unjust, not even disease, physical and spiritual impoverishment, a life of suffering and degradation, inevitable slum life, or even an untimely death, so long as it brought in great profits.

I fear it is quite impossible to give even a faint idea of the life of the industrial town-dweller to a people whose life is essentially rural; at any rate in so short a space as I can here devote to it, but perhaps I can give an idea sufficient to enable Indians to judge of the reasonableness and desirability of such a life. Let me start then by saying a few words about towns and town-life in general.

Were a foreigner to be planted down in the centre of a typical Lancashire town he would find himself in the midst of fairly broad streets, moderately high buildings and a busy throng of people. Into this "centre," which is an open thoroughfare or "square," all the principal streets of the town converge, and from it one can see or easily get to most of the principal buildings of the town,—shops, offices, business houses, banks, churches, hotels, theatres, the town hall, the chief Post-Office, and the Public Library. Almost immediately behind these main roads he would discover a vast labyrinth of interminable, grey-looking narrow streets, flanked with rows of stone and brick cottages, all similar in size and shape, one row succeeding another, unrelieved, except perhaps by an occasional church or a huge dismal-looking factory or workshop, a manufactory of one kind or another. And if he strayed in these streets for a whole day he would find that at regular intervals, thousands of thousands of people—men, women, boys and girls—would issue from the surrounding houses and enter these workshops, as if they were being literally swallowed up by them, and all so quickly

and promptly that he would be amazed. And then for four or five hours he would find the streets in comparative quietness, the homes in many cases being completely devoid of inmates, or occupied only by the mother of the family and perhaps one or two small children, the former of whom he would find busy getting the meal prepared and the house in order ready for the workers' return. Precisely at the appointed hour he would see the gates of factory and workshop fly open and thick streams of working people pour forth into the street, making it, for the space of half an hour or so, black with a dense crowd of grimy and dully dressed workers, and in many cases causing it to ring with the clatter of a thousand pairs of iron-shod clogs. After this half-hour of turbulence he would find that all would suddenly grow quiet again. But in the evening, and after the lapse of about two hours or so after retiring from work he would notice that the streets would begin to get busy again, but this time by people in cleaner and more artistic dress going out for an evening's walk, or perhaps to see friends, or else to the theatre, etc., in search of pleasure.

But if from this dense centre of population our traveller pursued his way still further towards the outskirts of the town he would probably come into spacious avenues, broad, clean, well-kept tree-lined roads, flanked by large handsome-looking houses; while beyond these again, he would come upon the palatial residences of the mill-owners, the manufacturers, etc., enclosed in magnificent parks; and if he took the trouble to reflect upon the whole situation, he would by and by come to see that the cost of this tremendous luxury, this even great waste of wealth which is manifest on the outskirts of the town, in the closed-up, unappreciated parks and palaces, is the ceaseless, dreary toil of the vast concourse of people he had seen in the midst of the town, the coming and going, regularly and without fail, twice or thrice every day, and for five or six days per week, of thousands of over-burdened men, women and children.

And if he took the trouble to enter into the homes of these different classes of people he would find on the one hand, in numbers of cases, the utterest poverty, and on the other the most extravagant luxury. He

would discover that in the three or four tiny, cramped rooms of his cottage the average artisan was only able to make ends meet by reason of the utmost care and self-denial, both in regard to food and clothing, while the occupants of the villas on the hillside beyond, were not only wasting their substance in riotous and extravagant living, but, what is even worse, spending unbelievable sums in absolute folly, in vain efforts of vieing which can have the biggest house, the most costly furnishings, the finest motor car, or which can secure by means of "philanthropy," or political and public service, the highest title.

And if, finding his curiosity awakened by these facts and revelations, our visitor should endeavour to get into conversation with the occupants of these several homes, he would probably be amazed to find that a great amount of dissatisfaction and restlessness existed on every hand. He would discover that the wealthy few, the manufacturers, the millionaires, etc., were, in spite of their great wealth, possessed by an insatiable desire for even more wealth still, and were in the habit of regarding their work-people, when the latter asked for better wages or improved working conditions, as discontents, reckless agitators, anarchists, unreasonable beings whom it was utterly impossible to satisfy. And among the workers he would find much discontent, and very much agitation, both organised and unorganised, for improved social and industrial conditions. He would also find much ignorance, much reckless living, much licence and vice, yet not, I think, more than he could expect under the circumstances, and certainly not—I speak from knowledge, and sincerely,—to any greater extent than he would find them among the rich. But he would also find an intelligent, capable and morally elevated body of men, cultured workmen who, by reason of their own strenuous efforts had acquired a creditable mastery not only of social, economic and political questions, but of moral, intellectual and religious questions as well. More than that, he would, I am quite convinced, be compelled to conclude that at the present time the problem of chief interest, and that is most urgently calling for solution, is the industrial problem, the problem of economic justice, of poverty, of the conditions of

labour, etc. Moral and religious problems are agitating the mind of intelligent Englishmen to-day, and not least, working-men, for without doubt the ideas and ideals of the last century are discredited and are being repudiated on every hand. A new idealism, a finer and more spiritual conception of life is developing, coming quietly but none the less surely into view; and the revolt of working classes against the conditions under which they live and labour, is, in a very real sense, simply an evidence of that coming. Without doubt, if we search deep enough, trace the struggle that is at present tearing England in two, to its source, we shall find that it is a conflict between two ideals of life, a material and a spiritual conception of life; between a life of physical enjoyment, of social advancement, based on the right of physical force, and a life of social fellowship, of brotherhood, based on love and a true sense of the fundamental rights and needs of human beings.

And this agitation is bound to grow more and more intense as the hardships of life under the present rule of physical force, based on the belief in the unrestrained rights of wealth, of organised capital, increase. New demands are coming upon the worker almost every day. More work is being exacted of him; speed is being increased; prices are advancing; the chances of unemployment are certainly not growing less, while the policy of cheapening the cost of production is causing materials to be much inferior in quality, and therefore much more difficult to work.

Thus, when we consider the conditions in which the great masses of the industrial classes of our large towns live and labour, is it to be wondered at that their play is deteriorating? That they are seething with discontent, and that they are intent on giving effect to some sort of social and industrial reform? Nay, is it not true to say that their discontent is their salvation? If they were content to remain satisfied in their present condition it would be a proof that they had become utterly demoralised; that they had fallen into a condition of degradation from which there was no hope of recovery? To work to the clock, at a mechanical occupation, day after day and week after week, and year after year; to

produce goods in a hurried and slipshod fashion; and to work with the consciousness that the best fruits of one's labour are being reaped by a few men, and possibly by degraded and characterless men, physically-minded materialists, is at best a terrible oppression, and enough to demoralise and debase any community. And to feel that oppression is to destroy the power of healthy and enthusiastic play, to rob men of both aspiration and energy. The apparent and undoubted decay in the home life of this country during the past fifty years is, in my firm opinion, the direct outcome of the demoralising effect of our industrial life and conditions, and will never be improved until that life and those conditions have been radically modified and reformed. The strain of our English industrial life is too great for men to bear, and so reduces them that there is neither energy nor enthusiasm left with which to play. Industrial life, as that in England, and in the West generally, is altogether too exacting; does not allow sufficient scope for the play of individuality, and leaves the worker with an altogether insufficient margin of leisure in which to recuperate his body, mind and spirit. Before very long England will come to realise this.

Imagine, if you can, what it is to work as they do in Lancashire and the other industrial centres, and think what a man can be fit for after it. You rise at five o'clock or so in the morning both winter and summer, and wend your way through the cold, dark streets, if it be winter, to mill, factory or workshop, where, at six o'clock, prompt, you stand with a thousand others about you, in the midst of lathes, looms or other machines—machines that are relentless in their demand, that have to be kept going by you, under all conditions, ceaselessly, and without so much as five minutes rest between times—for overseers are always on the patrol watching you, until eight o'clock, when you are allowed half an hour for breakfast. Then at half past eight, at the sound of the gong, when every workman must be back in his place or be fined, or discharged, you repeat the process, except that this time you do it for

four hours. It is now half past twelve. At half past one you are back at your machines again where you again stay for four hours. You have now put in ten hours of strenuous work, and not only strenuous but tedious, skilled and exacting work, and after it you go to your little home in the midst of busy streets, with dark, towering stone or brick buildings facing you on every side, with no green fields to greet and rest your eye and your spirit! Now does it seem to you that after that you would have very much spirit and energy left with which to enter into gaiety with your family? with which to culture yourself with the study of the arts or with which to engross yourself with a favourite craft? One unnatural thing leads to another, and unless you are very strong both physically and morally, I imagine you would do what thousands of English people are doing, and try to find happiness in being entertained.

I remember some time ago speaking to an Indian who had just been looking over a Lancashire Cotton Mill, and who was making a study of the Lancashire cotton operative, and I shall never forget the look of grim yet humorous horror that was on his face as he turned to me and said: "But I thought you English were free! Never tell me you are free again! Why, you work harder than slaves, and with your whole mind too: it is prodigious! Unbelievable! And how you congregate together, docile as sheep, fastened in a mill, and work for ten hours a day in a noisy, stuffy and often evil-smelling room, and do this, all to the sound of a gong, day after day—oh, it is simply incredible, inconceivable! I am sure I shall never believe in your freedom again!"

That, I think, is a very fitting reference with which to close the present article.

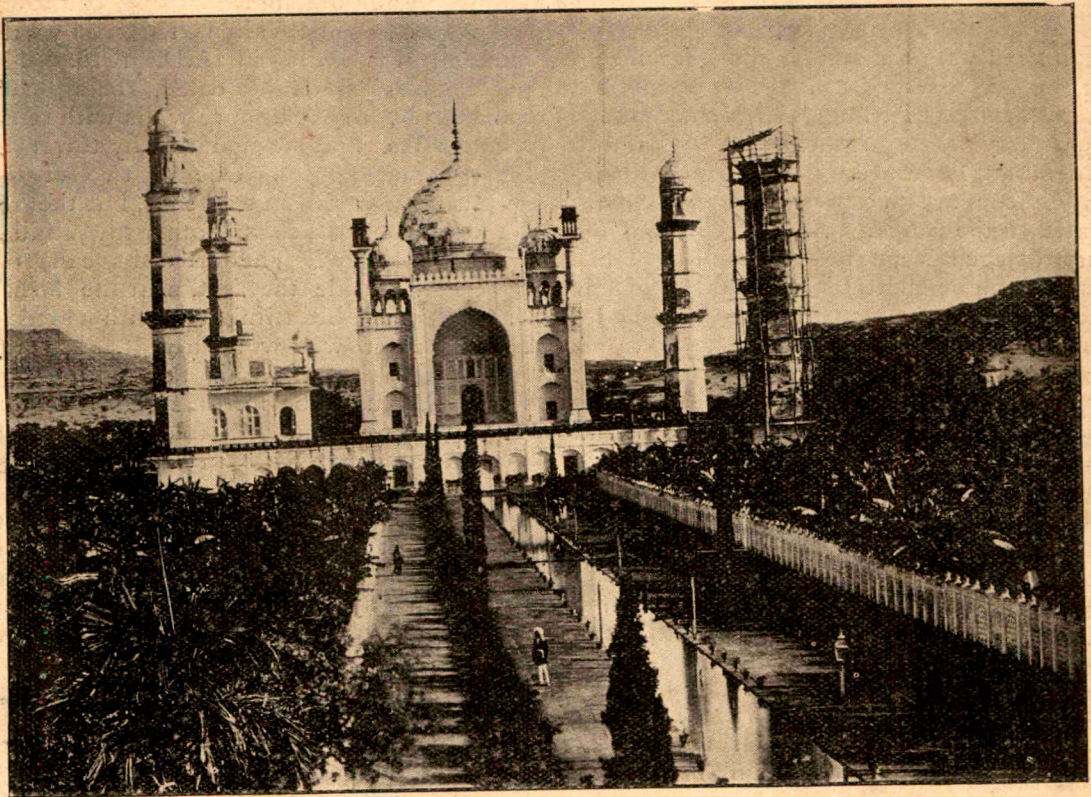
In my next article I shall deal with the question of the reform of our English industrial policy, as I think this will serve further to explain to the Indian reader what the industrial conditions of England are, and also to indicate more clearly the dangers against which India must guard as she embarks on her industrial career.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF AURUNGZEBE IN THE DECCAN

AURUNGABAD AND ROZA.

VERY varied are the estimates of the reign and character of Aurungzebe, the Puritan King, but there is an interest and romance about his life that is missing from even the Muhammadan rulers of India. It is true that he was intolerant towards other religions and spared no efforts to show how determined he was to load the followers of other religions with burdens

was one of strict morality. He had a high ideal of what was expected from an Emperor. "I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself but for others. . . It is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. . . Alas! We are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence." His abilities as a general have also



Tomb of Aurangzebe's wife at Aurangabad.

almost too heavy to bear. He was denounced as a hypocrite who tried to hide his evil deeds under a cloak of religion, but a view of his whole career reveals many noble elements in his character. He never drank and as far as records show his whole life

been questioned. He conducted several campaigns and gained no mean successes but he was often ill-advised and in spite of his victories his kingdom soon fell to pieces. To trace all his actions during his long career would require several articles, but his



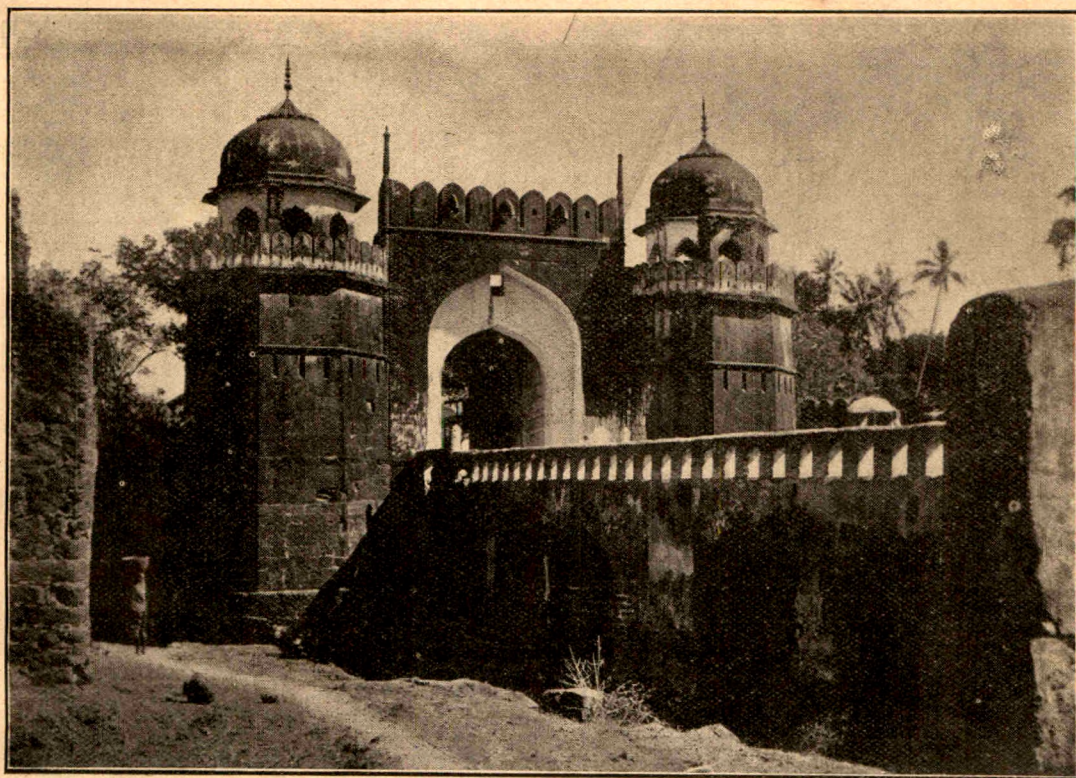
Gate leading into the Fort, Aurangabad.

connection with the wars in the Deccan ending in his lonely death will be of interest. The Deccan has for long been Muhammadan and today the largest Native State is Hyderabad governed by the Nizam. Bijapur, Golconda, and other places were closely related to the Emperor Aurungzebe, and the story of each siege is worth telling. The town which he chose for his capital in the Deccan was Aurungabad and there he resided for many years. His palace was a fine structure, but little remains to speak of the glory of it. Even today, though the city has lost much of its importance, it holds a position that is in some ways unique. Every new Nizam has to visit the City in order to join in certain ceremonies without which he is not considered to have entered completely into his position as ruler of the State. Aurungzebe lived here during the years 1660—70, and here he buried his favourite wife, whose tomb is one of the most interesting of the City. In Roza, a small town some sixteen miles distant, he was buried.

Aurangabad is situated in the North-west of the Nizam's Dominions and is easily accessible. The distance from Bombay is but 175 miles, while from the capital of the State, Hyderabad, the distance is 270 miles. The population of the town is steadily decreasing, as the numbers in 1825 were 60,000, while today the number is reckoned at less than 20,000. The fact that Aurungabad is in the near vicinity of Daulatabad with its wonderful fort, and

Ellora with its unique rock caves, renders it possible for the tourist to visit the place while he is touring to the more famous ones mentioned. It is in a state of decay, but the old palaces and fort are worth a visit apart from the historical interest of the place. Malik Ambar, known for his excellence as a commander and soldier, was a native of Abyssinia, but by force of character and strength of arms he rose from his lowly rank of slave until he became Regent of the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmednagar. The town, first called Kirki, by the

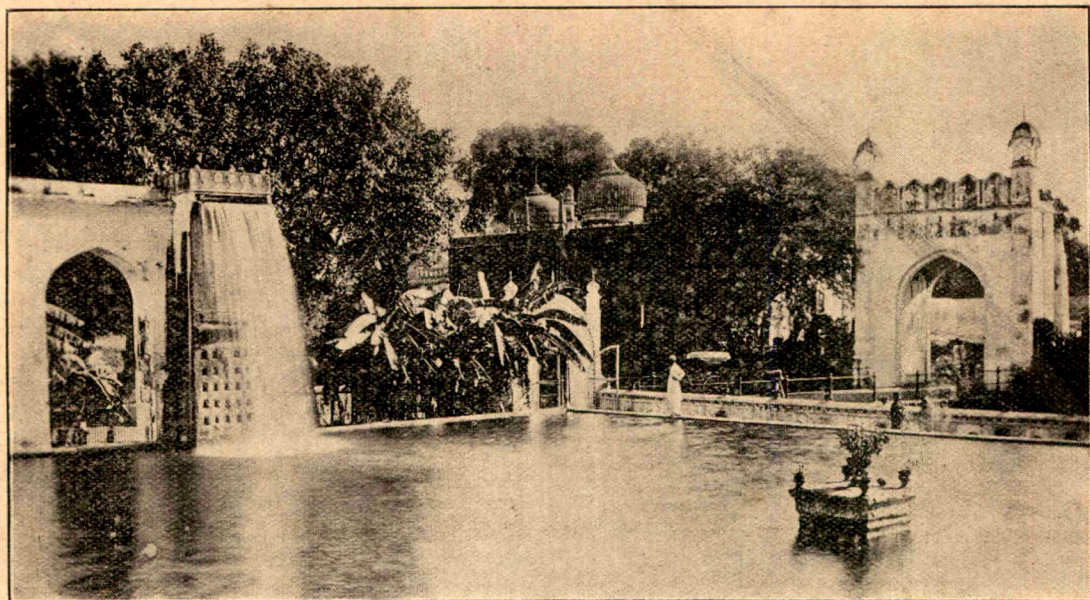
founder, was built in A.D. 1610. The place was well protected, being surrounded by high masonry walls with semi-circular bastions surmounted by towers at the different angles. One or two of the gateways are still in existence, but the remains of the palace and other royal buildings are very few. The fort walls can still be traced. Inside the fort, near the Mecca Gate, there is a beautiful tank with a modest fall of water well worth a visit. But the most interesting place is the mausoleum, built by Aurungzebe for the remains of his wife Dilras Banu Begam, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi in 1637 who bore him five sons and four daughters. From a distance this building appears a very striking one, but a near view is apt to be disappointing. It is an attempt to copy the wonderful Taj Mahal, but there can be no comparison as to completeness and beauty. With Aurungzebe Muhammadan architecture began to decline. "There are few things more startling in the history of this style (Saracenic) than the rapid decline of taste that set in with the accession of Aurungzebe. The power of the Mughal empire reached its culminating point in this reign, and there were at least no external signs of decay visible before the end of the reign. Even if his morose disposition did not lead him to spend much money on palaces or civil buildings, his religious fanaticism might, one would think, have led him to surpass his predecessors in the extent or



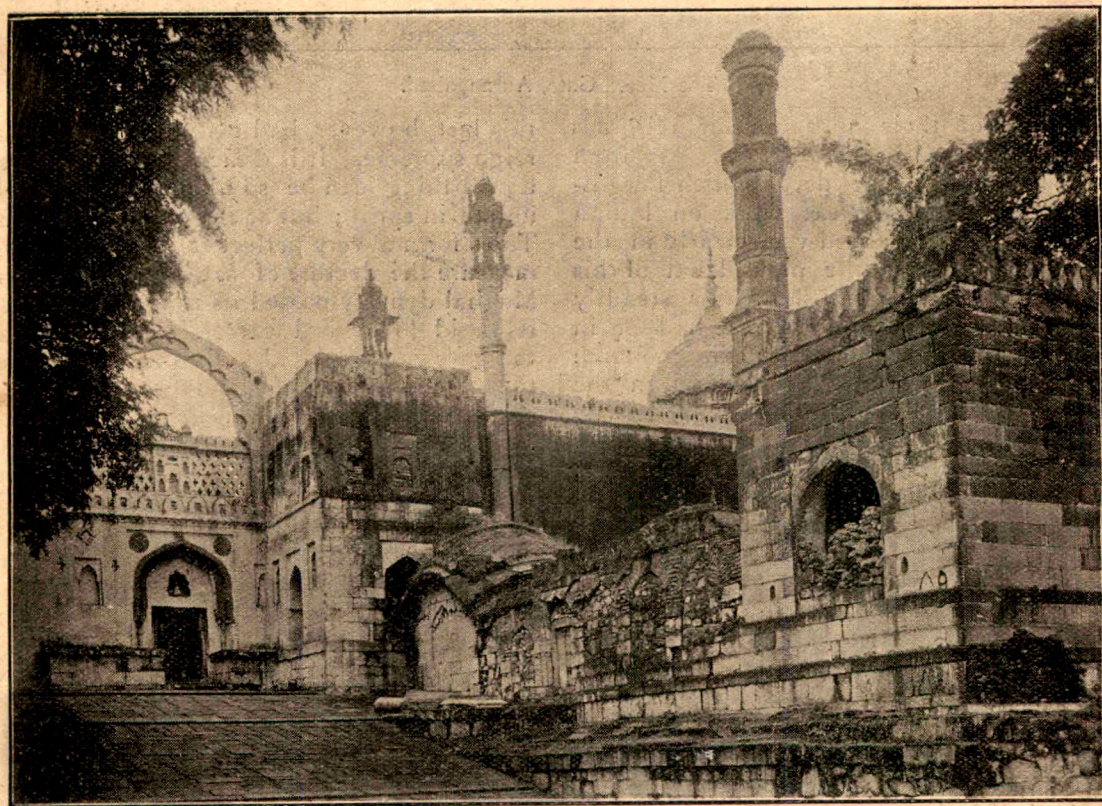
The Mecca Gate, Aurangabad.

splendour of their mosques or religious establishments. This, however, is far from being the case." The decay which Ferguson refers to in his great work on Indian architecture is evidenced very clearly in the building referred to, the mausoleum of his wife. "Few things can show how steadily and rapidly the decline of taste had set in more than the fact that when the monarch was residing at Aurangabad between the years 1660—70 having lost his favourite wife Rabia Durani, the tomb in honour of her memory—which is ascribed to her third son A'sam Shah—was intended, it is said, to reproduce an exact copy of Shah Jahan's celebrated tomb, the Taj Mahal. But the difference between the two monuments even in so short a period, is startling. The first stands alone in the world for certain qualities all can appreciate; the second is by no means remarkable for any qualities of elegance or design, and narrowly escapes vulgarity and bad taste. In the beginning of the nineteenth century a more literal copy of the Taj was erected in Lucknow over the tomb of one of the sovereigns. In

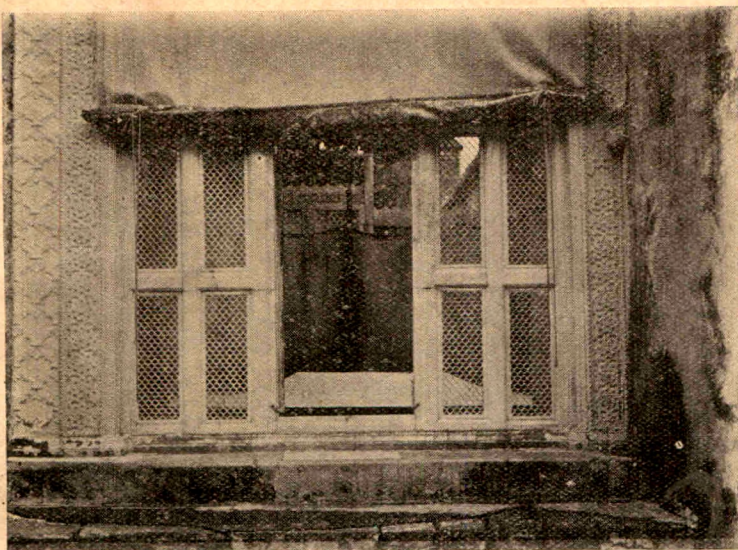
this last, however, bad taste and tawdriness reign supreme. It is difficult to understand how a thing can be so like in form and so unlike in spirit; but so it is, and these three Tajs form a very perfect scale by which to measure the decline of art after the great Mughal dynasty passed its zenith and began its rapid downward career." The door at the gateway is plated with brass and along the edge is written, "This door of the noble mausoleum was made in 1089 A.H., when Atau'llah was chief architect, by Haihat Rai." Near the door is a small figure, and it is a common joke among the natives to ask anyone who professes to have been to the Mausoleum whether he has seen the little bird or not. If he answers in the negative they dispute his having been there at all. Some of the carving inside is very interesting, especially several dragons which have all the marks of Japanese work. The Government of the Nizam have included this building in the list of works to be carried out in the interests of archaeology, and have already expended large sums on its restoration. It has been said that the



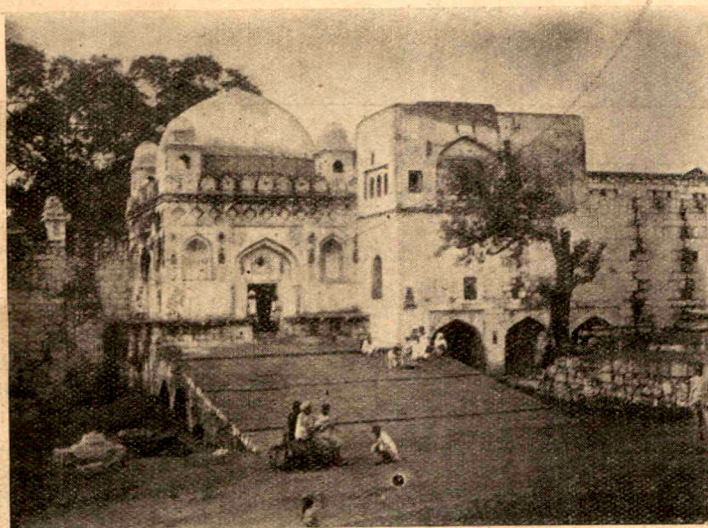
Pan Chukki, Aurangabad.



Entrance to Mosque and Tomb of Aurangzeb.



Tomb of Aurangzebe and marble screen.



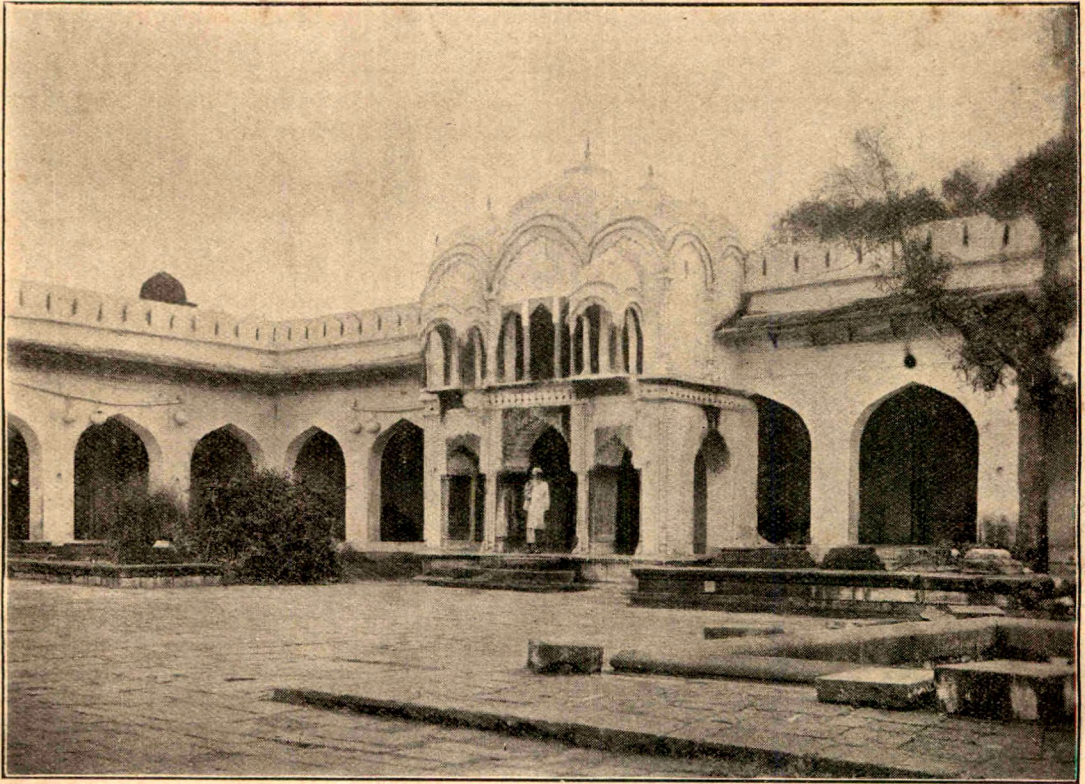
Tomb of Asaf Jah, Roza.

main fault of this building is the want of sufficient height in the entrance archway. The Pan Chukki, already mentioned, is said to be the prettiest and best kept shrine in India. The saint who finds his last resting place here is Baba Shah Muzuffar, a member of the Chrisit sect of the Muhammadans, and preceptor of Aurungzebe. The tomb of the saint is to be found in a little garden and is made of beautiful light coloured marble. The Mecca Gate, the Jumma Musjid, the mosque of Malik Ambar are worthy of a visit. The place now occupied

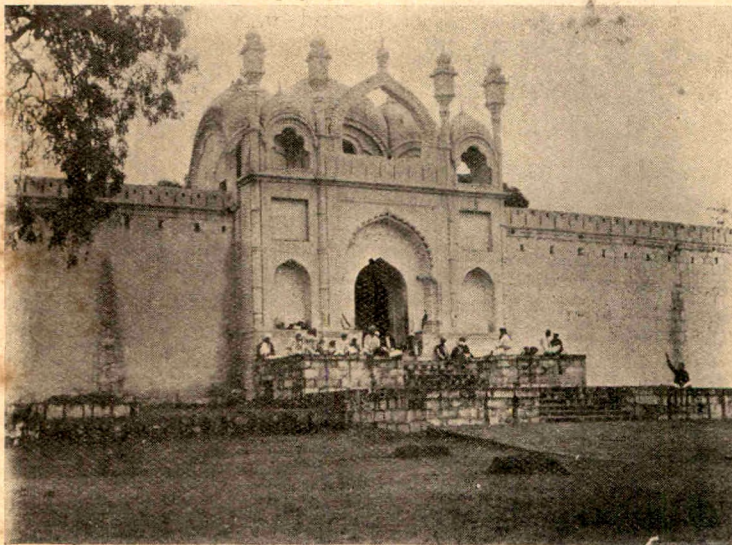
by the Government was at one time covered over by cactus and was the haunt of hyenas, etc. By order of Sir Salar Jung the site was cleared and they were surprised to find numerous reservoirs, fountains and other works of interest. On Aurungzebe's death all the nobles left the city of Aurungabad and returned to Delhi, and the city speedily lost its importance though it remained the capital for some time afterwards. There are some noted caves in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, reached after a stiff climb over slippery rocks, but not so fine as those to be seen at Ellora in the opposite direction.

The town of Roza is another place closely connected with Aurungzebe, for here his remains are laid. It is quite easy to reach the place from Aurungabad as it is but fifteen miles distant, and very near to the Ellora caves. In fact the traveller visiting the caves must pass through Roza. It is well worth a visit, for here are tombs of a number of distinguished Muhammadans including Aurungzebe's son, Azim Shah, Asaf Jah, the founder of the Hyderabad dynasty, Malik Ambar, the powerful minister of the

Nizam Shahi kings, and one or two saints. The Mausoleum of Aurungzebe is midway between the north and south gates. "Aurungzebe himself lies buried in a small hamlet. The spot is esteemed sacred, but the tomb is mean and insignificant beyond what would have sufficed for any of his nobles. He neglected, apparently, to provide for himself the necessary adjunct to a Tartan glory, and his successors were too weak, even had they been inclined, to supply the omission. Strange to say, the sacred Tulsi tree has taken root in a crevice of the



The Inner Shrine and Mosque at Roza.



Tomb of the Saint, at Roza.

brick work, and is flourishing there as if in derision of the most bigotted persecutor the Hindus ever experienced." It is said that the Emperor, who was a man of austere

piety, before his death desired that his sepulchre should be poor and unpretentious, in accordance with the tenets of the Koran. He who built the magnificent tomb for his wife sought only a mean structure for his last resting place. There is a story that "he desired in his will that his funeral expenses should be defrayed from the proceeds of caps which he had quilted and sold, and this amount did not exceed ten shillings; while the proceeds of the sale of his copies of the Koran, 805 rupees, were distributed to the poor."

There is one relieving feature about the small tomb which is uncovered on the middle of a small raised platform, and that is the marble screen, 5 feet high.

Opposite to these tombs is the one of Asaf

Jah. The entrance is through a large quadrangle. Near the tomb of Asaf Jah is one of a famous saint known as Sayyad Hazrat Burhanuddin, who died in 1344. He is said to have come down from the North with 1400 disciples at the end of the thirteenth century for the purpose of spreading the Muhammadan faith among the Hindus. The shrine boasts a remarkable treasure. "For some years after its erection, the disciples of the Saiyad were without means to keep it in repair, or to provide themselves with the necessaries of life. Supplication to the deceased saint, however, produced the following remarkable phenomenon. During the night small trees of silver grew up through the pavement on the south side of the shrine, and were regularly removed every morning by the attendants. They were broken up and sold in the bazaars, and with the proceeds thus realised the Saiyad's disciples were enabled to maintain the shrine and themselves. This remarkable production of silver is said to have continued for a

number of years, until a small jaghir was allotted to the shrine, since which time the pavement has only yielded small buds of the precious metal, which appear on the surface at night and recede during the day."

There are several other tombs in the neighbourhood which give the place great sanctity. The late Nizam showed great interest in the old places in this neighbourhood and Aurungabad, and Lord Curzon recorded of him, "He undertook the cataloguing and conservation of a most interesting collection of old china, copper ware, and carpets that had been lying neglected for centuries at Aurungabad in the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Aurungzebe." It is a matter for pleasure and gratitude not only to the Muhammadan world but to all interested in the past of India that due care is being taken of the monuments associated with the "Puritan King" of the Mughals.

E. WATTS.

THE MUSICAL SOUL OF EAST AND WEST

BY ALFRED WESTHARP. (MUS. DOC.)

To Mr. Raymond Duncan.

The Musical Soul! What is that?
What is that—soul?
And—Is there a special soul for Music?
Yes—What is that soul?

* * * *

IN Europe we are not accustomed to know anything about it except that: "The soul is eternal"... "The soul is eternal", whilst the "body is mortal".—Our knowledge of the soul is rather negative, we believe we know what the soul is not, but we have no precise idea of what it really is. We say the soul is eternal in opposition to the body.

The soul is represented to us from our childhood as the opposite of the body. The body may perish, but, if the soul is saved, everything is saved; that is the fundamen-

tal conviction of the public and private morals of Europe.

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This soul without body as it is conceived in Europe, being the result of ecstasies, can naturally only be studied in ecstasies, that is to say, if one studies it, one must endeavour to understand it in its supernatural state; he who speaks of it, must be as ecstatic as he whose conviction it is, and who so to speak puts it into practice. It is very curious that Europe of to-day, with the exception of a few privileged individuals, seems to have lost this delicacy indispensable for the study of the exalted soul. And one has to seek for this subtilty not in Europe, but in other countries, in India or China.

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But can the noble study of the exalted soul, serve us for the inner comprehension of Music?

It is true that ancient China (as Mr. Laloy has explained in his book on Chinese Music) has dreamed a music which represents the order of the stars, the world and the state. Confucius says in this sense: "If you wish to see whether a state is well governed, you have only to notice the music which is produced in that state". But this music dreamed of by ancient China, what can it teach us about our own music? Debussy, Hugo Wolf, Bruckner, Chopin, Schumann, Beethoven, Haydn, and Bach, do not in the least represent the order of the stars, and of the state; and modern China can no longer consider its music of to-day as "The Science of Sciences" in the mathematical sense.

India has invented a whole mythology in order to represent its Musical Theory, its theory of Melodies called "Ragas" and "Raginis". The Ragas have children, their children marry, and in the end, we obtain real "families" of melodies. Certainly, that is very picturesque, touching even, but extremely dangerous for the music as music. And what makes the Musical Soul of India, in the sense of the letter and article which I have just received from Mrs. Pratibha Debi, and Mr. Jogendra Nath Mukerji (of Calcutta), the improvisations, which surround the Melody-Types, the Ragas, this musical soul is not included in the musical mythology of India. The Musical practice of India as well as that of China denies very openly the inventions or the free imagination.

Ancient Greece, which we have to consider as that part of the East, nearest to Europe (contrary to what we have been taught by our school professors), this ancient Greece has on the one side copied the Indian theory of music, but on the other hand Greece has associated Music with Dionysos, more than the Indian appear to associate it with Krishna, who is the original Dionysos. In this way ancient Greece has given to the musical soul, which is suspended in a vague manner in the Orient, its incarnation, its body, its technical basis, a musical theory which is not afraid of the reality of things, the full

musical clearness. Therein consists the musical value of the helenistic researches of Mr. Raymond Duncan.

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Having been so near to the Musical Soul, which manifested itself during the first thousand years of the so-called Christian era, Europe has however abandoned itself during ten centuries to the longings of Christianity, which being of Oriental origin could naturally not become satisfied in Europe.

Europe thus became even more negative than Christianity essentially is. The body in Europe is banned, not only the carnal body, but also the musical body, that is to say the musical technique, has become falsified by virtue of the fulfilment of extra musical duties. As in all European morals, so in music the personal will became the enemy which was to be killed...

And what was the result of this proceeding? Europe, in suppressing the body, has produced the permanent, systematic over-excitement of this body. It is in this way, that since the year 1,000 of our era, concord has permeated music.

The harmonic theory of modern Europe means that the soul loses control of itself in music and follows more or less the law of acoustics.

This harmonic music renders the pale ecstasies of the Church of Western Europe as well as the sensuous enthusiasms of dance and comedy. The official soul of the modern European musical theory has now no longer any connection with the real soul of music.

Never has the East in its genuine idealism made such an absurd attempt to subordinate the musical sensitiveness to the acoustics and physiological demands of the ear. Read for yourself how Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore of Calcutta and other Indian authors refute the European theory of concord; they do not exactly know why, but they have revolted from instinct, it is stronger than themselves, they cannot do otherwise; it is the genius of the East who is not dead, in spite of the battleships and the guns of Europe, and who will never die, because, with all his idealism his roots are deeply imbedded in nature itself.

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Even the ecstasies of the East are rarely lacking in logic. The East is not ashamed of the body, but knows how to employ the body as a marvellous means of psychic enjoyment; as the first path towards eternity. That is the reason why all modern Europe goes to learn ecstasies, sane ecstasies, from the East.

I do not speak to you of the stay of Mrs. Besant in Benares, nor of Pierre Loti, nor of Mrs. Mann (Miss Maud MacCarthy) who has brought back to us her Indian enthusiasm in music itself.

Europe, the every day Europe, the Military, Financial, even the Educational Europe unfortunately the Europe of to-day takes its revenge for the suppression of the body by the supremacy of the most brutal materialism as music does by the supremacy of musical comedy. The purse and the war, the war for the purse and the purse for the war, that is the ideal of the official Europe of the 20th century A. D.

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The renaissance which results logically from the ruins, (*les extremes se touchent toujours*), is still hardly perceptible. The renaissance of education is beginning. Education is becoming again the education of the personality, instead of being, as it was until now, the school of arrivistes. England begins the education of the personality by a real cult of the body in sports. I do not want to ask myself in the face of the charming pictures offered by the river Thames, whether on a Sunday afternoon in England the connection between the body and what is called soul, is not apt to be neglected.

The system of the boarding school, which deprives the children of the presence of the parents, seems however to me very dangerous, although it is certainly preferable to separate parents and children rather than to expose the children to the right of the matrimonial dissent of their parents, which is unfortunately (perhaps also a little because of our lack of culture of senses) nearly chronic in our households. In Italy Dr. Maria Montessori has invented a new system which aspires to the "Utilisation of every atom of the childrens' natural energy". (See T. L. Smith, the Montessori System, London, Harper & Brothers, 1912). Take particular notice that it is a lady

who dares to have the ideal realism, the realistic idealism of speaking of "utilisation of natural energy", and let us hope that women will be the first to avail themselves of such a system of education instead of subordinating themselves to the, so to speak, negative education of the official schools in Europe, and instead of going so far on an equal footing with men, as to enter the political world which produces perhaps the strangest disfiguration of the modern European man.

And the renaissance of European music? It has begun in France. Debussy is the new god, but the renaissance of musical education in Europe has not yet begun. The official circles do not even yet see the necessity of it. All the more great is the merit of the "Musical Association" of London in having allowed me to speak on December 3rd, 1912, on a subject as new as "Education of Musical Sensitiveness".

Probably the East will precede Europe in this branch of education, because there is no other musical education possible in the East, for Oriental music exists through its sensitiveness, whilst in Europe allowance for freedom of sensitiveness is only made unwillingly and in opposition to the official theory of music. If it were not so in Europe, the European readers would have been able to find out immediately very clearly the exact sense of my theme "The Musical Soul".

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Music, in its essence, is the art which depends, more than every other art, on the senses. The naive error of the harmonic theory (which, besides, was not exactly formulated before 1722), was to confound the means and the aim and to take the means for the aim. I shall refer to this again later on.

Music is the art which is most intimately based upon the senses; that is true, but the aim of music, as an art, is, I think, not the expression of the senses, but the expression of the soul; (if we wish to employ these convenient dualistic terms). Otherwise we can say, it is not the primitiveness, but the complexity of the soul which creates the musical art.

The more or less primitive emotions find more perfect manifestations than music. Musical art proves its full power only if music is the entertainment of the soul,

cleared from the influence of the outer world, of the soul with itself. "A soul which is so complex that nothing in the world can satisfy it besides itself, that is the musical soul, that is the source of music". So I have said in a Lecture which has been edited by the Japan Society. More than every other art, music embraces the whole scale of human emotions, from the simplest to the most refined, from the enjoyment of the ear unto the cries of the soul, which shatter the nerves, and give pain to the European ear.

It is rather a curious invention of European morals which we have called more negative than Christianity originally was, to have broken the continuous chain of emotions (musically speaking, to have broken the continuous chain of sounds as well, as Helmholtz so marvellously explains) and to have condemned the musical soul to perpetual over-excitement, so that musical people were intentionally prevented from feeling music, and so that, in reading the title "The Musical Soul of East and West", Europeans will probably have expected only phrases full of everything else except music, phrases such as you read every day if people depict their musical impressions by extra-musical comparisons: One says: "Ah! it was as beautiful as a dream", the other: "Oh! it made me heartsick"! and the European composers themselves take the greatest trouble in painting musically nature and events. Even Debussy and Beethoven cannot escape the mania of wishing to attach music to the outer world; remember "The Garden in Rain" by Debussy, and the "Pastorale" Symphony by Beethoven. The real musical soul has been lost or killed in Europe.

The most natural art is prevented in Europe from developing its essential character, in being deprived of the principal virtue of nature, which has been formulated in the phrase "La nature ne fait pas de sauts" and which is to be called psychologically—logic. Instead of this natural virtue, we find all kinds of musical morals (and immorals, that goes without saying), all kinds of scientific prejudices in European music which would so deeply need the most refined control of musical sensitiveness.

The suppression of the will in music has, in spite of all, produced a precious result in Europe: that is the European musical psychology or physiology of which I shall have to speak more definitely in my article "Education of Musical Sensitiveness".

This musical psychology of Europe, being the result of only partial experience in music, as it is furnished by the official musical practice in Europe, can naturally only be partial itself. However the first steps of a systematical observation of the musical soul are made. And it is the Orient which achieves what is incomplete in the musical psychology of Europe. Let us render here a melancholy homage to the musical psychology of Europe and to its initiator who to this day has no successor, and whose name is Hermann Helmholtz.

When will the musical practice of Europe change its basis so fundamentally as to realise at least the elements of its musical psychology?

The way in which the European psychology has renounced until to-day every realisation, renders the high spirit of the European scientists all the more admirable. A very short time ago we saw the great French mathematician Poincaré not only voluntarily renounce, but even refuse to let his spiritual creations enter into practice. Here is another point where Europe touches China and India.

But, let us return to the East if we wish to make the attempt to express in words that which is most impossible to express otherwise than in music, the Musical Soul. The Orient alone has been able to find formulas in words, (the logical results of its psychical freedom), which are not entirely insufficient.

* * *

"If a tone is produced, it is born in the human heart", says the Memorial of Music of China.

What does this mean musically?

Nothing else but: Every musical sound must be the outcome of the feeling of the one who produces it, in order to enter into that of the listener.

In Europe we are accustomed to consider one sound (if we worry at all about such a tiny thing as a single sound), as the product of an instrument, of the human larynx, but not as that of the sentiment. And we

wonder how China can guarantee that the sounds of its music are produced by sentiment.

China explains that "the real tone is an animated sound". India adds, "Vital air or power and heat, or vibration produced by heat, originates nāda or sound". Look how India makes every effort to find an equivalent expression.

What is the meaning of China and India? It is the following: Every musical sound (it goes without saying that there is a great difference between sound and musical sound in China and India), every musical sound is living, changing in its liveliness, the musical sound is "animated" says China; it "vibrates", says India. That means the vibration of "power and heat" as India says, that is to say, the vibration of intensity.

The musical psychology of Europe also professes that the different sounds are psychologically produced by varying intensity. I quote the names of the European psychologists in question in my French study, "On Musical Sentiment."

But have you ever observed that the different sounds of a European musical composition are played as different degrees of intensity? I for my part have hardly ever been able to report such an effort. There are only crescendi and decrescendi dealing with a great number of sounds but nothing so subtle as to produce each sound by crescendo or decrescendo.

INTENSITY, BEING THE EXPRESSION OF THE SHADINGS OF FEELING, IS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF FEELING IN MUSIC OF THE MUSICAL SOUL. THE MUSICAL SOUL, BEING THE SOURCE OF MUSIC, INTENSITY, THE MUSICAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THIS CREATIVE SOUL, IS THE CREATIVE FORCE IN MUSIC. Nothing more or less. China adds immediately to this thesis: "The real tone is an animated sound," the other one: "The real tone is a fertile sound". The animation of the sound is the sign of its fecundity. The exact European terms for the same idea are: "The intensity produces the quality of the sounds". The famous European psychologist Sigwart finishes by making no difference between intensity and quality of sensations. Professor Exner derives from the intensity conclusions of the quality, and

measures the intensity by the changing of the quality.

China is again more delicate than Europe: the Chinese musical psychology does not proceed from one sound to other, as that of Europe does, but it considers beforehand more closely the shadings of one single sound, produced by its varying intensity, and says: "The musical sound . . . has the virtue of reproducing itself".

The ancient Greeks also profess, that what we would call repetition of the same sound has already a musical value. They call this repetition "petteia" and find in it, as I describe in my book, "Music comes from the East", a form of melodious succession.

On the piano the standard instrument of Europe, the shadings of changing intensity of each single sound do not exist so to speak, the pedal of our piano gives us only a foretaste of what it could be. Yet, it is a European philosopher, the English philosopher Hobbes, who teaches us that the lack of shadings the lack of varying, signifies the lack of feeling, that is to say, the death of the musical soul. Hobbes says: "To always feel the same, and not to feel at all comes to the same thing". The whole modern psychology agrees, that the culture of feelings consists in giving the full value to their divers shadings. We experience here very deeply how the European lack of culture of sensations entails as an unavoidable consequence the lack of consciousness in the means of musical expression.

It is however these shadings of intensity which form what the Greek called "Rhythm". I know very well that the modern rhythm of the European music has nothing to do with the intensity of feeling, but I do not hesitate to denote the changing shadings of musical intensity as being the real musical rhythm, in the sense of the phrase of the famous European Orchestra conductor Hans von Bülow himself, who said: "In the beginning was logos".

But if it is not the real musical rhythm, what, on earth is the rhythm of the actual European music? You may ask.

Let me try to discuss this question with you without annoying you with historical and technical references: . . . Because

there are no degrees of intensity of each sound, which could be combined and measured in their relations, one measures something which has nothing to do with the sounds themselves: one measures the time which passes between the different sounds of a melody. The famous "time", here you have it! Nothing has given you so much trouble in your undertaking to learn European Music or to teach it to your children than this unfortunate "time". And you will now as eagerly resist the giving up this "time", as you resisted once and as your children resist every day the acceptance of it. It is only natural that you cannot agree at once to have undertaken all this trouble for nothing, and to have given blows to the musical feeling instead of really learning and teaching music.

Your hesitation or refusal in abandoning what Europe called "times" in music and what it notes down graphically by barred measure, obliges me to submit to you the following meditation: Barred measure was invented in the 16th century, in order to keep together the different voices of the European polyphonic music. With this barred measure came a kind of accent which was placed principally on the first part of the bar. The accent is a sort of remnant of the intensive shadings of India and China. Of course a very very pale one and which is often placed on quite a wrong part of the melody. This is the reason why every European composer experiences the greatest difficulty in being obliged to write the music down in barred measure. This is the reason also why European theorists like Professor Hugo Riemann protest against "The Accent of the Bar". They all agree in condemning the introduction of bars in music, and Mr. Riemann very openly speaks of a future when there will no longer be bars in European music. And why will you hesitate any longer to abandon the bar in the music you play or study?

I present to you here and in several other studies which have been published in Tokyo, Paris, London, Turin, Firenze, and Munich, the Chinese logic of intensity, which is psychologically perfect. Also the Indian "Tāla", (although being a kind of predecessor of the European bar,) is not subjected so naively to extra musical

rules of symmetry and has incontestably an intensive influence on the music.

There you have how to measure music instead of putting it in bars! You may have "barred" your musical wishes for yourself but—your children will certainly never forgive you for not having used in their favour the most refined inventions of human consciousness.

* * *

The Orient continues to demonstrate for us the character of the musical relations created by intensity. We have heard that these relations are not consonant, but what are they?

India says: "From Srooty comes Swara or Sound". Srooty is a fourth or third part of the European whole tone. You see immediately if you are still wanting a proof, that in this Oriental music there is no consonant intuition. Father Amiot in his famous "Memoires des Chinois" assures also concerning China that: "The fundamental sound supposes no harmonies whatever in its resonance".

The will is free, and not only in sounds which are specially marked in China as "Isolated and independent" of each other, free not only to separate but also to unite. This freedom of separating and uniting is noted in the examples of music, which I give in my different studies on Oriental music, by the spaces between the signs of intensity.

If China speaks of "sounds necessarily tied to one another and so closely connected that they cannot exist without each other", it is solely by the equality of their degrees of intensity that this indissoluble connection is produced. Besides these "necessarily connected" sounds there are in China "related" sounds, those of which the degree of intensity is not equal but only related. There is a continuous current of intensity between related sounds in China. "Not related" are sounds between which the current of intensity is interrupted. These three phrases contain everything.

If a musical composition is detailed in this sense, the musical soul is easily to be felt because every detail of the work is its exact effluvium as far as the human soul can be reproduced in art. I offer to you such interpretations of Chinese, Indian, Japanese music and also of European art

music, in my before mentioned booklet entitled: "Musical exercises for the education of Musical Sensitiveness".

The sovereign musical soul reverses the conception of the value of sounds: Sounds are all the more delicate, expressive, and personal as they are less primitive, that is to say, less consonant. It is not concord which elevates sounds to form a work of art, but the will of the artist.

No doubt, acoustics are the basis of music as well as the body is the fundament of the soul and there is no actual soul without body. A certain knowledge of acoustics can only be useful for the appreciation of the expressive value of sounds. So far the Orient itself can clear its musical consciousness by the help of European acoustics. But what is artistically interesting in this study of acoustics would only be the awakening of the artist's will. Art is a function of the most complicated product of nature, of the human soul. There is no art in nature, considered as nature, and no music in acoustics.*

That is all I can say to-day. But before finishing, I wish to answer some questions which I feel will be raised. First of all this question: "How then do you want us to proceed in music?" This question requires a more explicit answer than I can give at this moment, at the end of an article. Make an appointment and I will answer on everything during my stay in India.

I can answer here only questions which are less complicated and which concern musical spirits less falsified by musical prejudices than is the average European adult of to-day. I answer for your children's sake. First of all: If you wish them to develop their musical soul, never teach them the piano; the piano is not only musically but also acoustically insufficient: for the intonation of equal temperament of our pianos is remarkably false. The best instrument in the world, which is as superior to all the other instruments as our chil-

dren are superior to the chemical beings which we are promised in future, the best instrument is the voice. Cultivate the voice, first of all the voice. But take care not to conform the voice to the piano. If possible, do not accompany at all of your children's songs. It goes without saying that it is not the Italian Bel Canto which is our aim. It is the genuine cry of joy and the cry of pain with all its intermediate shadings. The gliding transitions of pitch (which make the cry) are in the Orient not only the privilege of the voice but also practised on the Vina, the Koto, and so many other instruments. In European music they are entirely forbidden as "artistic lack of taste", and they have been obliged to take refuge with folk-singers, from which the art musicians of Europe have to learn them again. This will be one of the most important results of the renaissance of European Folk song which is just beginning, more than everywhere else in Europe, in England.

Finally you will ask, perhaps, what music to sing with your children, and I answer: Folk-songs. Go and look for real folk melodies in the country or at the seaside where you are during your holiday, or during the week-end. A single popular melody which is really understood in its genuine flavour matters more for the development of the musical soul than the most marvellous art music, principally that of Europe, which is more artificial than Eastern art music;—and—my last "and"—mistrust the editions of folk-songs which are made by professional musicians in Europe, who are persecuted by the mania of harmonisation from which even a genius like Brahms was not able to escape. Never forget that musical folk-lore is an instinctive and unconscious creation.

The musical folk-lore has no principles, neither the folk-lore of England nor that of Russia, or India, or Japan, nor that of the negroes. The musical folk-lore has no principles and no prejudices, and prefers music to sonorousness. I will tell you more about that in my article, "The Musical Soul of Folk-Songs", which is to be published in the next number of the "Rivista Musicale Italiana" at Turino, in Italy.

Now I take leave for to-day.

* See the special booklet entitled: Musical exercises for the Education of Musical Sensitiveness" which can be obtained from Alfred Westharp, Mus. Doc., c/o, Royal Asiatic Society, Park Street, Calcutta, and c/o, Anthropological Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

A YOUNG BENGALI WRITER

AT Cambridge this summer in a graduate's rooms I came across, for the first time, a new volume of poetry. It had this dedication,—

Come!
To thee,
O long lost,
O mother mine,
O high in heaven,
This fruit of many years,
From
My tree,
Now sun-glossed,
Now dried by shine,
Now shower driven,
I consecrate with tears!

It was published by a Cambridge bookseller, and had not made the stir in the literary world, which its merits would have aroused, if it had been issued by one of the great London publishers. But Cambridge itself, so I found, had been greatly interested in it, when it first appeared; and the young Bengali author had been admitted into a group of friends from both universities, among whom were men of the highest rank in literature and scholarship. The intellectuals among the undergraduates had also discovered him. They could not altogether understand him; but there could be no question of his ability as a student of literature.

The book is called 'Echoes from East and West' by Roby Datta. In the preface we are told how his passion for Scottish literature began from five Professors, all Scotsmen, under whom he read in Calcutta. He also studied there his own classical Sanskrit and early English literature. The volume itself consists of a number of beautiful renderings in modern English verse of portions of the literary masterpieces of the great Indo-European Aryan race. They are taken from all languages, all ages and all lands. The only omissions are the literatures of the Slav and the Celt. The bewildering variety, which thus meets the reader at the outset, gives the impression of a *tour de force* in literary achievement. It also accounts for

the uneven quality of the performance; for the high level is not always maintained. That the adventure is only partly successful is what might be expected at the outset. But the success though partial is real, and gives promise of greater successes still in the future. To have gained a working knowledge of the many languages which are translated displays ability of no mean order; to have grasped something of the living spirit behind each language is a gift far rarer still.

It will be easiest to explain what I have written by a group of quotations placed side by side. I have taken the following almost at random. Their connecting link is the picture of the great ocean as it appeals to each branch of the Aryan race in turn. First of all in a poem from early English literature entitled 'The Seafarer' we have a glimpse of the hardihood and perseverance of the Norseman. Roby Datta's version with its rough, alliterative metre gives the spirit of the scene:—

I of myself can sing a true-song,
Tell of my travels; how, I, in days toilsome,
Hours of hardship often suffered,
Bitter breast-care bore within me,
On keel did come to care-dwellings many,
Horrid-hurl of waves. I had oft to hold
Noisome night-watches at nodding ship-prow,
As on cliffs 'twas knocking; cold o'ertaken
Both my feet were frost enfeathered,
Cold encumbered; then cares were heaving
Hotly my heart through; hunger in me tore
Sea-wearied sprite. This he doth not see,
To whom earth's fortune fairly floweth,
How I all-weary o'er ice-cold sea
Waited a winter, wretched exile,
Cast away from joyful comrades.

Next to it he gives a translation in English Hexameters of the opening of Homer's 'Odyssey':—

Tell me, O Muse, of the man much travelled, who
Wandered, after he left Troy's hallowed city forwasted;
Cities of many a folk saw he, knew also the manners;
Many a sorrow at sea he bore in his innermost spirit,
Trying his own live soul to secure, and return of his
fellows

And then this picture of the Indian ocean from Kalidasa may be placed side by side with the two former :—

From far, as on a wheel of iron, slender,
All blue with tamarisks and palms extended,
Outshines the briny ocean's margin yonder,
Like streak of rust-mark with the wheel-rim blended.

In each instance the genius of the Aryan race comes out vividly and freshly in the rendering,—the vision and imagination and the calm of India; the quick intelligence and adventurous human spirit of the Greek; the sad, indomitable hardihood of the Norseman.

"True song" says Roby Datta "floats above race and age and land, and may be heard by all. Thanks to the strenuous devotion of eminent scholars, the Muses of comparative Philology and comparative Mythology have in recent years lightened up the path of the seeker of poetry and prosody." He goes on to express the wish, that some 'future Aryan Palgrave, some soul ever athirst for Beauty and an hungered for Truth, may roam farther and farther afield through literatures, and come back with fresher and fresher songs for real lovers of poetry in all English-speaking lands."

Some years ago I urged strongly in the Indian Press that through a revival in national literature and art and music the progressive forces, leading to the up-building of the Indian peoples, would be immensely strengthened. I also urged that through these channels the new life in India would intermingle most readily with the best and most spiritual life in the West and gain a still further accession of strength. A book of poems by Mr. Lewis, late of the Education Service, entitled 'From the East and from the West' met my attention and I wrote an appreciation of it from this point of view. That book was less ambitious and more sober in its range than Roby Datta's, and dealt rather with Persian than with Indian literature. Nevertheless its effects were wholesome and in the right direction. Roby Datta's book is often very immature, and its opening translations are disappointing, but again and again the real genius of the young writer forces its way through the difficulties of his subject, and we feel that the noble words of his preface have been in a measure fulfilled.

Perhaps the most novel and in some ways, the most important section of Roby Datta's book is that which gives a rendering of some of the best modern Indian poetry. It is fortunate that here the standard of translation is highest. I would put in the very first place a rendering from the Bengali of Rabindra Nath Tagore, entitled *Urvasi*. There are certain flaws in its English which the young poet's hand might yet remove, but the word painting as a whole appears to me very fine indeed. The beauty of the conception of the central figure is of course Rabindra's, though its origin goes further back still and is a heritage of the ancient Indian past. But the beauty of the translation is Roby Datta's own. The music and cadence and liquid sound of the long and difficult metre he has chosen make it a true lyric which haunts the memory of the reader. I can quote here two stanzas only :—

'No mother thou, no daughter thou, thou art no bride,
O maiden fair and free,
O habitant of Nandan, *Urvasi*.
When eve on cattle-folds doth light, her frame all
tired, with down-drawn golden veil
Thou in a corner of some home, dost never light the
lamp of even pale;
With feet in doubt all faltering, with trembling breast,
with lowly fallen sight,
With smiles all soft, thou goest not, in bashfulness,
to bridal couch bedight,
In the still heart of night,—
As is the early rise of Dawn, a veiless maiden
fair,
Thou art untroubled e'er.
* * * * *
Out yonder, hark! from sky to sky, both Heaven
and Earth are crying out for thee,
O cruel-hearted, deaf-souled *Urvasi*!
Will now the primal age antique upon this world
return as heretofore?—
From out the floorless shoreless deep, with wetted
hair, say, wilt thou rise once more?
Say, will that earliest form of thine unfold itself upon
the earliest dawn?
Will every limb of thine be wet with wounds from
eyes of all the woe-begone,
With tear drops flowing on?
And will the mighty main at once with match-
less music's sound
Let all its billows bound?

The author's translations of Michael M. S. Dutt, the Milton of Bengali literature, do not reach such a high level as this. They were written at a much earlier date, when Roby Datta's own powers were undeveloped. It is a great misfortune that they should have been placed at the very

end of every fourth line breaks the monotony and gives a powerful effect to the whole :—

Who, soon as he was born, the first, high-minded,
Himself a God, the Gods by might exceeded.
Before whose breath both Heaven and Earth did tremble
For might of manhood : he, O men, is Indra.

Who caused the Earth that staggered to be steadfast,
Who caused the Hills that moved to cease from motion,
Who measured out the mid air all too ample.
Who set up Heaven ; he, O Men, is Indra.

Without whose help the people may not conquer,
Whom in the midmost fight for help they summon,
Who of the Universe became the image,
Who shakes the unshaken ; he, O Men, is Indra.

Who all the carriers of mighty evil,
Ere yet they know their danger, slew by thunder ;
Who to the bold concedeth not his boldness,
Who slays the Dasyu : he, O Men, is Indra.

Among the many translations given of mediæval poets I would select the following which forms a part of Dante's famous description of Beatrice as she passes before his spiritual vision. The solemnity and stillness of the scene are well expressed in the English version, which preserves also the Italian rhyming sequence and metre.—

There morning had been made, and evening here
Almost by yonder pass : and all was white
That half, and black the other half of sphere,
When Beatrice on the left did light :
I saw her roll'd, and at the sun agaze,—
An eagle ne'er so fixed on it her sight.
And as a second ray is wont to blaze
From out the first, and up to rearise,
Like pilgrim who would fain his steps retrace,
So from her action, molten thro' the eyes
In my imagination, mine I caught,
And fixed eyes sunward in unwonted guise.
And suddenly it seemed that morn on morn
Was added, as if He, who hath the might,
Did with another sun the heaven adorn.
All Beatrice stood with fixed sight
Upon the whee etern, and I on her
Did fix my look far sundered from the height.

At the end of the book the author offers some verses of his own,—fragments all too few and all too sparingly and modestly given. We may hope that they are but the prelude to a new book of verse, no longer the rendering of other's thoughts, but all original. The apprenticeship is now surely over and the workman should begin to carve out a destiny for himself.

Roby Datta states his own preference for a sonnet which he has written on 'Paradise Lost.' There are some good lines in this sonnet, but the whole effect is artificial. My own clear preference would be for the

lines inscribed 'To a Poet Painter' which show a power of handling that most difficult of all forms of English poetry, blank verse. I will give the lines, so that the reader may judge for himself :—

O thou, whose mellow-sounding whispers are
As of a leaf by Zephyr newly kissed,
Bright angel stay : and, while the liquid breeze
Showers all its wealth of increase on thy locks
New-kindling into ringlets bright, accept
Such gift as from a rustic hand doth fall
In hononr to a heavenly guest, that sings
Of joy elysian in another sky,
Rich, lightning-like, serene, we know not what,
So fair and weird it seems ! Accept and touch
Once more with tune divine these trembling ears
That lean to catch thy song. Then, when my soul
Is steeped in music flashing drop by drop
Into the sense enchanted, O arise,
Fair guest ; and in a cloud of golden fire
Wing upward to thy poet painter's heaven
And leave us, sons of earth, in wonder mute
Ugazing at thy fadeless form divine
And weeds of heavenly dye, which never change
With changes swift of ever veering Time.

This is my own favourite though I could have wished it to have ended two lines earlier. Side by side with this I would place a short lyric written in the dialect of Burns, called 'The Refusal,'—

I spak to her, 'O be na stirred,
My ain, my winsome dearies,'
I spak to her, 'O tell me fair,
Why looks thou unco' weary'
But Mag, she uttered not a word ;
But Mag, she gied no blushing"
On face and cheek, that wax sae sleek
As dreams of love come rushin,'"
O aft and after, bonnie bird,
My fancies oe'r thee hover :
Gin thou but say that wæfu' 'nay,'
Then thou has killed thy lover.

These two poems, that I have transcribed, were written ten and eleven years ago. Those written in later years among the original poems do not come up to these. But among the translations which I have quoted by far the greater number were written only a few years ago in 1908. That was clearly the *annus mirabilis* of translation. It included the lyric translation of Rabindra's *Urvashi*.

The book before me was published at the end of 1908 ; and it is strange that its very existence was unknown to me till I visited Cambridge this year and that, as far as I know, no notice of it has appeared in the Indian Press. It is not that the young poet is at all denationalized, or writing dilletante verses for a foreign audience. The

ardour of devotion to India breathes in every page. It is to serve his country, to express his love for his country, to bring the treasures of his country before the eyes of the wider world, that he devotes a lover's care to the translations of these poems. His verses are always aflame when he comes to India.

I would hasten to pay this late tribute to the young poet in return for the pleasure this volume has given me. It has been with me during this summer in England, and I have had it by my side on journeys up and down the country during wet and sunless days; and it has brought back again and again to me the vision of India with all its beauty, its pathos, and its charm. To quote once again from 'Urvashi' lines which express something of the longing for India, mixed with sadness, which rises, I know not how in the heart,—

From some one severed long from love, a long drawn
sigh, all mingled, comes this way,
When on the full moon's sheeny night, the quarters
ten are filled with smiles all o'er,
A far off memory, from somewhere, doth play a pipe
that saddens evermore,
And showers of tear-drops pour;
Still Hope doth keep awake within the soul's outcry.

"Still Hope doth keep awake within the soul's outcry" This also is true,—true of young India that can produce such devoted and passionate lovers as this young Bengali writer. A people of bright intelligence, quick imagination, and spiritual vision,

such as is represented in this volume, need never despair. The future is with them, when once the shackles, which bound them in the past, have been removed. The modern world is moving forward not merely towards great armaments and gigantic commerce, but also towards a universal appreciation of high literary and artistic ability. The lines of intercommunication have been opened up for thought and poetry, as well as for bales of cotton and machinery. The possession of such gifts as this volume denotes is a rarer quality in the world today than mechanical contrivance. America with all its millionaires has scarcely produced a single poet for a whole generation. India is rapidly regaining her spiritual pre-eminence in the East, and that eminence is now being recognised in the West. The visit of Rabindra Nath Tagore to Europe may well prove a turning point in literary history. He has been honoured by those who have come in contact with him as no poet has been honoured within recent years. It remains for the younger aspiring poets and writers of modern India to follow in their great leader's footsteps. They must go deep down into the heart of India herself, the Motherland, and find there their treasures of art and poetry and song, and then interpret their message to the West.

'Still Hope doth keep awake within the soul's outcry'.

Delhi.

C. F. ANDREWS.

PARVATI DEVI, HEADMISTRESS OF THE HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL AT CONJEEVERAM

ALL institutions have their founders and workers. And they can flourish according to the energy spent in serving and guiding them. There are two heroic souls at the foundation of this wonderful School: one is Mr. M. K. Sarma and the other is the Head-Mistress, Srimati Parvati Devi. I think it necessary to give a detailed sketch of this wonderful woman upon whom much of the success of the School depends. So I give here a brief

description of her activities in the School, and outside its walls among the women of Conjeeveram, and also what she does for her pupils. A review of her work will convince the reader that really much of the success and future of the School depends on Srimati Parvati Devi.

HER EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION.

Her father is popularly known by the name his admirers gave him—*Tiru chitrambal janiyar*, [Tiru=Sri, Chitrambal

=knowledge-bliss, jyaniyar=knower.] The respected knower of the knowledge of bliss. Besides being very conversant with Vedic lore, a commentator of Vedic hymns in Tamil, he was a poet and writer of considerable importance. He was also a preacher of Saivism. At the last stage of his life he turned a *Vanaprastha* (forest-dwelling ascetic) and passed his last days in contemplation. Up to the age of fourteen he gave her education himself, at home,



MR. MYRON H. PHELPS.

in Tamil literature and the Hindu Shastras and Sanskrit. Though according to the custom of the people of her class, she was married at 12, yet her marriage did not stand in the way of her education. At Madras some of his friends being struck with her intelligence and scholarship advised him to place her in the 'Presidency Training College for Mistresses.' She spent $4\frac{1}{2}$ years there and at the end of the term she passed the 'Higher examination for women in the vernacular'; which corresponds to matriculation, standing first in the whole presidency. The same year

she passed also the 'Upper Secondary grade for the teachers'.

AS A TEACHER.

First she was appointed as the Head-Mistress in a girls' school of the Maharaja of Vizianagar at Madras. Afterwards she served as the Head-Mistress of the Hindu Valika Vidyalaya of Kanchipur. In the meantime her husband died—she was then only 30 years of age—and she wanted to retire and spend her time with her mother. She passed nearly 3 years in a village in obscurity. But the founders of the *Hindu Girls' School of Canjeeveram* pressed her to take charge of their School. She consented and joined the institution in 1904, when this seminary was an infant of hardly full one year.

HER SACRIFICE FOR AND WORK IN THE SCHOOL.

She is expected to be paid an honorarium of Rs. 25 per month, but on account of the want of funds this sum has not been paid to her regularly in the past. Besides she has often mortgaged her own ornaments for borrowing money for the current expenses of the school. She had many a time been offered very handsome salaries in mission schools. And the offers are more tempting now. But she has persistently declined the offers for two reasons: that she has voluntarily pledged herself to the service of this school, and that she believes that proper and desirable education can not be imparted to our girls through Christian schools. Therefore she even discourages people from sending girls to mission schools. She has become a true friend of all the people who have young girls in their homes at Conjeeveram. She goes to their mothers and impresses them with the necessity and importance of women's education. The literary and accademical work in the school is only one department of her work. Her real work lies in the homes of her pupils. She not only looks after their intellectual and moral development but she nurses her pupils during sickness. In case of poor girls she provides them with sick diet partly from her own pocket and partly by raising subscriptions from her personal friends, the well-to-do ladies. She secures medicine

and medical aid for them in the same way. She takes the girls completely under her own charge and does the doctoring and nursing herself. She even washes their clothes and prepares their beds. Unfortunately there is yet no boarding house attached to the School. She does all this work in the homes of her pupils. In one case, which occurred very recently, she had to go six times a day to visit one of her pupils whom she succeeded in bringing "back from death" and at her recovery the relatives of the girl said "you have brought this girl to us back from death."

It will appear, from the extracts from letters of old pupils given in the last article, that she keeps up a close connection with all her old pupils through correspondence. She prescribes books for them for further study, she discusses with them the merits or contents of the books, they read, she asks them to send her their opinions, criticism and summaries of books, which she returns to them after correction. She also corrects their compositions and exercises which they do at home, for all she does for them they adore her and love her so much that they all wish to remain near her. One of her old pupils, daughter of an Inspector of Schools in the Pudukota State, persuaded her father to secure her services for the State School. She was offered thrice the pay she is getting in this School. At her declining the offer the girl wrote to her in a letter:—

"Although my father felt disappointed at your declining his offer yet he really admires you for the self-sacrifice with which you are devoted to the cause of the Conjeeveram School."

HER WORK AMONG THE WOMEN OF CONJEEVERAM.

Her work among the elderly ladies of Conjeeveram is three-sided: educational, moral and as that of a reformer.

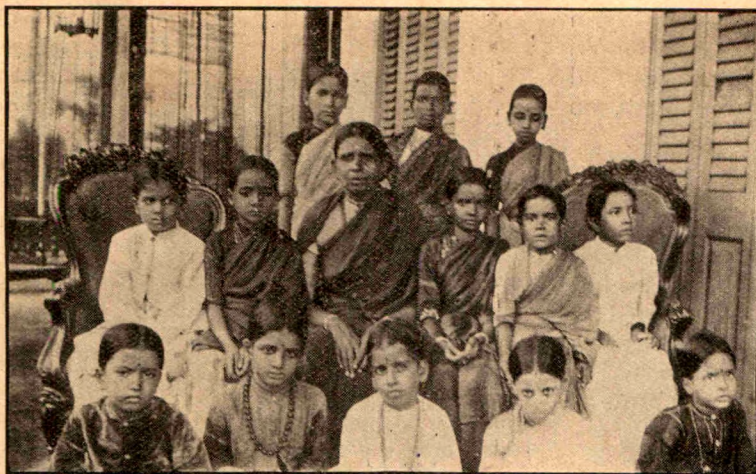
As to educational work among the elderly women of Conjeeveram in general and the mothers or sisters of her pupils, in particular, she has various methods of broadening their views and enlivening their minds with knowledge. One simple, though very exacting for the educator, method is by way of seeing them often and talking to them on general topics. She has also a systematic method and organised

institution to carry out her mission. At first she used to invite in groups or individually the mothers of her pupils with the avowed object of showing them the school and the work of their girls. Then she would talk to them about historical personages and relate tales from the Mahabharat and the Ramayan in the shape of interesting stories. Gradually she led them forward and impressed them with the value of schools and other national institutions and



Sm. Parvati Devi, the head-mistress of the Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram [Photograph specially taken for this article by Mr. Myron H. Phelps.]

women's associations. Then she talked to the women about what the women of other countries do for their sisters and society, and how they spend their time. The result is that in three years by such methods she has been able to found the *Kanchi-Mahila-Parishad*, which has recently been registered as a part of "The Hindu Girls' School Union" under



A representative group of the pupils of the Hindu Girls' School at Conjeeveram, each class being represented, with the headmistress in the centre. (Photograph specially taken for this article by Mr. Myron H. Phelps.)

Act XXI of 1860, with the aim "to equip the ladies of Kanchi with general information and create public interest and opinion among them regarding matters national." Now monthly meetings are held with an average attendance of 200, where women themselves discuss various subjects or read addresses. In March last (1912), there were 600 women present, (one of them presiding) in the *Kanchi-Mahila-Parishad* to hear the report of the school. She also helps them in their own homes in their literary pursuits.

She has also done much to raise the moral tone of the talk of the common illiterate women of Conjeeveram. She has improved their tastes and alienated their interest from vulgar amusements. As a social reformer her work is slow and imperceptible and of far-reaching consequence but is steady. The relatives of her pupils have such faith and confidence in her that they seek her advice as to when to marry and to whom to marry their daughters. She takes advantage of this confidence and now, by her tactful methods, many of her pupils are married after the age of ten. I feel tempted to describe her tactful methods in this respect. If she finds that the mother of a pupil wants to give her in marriage at an even earlier age, she would say 'well you are giving your girl to that young man, but how do you know that he will turn out a good boy? Wait for one or two years to

see what he turns out. And let his education be finished.' In other cases she would say, 'why are you in a hurry? I have some good boys in view who are yet reading. Wait a little, I hope to procure a good bridegroom for your girl'. etc.... She would never tolerate the marriage of a girl before this age. She tries to put back the age much further but in the Madras Presidency higher class people regard post-puberty marriage worse than

widow remarriage. So it is comparatively a great advance. Besides in practice I have seen in the school girls of 12 or 13 unmarried, which is a rare spectacle in the Schools of Tamil-land.

Again, here in this School we see girls of Brahmins and Sudras reading together, girls of the rich and poor learning their lessons together.

I myself am dead against all those artificial differences which are dividing one Hindu from another, and all such institutions as bind us down to the level of an inarticulate mass—men without manhood and fellow-feeling. So I suspected at first if the school were merely an *Orthodox-Hindu girls'* school to teach girls how to read *Ramayan* and how to worship *Siva* or how to preserve caste or how to defend *Hinduism* from reformers. But I, to my great delight, found that the school bids fair to do for women all that is desirable. It makes them thereby *national* and *rational*. Teach them what you will but if you can only make them national and rational *they will rise above the perverse and narrow interpretations of the old Pandits*. This school makes its alumni truly national and rational. And 800 girls have already been under the influence of this remarkable woman.

HER MERITS IN GENERAL.

Besides being a competent master of Tamil literature she is a good speaker too. She

has delivered lectures on Tamil literature in the "Teachers' Institute", before graduates. She has also on several occasions addressed large gatherings in Madras in connection with anniversaries of the school.

She is a very good writer on various topics in Tamil. Her series of articles on co-operative societies and on the lives of the German educationists Froebel and Pestalozzi were very highly appreciated in Tamil periodicals. Now she is expected to write a series of geographical readers in Tamil on the basis of materials to be placed at her disposal by Lakshman Iyer, a specialist.

WHAT THEY THINK OF THE SCHOOL

It is very sad that yet the public of the Madras Presidency has not come to realise the greatness, importance and ability of this School, but now some very influential and public-spirited men are getting interested in the School.

The earlier educational officers did not appreciate the School. Some of the School Inspectors and other educational authorities have expressed their greatest satisfaction and admiration for the work the School is doing. Mr. Arthur Mayhew, a distinguished Inspector of Schools, has said of the School, "it leaves even boys' schools far behind." Another Inspector of schools, Mr. H. S. Duncan, has said: "the School is conducted on advanced lines, and a great deal of energy and enthusiasm is to be noted in its working." Professor Doraiswamy Iyer, Assistant Inspector of schools, writes: "I am glad to be able to testify that the School is doing very good work and its methods of teaching are simply excellent." Mr. Venkatarama Iyer, M. A., L. T., Sub-assistant Inspector of schools, puts down in the visitors book:—

"The pupils love their teachers, enter the School with alacrity, in the morning and leave it in the evening reluctantly It is quite unique in efficiency, methods of instruction and ideals aimed at....."

There is not space enough to include more extracts from the remarks of distinguished visitors, whose number is so large.

The School has won first prizes for the work of its pupils. I shall give here the copy of only one Certificate of this class:—

CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITION, 1908.

This is to certify that at the above Exhibition held on the 22nd 23rd and 24th October, 1908, the Hindu Girls' School, Raja Street, Conjeevaram, secured first prizes for the work of pupils in hand-writing and exercises in composition, arithmetic, sewing and needle-work as well as in Kindergarten occupations.

Mr. Myron H. Phelps, the American educationist, who has studied most of our educational institutions and is so well known for his sympathy for and advocacy of our national institutions, has done much to popularise this School by his pen and personal influence. He has also seen much of this School. In 1911 he spent seventeen days over this School and then wrote a series of letters in the *Hindu* of Madras about the School. I have used some of his words before in my article and now I put together some of his remarks about this "remarkable School."

"This is a powerful harmonising agency. Here children of all classes meet. . . . There is no difference between Brahmin and non-Brahmin Girls. The non-Brahmin Girls forget their exclusion and acquire the speech and manners of the highest caste. . . . Nothing of the difference remains but the name. In point of habits, cleanliness, language and culture, they are alike. It is in these matters that differences have existed. They are now forgotten by these children, who will be the social arbiters of the future. This feeling of sisterhood will not be without its influence all through life...."

"It goes without saying that such a School could not come into existence without a remarkable teaching staff. These teachers keep their efficiency by giving their Saturdays to attending lectures on teaching and model training classes held in the School by pedagogic authorities.....Indeed no one who visits this School and inquires into its work can fail to see that these girls are given a far higher and wider range of thought than is usual for pupils of their age."

THE WANTS OF THE SCHOOL.

In the matter of Building, equipment and furniture nearly everything has yet to be done. It is so painful that this ideal school—a truly national school—is yet without its own building. It will do much better

and much more when it can have its own buildings for the school as well as a home within its premises for the resident pupils. I wish it to grow into a seminary, a residential as well as teaching institution. The want of a competent musician to teach Indian music and an artist to give lessons on Indian painting is badly felt. I expect that the "Indian Society of Oriental Art" will very soon remove this want.*

I would like to make an appeal to the public to contribute towards the funds of the School.

* The Secretary of the said society has since assured me that the society has decided to pay a *vina*-music-teacher who will be engaged by this Hindu Girls' School of Conjeeveram, from the funds of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.

Those desirous of helping in this noble and most patriotic work could send their contributions direct to the manager, Mr. Sarma. In this connection I would like to quote the touching words of the greatest friend of this School, Mr. Phelps:—

"Absolutely my brothers, this is true: such efforts as have made the Hindu Girls' School of Conjeeveram will save India, *or it will never be saved*. Neglect such heroic efforts, let them wither and perish in obscurity, and Indians will not deserve to have a nation, and will never have one. India will go down, down on the path on which she is now going, descending ever deeper and deeper into poverty, until she fades out in mere pusillanimity. It will be thus unless these *diamond souls through whom the light shines from above* win our attention, our support, our enthusiasm."

MUKANDI LAL.

THEORY OF INDIAN MUSIC

AT a time when Indian Music has begun to attract the attention of not only the educated classes of our country but of Englishmen as well, it may be of some advantage to the student of Music to take a broad but brief survey of the principal Sanskrit authorities on the subject in order to see how far they help him in understanding the modern theory of the art. Of the works bearing on the present enquiry the earliest and the most widely recognized is the *Sangita-Ratnākara* written by Sārangadeva about the first half of the thirteenth century. There are, however, other works, prior in date, *viz.*, *Nārada Samhitā*, *Mātanga Samhitā*, which, though interesting to the antiquarian, do not serve as guides to the modern student, while *Bharatanāṭya Shastra*, too, a work of the fifth century, is of little avail except in so far as it throws some light on the system of Murchhanās. There is no mention at all, in it, of what we call a *Rāg* (melody type); but the classification of the 18 *Jāṭis*—a *Jāṭi* appears to correspond in all essentials to a mode with the addition of certain characteristics—no doubt provides some field for research.

It is by no means easy to determine the exact date of the *Sangita-Ratnākara*; in fact it may be said to be a matter of some

dispute. But the observations made by Mr. Vincent Smith, in his early History of India, lead one to suppose that the work was composed not earlier than 1200 A.D.; for the author Sārangadeva, was the son of Sodhala who lived in the reign of Singhana of Devagiri (1210—1247 A.D.). The valuable commentary on this work is from the pen of Kallinatha, said to be in the service of Deoraj Maharaja of Vijayanagaram, who reigned from 1412 to 1425 A.D. Another work of importance is the *Rāgatarangini*, written by Pandit Lochan about the 14th century. Amongst the later works may be mentioned *Swaramela Kalānidhi* by Rāmāmātya (1550), *Rāga Vibodh* by Somnāth (1609), *Sangit-Darpan* by Damodar (1625), *Sangit-Parijat* by Ahobala. The last is according to Captain Day a work written about 269 years ago.

The musical theory laid down by Sārangadeva in his *Ratnakara*, and followed with religious approval by the later writers, is briefly this:—that the number of clearly audible sounds, or *Shrutis*, in an octave is 22, and that the first arrangement of the Seven Notes, or the *Shuddha Scale* as they call it, is fixed by placing the first note *Sa* on the 4th *Shruti*, the second *Ri* on the 7th *Shruti*, the third *Ga* on the 9th *Shruti*, the

fourth Ma on the 13th, the fifth Pa on the 17th, the sixth Dha on the 20th, and the seventh Ni on the last Shruti that is the 22nd. Whether the intervals between consecutive Shrutis are equal, or whether the notes thus fixed are in accordance with the law of simple ratios, it is very difficult to say. The Ratnakara is silent on this point, and the few explanations given therein suggest that the ear and not the diachord is made the touchstone to determine the accuracy of the several notes or intervals. Even the later writers simply copy out the Ratnakara so far, but evidently not being able to follow the system of music, that is the rags (melody types) and jatis and Murchhanas treated therein, confine themselves to rather a methodic treatment of the melodies (rags) current in their own time. Ahobala, the author of Sangit-Parijat, however, goes a step further, and bringing to bear on this theory his knowledge of the Vina, gives some simple rules for the determination of the seven notes. He says that if a wire fixed between two bridges gives a certain fundamental note, the middle point of the wire will, at the slightest touch of the finger, produce the same note of the higher octave; that is, if the fundamental note be regarded as Sa (first note of the Scale), the latter will be the Sa of the higher octave; the point midway between the two will strike the middle note Ma; and the point at a distance of two-thirds of the length of the whole wire will give the Pa, fifth note of the Scale, while the point midway between Sa (first) and Pa (fifth) will be the Ga (third), and that midway between this and Sa (first) will be the Ri (second). In the next tetrachord, however, Dha (sixth) sounds at a point midway between Pa and Sa (higher), while the Ni (seventh) is at a point one-third the distance between Dha and Sa (higher).

Thus it will be seen that the number of Shrutis in the first tetrachord that is from Sa to Ma is 9 while that for an equal distance between Ma and Sa higher is 13.

Looking at this arrangement of the Shrutis, we may observe that the Shuddha Scale fixed by Sarangadev in his Ratnakara is what some writers at the present day are tempted to call *Kafi*, the interval between the Ri and Ga being one of 2 Shrutis, or a semitone. This ought to be Shuddha Scale

of the later writers as well. As a matter of fact, however, it is quite the other way. The explanations for the Rags in Raga Vibodh, Darpan and Swaramela support the view that the scale on the basis of which the rags are explained, is Kanakangi, which is still in vogue in Southern India where the melody-types (rags) are sung under the same rules. For further corroboration, one has only to compare their works with Chathurdandi Prakashika, which is considered an authority in Southern India. When once the seven notes of the Shuddha Scale are fixed, it is easy enough to determine the remaining Shrutis by naming them only in relation to the seven notes. The difference in the terminology used by the several writers is indeed striking, though it does not affect the explanations on some of the melody-types.

There is evidence to show that this practice of dividing the notes into minute intervals prevailed also among the ancient Greeks. But it is curious to find after this elaborate and minute division of the scale, that the Hindu writers mention only 12 notes instead of the Shrutis in the explanations of the rags, nor is it anywhere suggested by the authors as to what particular Shrutis are to be employed in a given rag.

The next stage of our inquiry brings us on to what the Ratnakara calls a Murchhana. Now, a Murchhana corresponds to a mode. It is a derivative Scale or a succession of notes formed by shifting the place of the first note. Thus if the first note of the derivative Scale were made to begin from Ri, and the intervals fixed as before, the arrangement will give the Ri Murchhana. If it is made to begin from Ga, it will be the Ga Murchhana and so on. The difference is very striking. The intervals between the first two notes in the first Murchhana (Sa) is one of three Shrutis, while that between the same two notes in the Ri Murchhana is one of two Shrutis; so that the different Murchhanas are clearly distinguishable from one another. The importance of these derivative Scales will at once be realized by the student when he begins to study the development of a melody type. He has only to mark under what Murchhana the rag falls. The authors point out only the Murchhana, and the Amsa or principal note in the rag, taking care to mention the omis-

sion if any, of the notes necessary in the ascent (aroha) and descent (avaroha) of the rag. These rules, simple as they are, do not carry the modern student any further. He masters the notes, studies the rules and explanations of the rags, but feels all the while that they do not guide him in his study of the music that he hears at the present day.

It may be that since the advent of the Mahomedans as a ruling nation in the 11th century, a change has been worked into the music system of the country. One or two Sanskrit works on music were translated for the 1st time in Persian, by Amir Khusroo during the reign of the Pathan king Giasuddin Balban who ascended the throne in 1256 A.D. But the subject of Shruti has not been clearly dealt with, in its theoretical or practical aspect. It may be that the Mahomedans did not encourage the theory of the art, but it cannot be denied that they patronised practical musicians and were even instrumental in composing and introducing several styles of songs which find no place in the Sanskrit book. Whatever the reason is, it is admitted on all hands that the style of music which the Mahomedans cultivated is now the standard of high class music, leaving out, of course, the provincial airs. The only work which deals with this system is the Laksha Sangita, a work in Sanskrit

obviously later than the Sangit Parijat, wherein the author tries to reconcile the current system of music with that treated in the Parijat and other works. The primary scale according to this author is the Shankarabharan corresponding to the major Scale of the West, and is just the same Scale of notes as the professional singer sings at the present day. He too divides the Scale into 22 Shrutis, but places the first note Sa on the first Shruti, while the Ratnakara and the other works placed it on the fourth Shruti. The intervals between the notes in each tetrachord are just the same, that is, 4, 3 and 2. It is difficult to mark at what particular period the transition in the system began. The rules cited in the Laksha Sangita give the student the same rag as he finds it in the earlier works; with this difference, however, that the terminology employed by him is not that of the earlier writers. So Captain Day is perfectly right when he says that the rags in present use in most respects differ from those bearing the same name in the earlier works and in fact the whole system has undergone a gradual refinement until between the ancient and modern music there exists a difference as clearly marked and perceivable to even the most casual observer, as between the modern Anglican chant, and the ancient Gregorian tones.

S. N. KARNAD.

ABBE'S "ZEISS-STIFTUNG:"

AN UNIQUE EXPERIMENT.

IF at the present time the well-known firm of "Karl Zeiss, Jena," with its (in round numbers) 3000 employees, among whom are found more than 20 "scientific collaborators" and 80 "technical experts", occupies the first position among similar establishments in the whole world, it is to Professor Ernest Abbe that this is owing. Abbe, who died January 14, 1905, had been induced by Zeiss to join the latter's optical factory at a time when it was a very small concern, to the advantage both of themselves and of science.

Abbe's discoveries and inventions opened up a new era in the department to which they were devoted. But as a man his position was perhaps even a still higher one. His noble character, his marvellous modesty, his advocacy of justice in all circumstances, his opposition to every form of injustice, his undaunted love of truth, his unequalled disinterestedness, the unrivalled care he bestowed on those employed under him, his extraordinarily active desire for the common interest, his strong feeling of duty, in short, his high but practical idealism, all this formed a combination rarely found in

a single person, and which secures for him the genuine esteem of every lover of mankind. A more harmonious union of kindness of heart, learning and business capacity is hardly imaginable.

Before Abbe entered upon his connection with Zeiss, the production of the better class of magnifying instruments was the result of everlasting empiric endeavours, so to say, of a groping in semi-darkness. Only the fundamental laws of light were given; on the other hand fixed mathematical formulas for the dimensions and curves of lenses were lacking. Abbe's perseverance succeeded in placing microscopic optics on a new foundation, that of the undulatory theory, and so infallibly that now every construction could be calculated beforehand and all random experimentation became superfluous.

However, only after the invention of suitable kinds of glass, by Otto Schott, the firm was enabled to construct, in addition to microscopes, measuring instruments, photographic objectives, telescopes, projecting apparatus, etc., in which the numerous new inventions and improvements of Abbe's played an important part. The whole of the works now occupy a space of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, half of which is built upon. When it is considered that in other industries on such a piece of ground not infrequently from 5000 to 8000 workmen are employed, whereas here their number amounts to between 2900 and 3400, it becomes evident from this fact alone that ample space is allotted to each workshop and that the duties of every one employed are thereby rendered more pleasant. Nor should the height of the rooms, their heating, ventilation, etc., regulated by the sanitary official of the university, be lost sight of.

In 1875 Abbe became a member of the firm, and six years later also Zeiss's son Roderick was made a partner, but retired as such a year after the death of his father, which occurred towards the end of 1888, so that the establishment became the sole property of the professor. Now this excellent man could manage the business to his own liking and he created the "Karl Zeiss Stiftung" to which, from a modest aversion to recognition and gratitude, he did not give his own name, but that of his deceased friend and partner. This social institution,

based on a philanthropic and enlightened sense of justice, surpasses all and any of the instances of employers' genuine and comprehensive care for the workers that exists at the present time. It stands utterly alone as a thoroughly organised, most beneficial foundation, worthy of being a pattern to others.

Very shortly after the death of Karl Zeiss a super-annuation statute was passed by which legal claims were allowed for drawing high invalid, old-age, widow and orphan pensions, the rates of which were even increased six or seven years ago. Every official, assistant, or workman, who enters the service of the Foundation before the completion of his fortieth year, obtains already after the lapse of five years a legal claim to a pension or annuity. The time of service that entitles to this begins at the age of eighteen years completed. The maximum monthly rates of retiring allowance amount after a five, ten, fifteen years' service to 100, 120, 140 marks for workmen, to 120, 160, 200 marks for foremen, clerks, and other assistants, and of these rates the "invalid annuity" amounts, up to the 15th year of service, to 50 per cent and afterwards for every further year to 1 per cent additional, till with the 40th year of service they reach the maximum of 75 per cent. The old-age pension is attained already after 30 years of service, in case, at the same time, the 65th year has been reached. Only the person who, on entering the service of the firm, has passed his 40th year, is excluded from all claims to a pension. The pension to which every widow who is not more than 20 years younger than her husband, is entitled until she marries again, always amounts to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the invalid rent drawn by the deceased, or which would have been allowed him in case he had been invalided. The claim of surviving children to pension holds good until the completion of their 15th year and consists for each child of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the amount of the invalid rent. But the joint total allowance of the survivors need not exceed $\frac{1}{3}$ of the claim to pension of the deceased. In case of emigration, a payment of two yearly amounts of the pension settle the claim. A deprivation of civil rights entails the loss of the claim to pension.

In 1892 Abbe's kindly disposition towards

his workpeople found renewed expression in the "labour regulations for the optical workshop" which were passed after consultation with the operatives and which received the name of "labour contract." In this, on the one hand, the general obligations resting on the workmen were reduced to what was indispensable for the interests of the establishment; on the other hand exact limits were drawn to the dispositional powers of the business management, by which an arbitrary exploitation of the workman's capacity was prevented. It was not only the *duty* of the operatives to work nine hours a day, as the time then fixed, but to be thus employed was their good *right*, that is to say, the factory must supply work during that time on each day or otherwise pay the full amount of wages down to the period of notice.

Here we see the almost unexampled recognition of the principle, based upon the ethical nature of free industrial relations, that the employed's opportunities for work and for earning his wages may not arbitrarily be curtailed. For overtime and work supplied exceptionally on Sundays and holidays an addition is made of 25 per cent on the wages reckoned by measure of time or on those for piece-work; *but no one can be compelled to perform such special labour*. All rights to the levying of fines were entirely relinquished; deductions can be made only for culpable damage to the stock or tools, and then merely when the person concerned, or eventually the court of trade, recognises the claim to deduction.

It is easy to discover what were the considerations that induced Abbe to make these regulations for the benefit of his employed. It was the only too well justified opinion that the laws applying to labour, as generally prevailing, stand in need of improvement, since the two parties concerned, namely employer and employed, are treated very unequally by them. Hence the firm constantly endeavoured to give their beneficial measures a *legal* basis which was to exclude every arbitrary alteration to the disadvantage of the employed and to secure their position as much as possible. The sentiments of Abbe and his fellow-workers in the business management constituted a guarantee for a continuance of these arrangements during their lifetime; but how if

their successors should at one time be animated by different sentiments, or if the prosperity of the house should diminish and there should consequently be a lack of the means required to satisfy the claims to pensions, etc? So as to obviate either of these possibilities, Abbe, with extraordinary self-renunciation and devotion, embarked on that most interesting and ideal economic experiment which forms the subject of the present article the "Zeiss-stiftung" with its "statutes" bordering on perfection, of which Professor Auerbach remarks, "Although any statutes, however perfect, cannot have the same effect as ideal personalities can, yet the former are decidedly to be preferred to any unforeseen fluctuations in subsequent personal capabilities and wishes." The foundation is, therefore, a consolidation of Abbe's radical recognition of the rights of labour and a protection against any eventual abolition of the principle on which it is based.

On the 1st of July 1891, therefore, Abbe changed his factory into an independent and inalienable "foundation," and his own position as proprietor into that of an appointed member of the business management. The statutes of the foundation, which contained all the principles and regulations by which the establishment was to be guided, experienced in the course of the next five years various far-reaching improvements and were published in their final form on the occasion of the half-century jubilee of the firm "Karl Zeiss" on the 1st of October 1896. The whole conduct of affairs passed to the foundation for its own account. The Board of Management ("Stiftungsverwaltung") is the authority that looks after the representation of the foundation, the employment of its capital, and the supreme conduct of its affairs. With the scientific character of the undertaking and its relations to the University, it was natural that the grand-ducal education department should be elected as the authority referred to. Only the *business* management of the firm is not subject to the Board, but is regulated by the statutes of the foundation, so that there can be no question of any "state supervision." It is true, the Board has to superintend the correct working of the statutes, but in the various branches of the management it is represented

by a "Commissioner" who, although he is at the same time a state official, performs his functions *independently of his governmental position*, is paid *by the foundation*, and has exclusively to conform to the statutes. The State itself, or the government, can exert no manner of influence on the management, nor is it responsible for the liabilities of the foundation.

To the Foundation belong both the optical workshop and the glass works. To the board of directors of each of these branches it sends a delegate and a deputy of the latter. These men form a sort of "personal union" which is adapted to prevent differences between the Board of Management and the Business Committee.

The composition of these boards and the sphere of action of their members, the precautionary measure with reference to their functions, the powers of the commissioner of the foundation, his relations towards the separate boards and to the general one—all this and everything else appears to be very thoroughly and sensibly regulated by the statutes. Any new branch of business that may eventually be acquired or newly created by the foundation must be conducted on the same principles as the older departments, which, on their part, must be continued each independently under its own firm with their own property and working capital.

The provisions by which the legal position of the employed are regulated, and which in an eminent degree bear testimony to Abbe's practical as well as humane aims and embody the principles that he had long since followed, have been referred to by himself as the most important part of the statutes and as the outward conclusion of the work of his whole life.

The statutes ensure the personal and civic independence of the employed especially by accurately defining their duties and services with reference to the firm, to the foundation and to the principals, while the condition is kept in view that those relations shall be confined merely to industrial and business matters. Accordingly, the appointments and promotions may not be influenced by any personal—that is national, confessional or political—interests, but exclusively by the performances, capacities and behaviour of the "hands", and by a

consideration for the success for the undertaking. Outside business hours no one may be hindered either directly or indirectly in the free exercise of any civil or personal rights. Nor are the principals allowed to restrict the employed, either singly or jointly, in the representation of their interests, as long as no violations of the labour contract or of the law are involved. Professor Auerbach expresses this as follows: "The employed is" (with the limitation just mentioned) "absolutely free to think, to do and to leave undone whatever he wishes. . . . All the obligations resulting from his relations as a workman refer exclusively to the performance of the work contracted for. No other subordination or consideration can be exacted by the management from the employed. . . . They possess the right of combination and of appointing committee. These have not only complete liberty of meeting and consulting, they have also the right, *at their own request*, to be heard in all matters."

Every workman or assistant of more than 18 years of age has a right to a leave of absence of altogether twelve working days a year. To those who receive leave of absence and are over 20 years of age, after having been employed for at least one year, the fixed time wage for which they are engaged continues to be paid during six holidays a year. Those of the employed who are called to honorary functions (as jurors, etc.) must be granted leave of absence at any time for the performance of the duties connected with such functions, with a continuation of their wages or salaries, unless they receive adequate compensation from public funds. The fixed wages are also paid for the legal festival days occurring during the working week, since the cessation of labour takes place without the will of the workman. According to the statutes, the additional wages fixed in the working regulations at 25 per cent for overtime or holiday work as per agreement, are looked upon as a *minimum*. In the fixing of a high additional payment a guarantee is given that the management shall demand such supplementary work only in really urgent cases.

Of great importance are the instructions by which a lowering of the rate to which the wages have risen is prevented for ever.

A fixed rate of salary or wages drawn for a whole year may not be decreased even when, in consequence of slackness of business, the working day should be permanently or temporarily shortened. It must necessarily be a result of this regulation that great caution is used in raising the wages, as a mistake in this respect could not be rectified and might do great harm to the undertaking.

As a corrective to this caution Abbe has introduced a system of profit-sharing. It was arranged that the share for all the employed should be relatively equal in proportion to their wages or salaries and that every one of the staff should be entitled to a bonus. Only the members of the business management are excluded from this provision, so as to protect them against the suspicion that they might seek to fix the fluctuating dividend at the expense of the fixed rates. When Abbe was occupied with a final drawing-up of the statutes of the foundation, he perceived, as he writes: "to my surprise, that quite unconsciously I had become an adherent of the principle of profit-sharing. For it turned out that my maxims for the regulation of the interests of the employed could only be realised when their income was, in a well-ordered form, made dependent, to a certain extent, on the actual net profits of the undertaking at any special time, and thus changed into a sharing of profits". This principle, therefore, in the concerns of the "Zeiss-Stiftung" has the twofold advantage that, in bad times, it protects the employed against a lowering of wages, and that with a prosperous course of business it secures to them specially good earnings.

Of far-reaching influence are the dispositions as to the dismissal of workmen. In the field of the rights of labour they form an *absolutely new principle*.

In the first place nothing less is involved, in this respect, than the fact that workmen entitled to annuities on account of diminished capacity for work without their fault, can only be dismissed with a grant of the statutory pension or annuity. Formerly the firm, like every other one, had the right of optionally dismissing any workman not yet invalidated after a two weeks' notice, and the men owed it only to the probity of the chief that this was not done and that

they therefore did not lose their claim to a retiring allowance. The provisions of the "Zeiss Foundation" render it impossible that for the future the staff should entirely be dependent on the conscientiousness of the business management, and it was only by this that the statutes regulating the pensions became a legal instrument for securing the claims involved. Hence the possibility is expressly excluded—which in fact is already insured by the want of interest on the part of the business management—that any employed who has become a burden should be dismissed merely to escape the duty of having to pension him afterwards.

Secondly, we find here the so-called "compensation for dismissal" which forms the culmination of the novel measures invented by Abbe for the benefit of the employed. It is a recognised drawback of the free labour-contract terminable by notice that it enables the employer at any time, according to the momentary business conjunctures, to engage an optional number of workmen, and after a longer or shorter term to dismiss them again, without any further consideration for their future fate or any further obligation than that of paying them their wages after the measure of the work performed. In contrast to this, it is true, the Zeiss and Schott firms, in recognition of a larger measure of moral duty, had at all times followed the business policy of not engaging regularly more workmen than may presumably be permanently employed. But so as to insure as much as possible a continuation of this humane business policy for all times, an arrangement hitherto entirely unknown in general practice has been adopted which seems calculated actively to prevent the occurrence of any grievances in connection with the enterprises of the foundation; and this is the "*compensation for dismissal*". All officials, assistants, and workmen, who have entered into a contract terminable by notice, have, in the event of a cessation of their official duties, the occasion of which has not been brought about by themselves, the legal right of claiming a single payment of a considerable compensation in money. By this it is intended not only to render it easier for those dismissed to wait for, and seek, other opportunities of work, but also to restrain as much as possible the merely temporary appointment

of an increased number of workers. The compensation for retirement is in each case to be computed to be at the very least the amount of a half-year's wages or salary. For those of the staff who have obtained the reversion of a pension it may not amount to more than the total of an invalid pension that can be claimed for a period of equal to a quarter of the previous time of service for which credit can be given. If such a compensation were introduced generally, it would constitute an excellent remedy against unemployed men and against an increase of the proletariat. Since the 1st. of April 1903 the compensation has been granted after even half a year's service, but naturally to a smaller amount. It may be, and has at times been, as high as two years' salary.

For special services of any kind, such as proposals for improvements, inventions, etc., equitable shares in the profits accruing from them are awarded. This regulation is frequently taken advantage of by the employed. In order to place the foundation in a position suitable for carrying out its extensive obligations towards the staff with regard to the rights of property, and for meeting its liabilities and expenses for the public good, (a large part of the profits being devoted to the latter end), the statutes make provision for a very considerable reserve fund which is accumulated from the surplus produced by the annual profits, and from other sources. Hitherto we have left unmentioned the following less important but still valuable beneficent institutions, namely—the factory savings-bank, presentations on the occasion of marriages or jubilees, evening schools, free dinners to the young, regular medical

examination, and a gratis bathing establishment.

The latest step in advance taken by the "Zeiss-Stiftung" for the social benefit of its staff was the introduction of the eight hours' working-day which came into operation on April 1st, 1906. During the first year—as a provisional experiment—the time-work of the labourers engaged by contract rose, as compared with that of the previous year, by 16 per cent, their hourly wages by 7 to 12 pfennig. The days' work, formerly 9×100 , now amounted to $8 \times 116 (=928)$. The introduction of overtime work is permissible only in quite exceptional cases and must be adequately paid for: on the other hand a shortening of the daily working time is allowed only in quite special circumstances; when it does take place, the full-time wages must continue to be paid.

When establishing his foundation, Abbe, however, did not think only of his staff but also of science and of Jena, which are both closely connected with the Zeiss enterprise, science holding, as it were, the position of god-father, and the town that of the *milieu*. Consequently, the Foundation has, up to the present, spent no less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ million mark for the University (erection and maintenance of scientific institutes, laboratories, etc.), over a million mark on the splendid "Volkshaus" (People's Palace) with its big library, physical museum, spacious reading halls, etc., and nearly half a million mark in creating a Kindergarten, a Children's Home, a seismographic station, a grand public park, and other humanitarian institutions.

LEOPOLD KATSCHER.

MOHAMED AND THE QUR'AN

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1. *Mohamed and the Arabs of his time.*

TO understand the *Muslims*, whose history we have undertaken to write, we must cast a rapid glance at the politi-

cal and intellectual condition of Arabia, the home of the Prophet *Mohamed*, the founder of Islam, and also briefly explain how the new faith and the new kingdom

arose, and how within a short time they grew into a vast and tremendous power which they eventually became.

In matters religious and political Arabia in the sixth century was the theatre of the wildest confusion. In the south the Jews and the Christians fought for supremacy. Several of the eastern provinces were under the yoke of the Persians; while a portion of the north acknowledged the Byzantine sway.

In Central Arabia alone did the *Beduins* maintain their ancient freedom; but, divided as they were into numerous tribes, they not infrequently fought among themselves to the death.

No less unhappy was the condition of their religion. By close contact with Judaism and Christianity many tribes had accepted the Jewish and Christian faiths.

Detached as they were, the inhabitants of Central Arabia alone remained loyal to their old idols. Of these idols—in the shape of men and animals—some were the objects of veneration of this, and some of that tribe. Some tribes, again, worshipped the sun; some the moon; some other heavenly bodies, and some drifted away towards the religion of the *magians*. Nor were the traces of hero-worship, the cult of tree and stone, entirely absent among the Arabs.

In the life of the *Beduins* religion, as a rule, filled a very insignificant position, and it was not against a real, genuine attachment to an old time-honoured faith that Islam had to struggle, but against religious indifference, scepticism and gross selfishness.

At the time of *Mohamed* idol-worship was already nearing its fall. Arab thinkers and Arab poets regarded the idols as worthless, powerless *things*. Even belief in the world to come was not unknown in Arabia prior to *Mohamed*, but its wide-spread diffusion was doubtless due to Islam.

Mekka with its old Temple, the *Ka'bah*, was the central point of Arabian idolatry. There were lodged the idols of the various tribes, and to it was made the annual pilgrimage. Sacred, indeed, was the season of pilgrimage. Then did strife cease and then did peace reign on earth. Then were life and property held in perfect security. Hence, in the fair and in the markets the barques of commerce rode on a full tide.

On the entire population of the Arabian Peninsula the chiefs of the town of *Mekka*, the holders of the spiritual offices, exercised a profoundly powerful influence, for in their hands lay the fixing of a portion of the sacred months on which depended the security of commerce on the one hand, the outbreak or cessation of hostilities on the other.* Is it any wonder then that the *Mekkan* aristocracy should keenly combat the new faith—still far removed from success; for the overthrow of the old meant to them total loss of their lucrative rights and privileges.

Mohamed himself belonged to the tribe which constituted the *Mekkan* aristocracy. His own branch, however, had become poor, and so great was its poverty that on his birth (April 571 A.D.) his mother *Amina* could only with difficulty keep a nurse for him. According to some report his father *Abdullah* had predeceased him; according to others he died some weeks after.

For several years *Mohamed* is said to have lived with his nurse among the *Beduins*. On coming back to his mother he made a journey with her to Medina—her native town. On the return journey she died, and the orphan was taken charge of by his grandfather, *Abdul Muttalib*, who also died after two years. *Mohamed* then lived with his uncle *Abu Talib*, who was too poor to keep him. The young orphan, therefore, was soon compelled to earn his livelihood by tending sheep, an occupation which only the needy and the indigent took to; while the well-to-do inhabitants of *Mekka* carried on commerce, and for the sale of their wares and products their caravans wandered to Abyssinia, South Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Persia. *Mohamed* is said to have been to Syria as a camel driver, but the account, highly coloured as it is, scarcely deserves credit.

But it is on solid historic ground that he appears at the age of five and twenty, in the service of *Khadijah*, a rich widow, making a commercial journey to South Arabia on her behalf. He married her against the wishes of her father. Thereupon his circumstances improved and his prospects brightened up. He was relieved of petty cares and sordid troubles, and could devote freely his latent, dormant

* [*Muir's life of Mohamed*, Vol. I. ccvi. Tr.]

powers to matters spiritual. He still continued to carry on commerce for a while but with little success. Gradually he withdrew from commercial activity, retired more and more into solitude, and in a cave in the neighbourhood of Mekka, he spent, at times, many weeks together in religious contemplation.

In education *Mohamed* was very deficient; in fact his education was neglected. In his time, there was very little culture in Arabia at all. Only poetry stood in full blossom, to the neglect of everything else. Despite his great oratorical gifts *Mohamed* had very little taste for poetry. The art of writing was very little if at all cultivated, and it is doubtful, if *Mohamed*, in later years, acquired it. His knowledge of Judaism and Christianity was received from oral report—, perhaps from a cousin of his wife who belonged to the group which had renounced idolatry before Islam, but which unsuccessfully sought satisfaction in either of the two religions.

Influenced by him [the cousin of his wife] *Mohamed* eagerly pondered upon God; upon the life beyond the grave; upon the revelation of divine truth, and strove, with the aid of the religious systems known to him, by oral information, to fashion a new religion suited to the Arabs.

The fundamental bases of the new religion were: the subsistence of one God and one only; revelation of God through the Prophet who, though distinguished from other men by prophetic mission, was yet a man of like passion with them; belief in a life to come, where virtue will receive its reward and vice its punishment.

But according to *Mohamed* the new dispensation was nothing more or less than the one already announced by *Ibrahim*, whom the Bible and the Arab tradition alike regarded as the progenitor of the Arabs.

He recognised Moses and Christ as great prophets whose teachings were obscured and falsified by their followers. Therefore the laws and ritual of the Old Testament which were unsuited to the Arabs and those dogmas of the new which bordered on polytheism, were to be rejected.

Having arrived at this conclusion *Mohamed*, with his pious disposition, lively imagination, nervous physical constitution, in the

quiet, calm of a contemplative life, might easily have led himself into the belief that he was a Prophet inspired by God.

Both Eastern and Western research alike point to the fact that *Mohamed* was subject to epileptic fits but the superstition of his age regarded him as one possessed of an evil spirit. At first he regarded himself, as such, but the belief grew in him that an evil spirit could have no power over a pure soul devoted to God such as his was. The demons, then, were transformed into angels whom he saw alike in dreams and while awake.

To the Supernatural Communion with the angels did he ascribe that unconsciousness which followed continuous, violent mental strain.

In the first years of his prophetic career at least, *Mohamed* firmly believed in his mission to preach a new religion, or rather to restore the religion of *Ibrahim* in its original purity. It was this unshaken belief, indeed, which gave him, despite his wavering character and visionary temper, the necessary strength and endurance to bear all the insults, and to silently suffer all the injuries which his opponents, for many years, heaped upon him.

In the beginning *Mohamed* must have been satisfied with delivering his revelation to his nearest relatives and trusted friends. Among the former *Abu Bakr* fills the first place; among the latter his younger cousin *Ali*. Both, as Caliphs, later filled a distinguished position in the history of Islam. The great mass of the Mekkans, his uncle not excepted, refused to listen to him. By his anxiety and sympathy for the poor and the weak; by his vigorous invectives against the avarice, the pride, the superciliousness of the Mekkan aristocracy, he gradually won a number of converts from men in humbler stations in life. The distinguished Mekkans who tolerated him at first gradually perceived the danger which threatened them. No longer content, therefore, with merely ridiculing or despising him as a sooth-sayer or a sorcerer, they set him down as a liar, and persecuted him as a corrupter of religion. *Mohamed* and his influential converts, assured of protection from their family, persisted in the new religion—for the honour of the tribe was of greater moment than

faith in the idols—though protection only extended to cases of gross ill-treatment. Slaves, freedmen, and others who were without protection, were reduced to the necessity of either renouncing their new faith or abandoning their old home.

Abyssinia was the country fixed for emigration. There, under Christian rule, they could expect the best protection against idol worship.

Mohamed, however, continued his attack against idolatry and the denial of a future life, and sought to effect his purpose by vivid, thrilling, telling descriptions of the terrors of hell and the joys of paradise.

He further threatened the irreligious town with its approaching doom, and related how God had destroyed the older ones and their inhabitants for their sins and their disbelief. When he referred to the history of the earlier prophets the Arabs demanded miracles of him such as had been worked by the prophets of yore. To this *Mohamed* could offer no other answer than this, that the greatest miracle was his revelation, and that God, in his mercy, left open to them this one pretext, because He knew that, like the hardened sinners before, they would not believe.

Then followed for *Mohamed* a period of deep dejection and profound despair. The darkness thickened and the shadows of despair began to gather around him. He went indeed to the extent of making a compromise with his persecutors. He acknowledged their idols as intermediaries between man and *Allah*. But he soon perceived his error. He took courage; he recalled the concession; and he declared it to have been the suggestion of *Satan*.

Owing to his constant asperity the number of his opponents increased day by day, and their attitude became more and more insulting and hostile. His power, however, about this time received a sudden accession of strength by two conversions which were an ample set off for much apostacy. The one was that of *Hamza*, called for his courage, the lion of God; and the other was that of *Omar*, later on the second Caliph, the stoutest support of Islam, and the most splendid character among the companions of the prophet.

In *Hamza* (an uncle of *Mohamed*) was awakened the feelings of compassion and

family honour. He acknowledged Islam in order that he might be able all the more effectively to appear as the protector of his deeply injured nephew.

Omar passed for one of the most violent opponents of *Mohamed*, and is even said to have designed to kill him when he suddenly found that his own sister and her husband had accepted the teachings of the prophet. He rushed into their house and assaulted them. But he soon repented of his rashness, read the piece of the *Qur'an* which he found with them, and was, as Muslims assert, so impressed by its noble diction and lofty contents, that he forthwith repaired to *Mohamed*, acknowledged him as the prophet of God, and even compelled him, under his own and that of *Hamza's* protection, to visit the Temple which he had no longer ventured to enter. These conversions and their consequences tended only further to embitter his opponents against him. It was not long before they mutually pledged themselves to put *Mohamed* and his family under a ban.

Thus outlawed, they retired to a ravine in the chief valley, and lived there in dire affliction, as they could obtain provisions only from a great distance or through friends secretly. For two years, at the very least, did this state of affairs last, and not without difficulty, did the friends of *Mohamed* succeed in getting the ban removed. His supporters, at this time, were not very numerous, and probably *Mohamed* did not then appear to be very dangerous to his opponents. The least effort on their part, would have crushed him. His position in his native town could not have been very cheerful, for shortly after he left for *Taif*, in the hopes of finding among its inhabitants a friendly reception and a willing ear for Islam.

Taif lies east of *Mekka*.* In his expectations he was deceived, and deceived grievously. On his return to *Mekka* he felt all the more sad and depressed for both *Khadijah* who was unfailing in her encouragement, and his uncle *Abu Talib*, who was heroic in his support, were shortly torn away from him by the all-destroying hand of death.

Things looked bleak and dreary. Not

* *Muir's Life of Mohamed*; Vol. II, pp. 207.

until the 11th year of his mission and fifty-first of his life did affairs take a happy turn for him and his religion, by the conversion of some pilgrims from *Yathrib*, the town later on chosen by *Mohamed* for his residence and subsequently called *Medina*, the converts spread the new teachings in their native town. In the following year they came to the annual fair in larger numbers. In the third year, when Islam had made still greater progress with them, they invited *Mohamed* to come over to them and swore protection to him. The speedy attachment of the *Medinites* to *Mohamed* is to be explained, firstly, by the fact that his mother came from Medina and her people considered the duty of protecting him as a point of honour; then, by close contact with the Jewish tribes settled among them, and who expected their *Messiah*, the *Medinites* were long prepared for a new prophet. Finally, the town of *Medina*, jealous of the importance of *Mekka*, looked eagerly forward to position and distinction through *Mohamed* and his religion. *Mohamed* sent his followers on in advance to Medina. Some months after, he along with *Abu Bakr* fled secretly from *Mekka*. He feared probably detention or ill-treatment on the way.

With this emigration, called the *Hejirah* in Arabic, begins the *Mohamedan* era. Although the real emigration took place in September 622 A.D., the *Mohamedan* era dates from the 16th of July—the first day of the then *Arab* year.

On his arrival in Medina *Mohamed's* first care was to provide a new home for the emigrants who had come with him and before him. He, on that account, established a brotherhood involving, even to the exclusion of blood relations, the right of mutual inheritance. He soon settled the rules of worship, and built a mosque, in which was performed a short prayer five times a day. *Mohamed*, in the first period of his residence at *Medina*, tried, by all manner of concessions, to win over the Jews settled there.

For instance he fixed the *Kiblah* towards Jerusalem (the side to which one turned his face at prayer). He appointed the 10th day of the first month as a day of fast, and gave permission to the converts to observe the sabbath. But when he failed in his hopes, for the Jews expected a *Messiah*

of the family of *David*, he became their bitterest enemy. Later he fixed the *Kiblah* towards *Mekka*, appointed the month of *Ramadhan* as the month of fast, and Friday as the day of rest. The most important measure of *Mohamed*, in the first year of the emigration, was the sanction which he gave in the name of God to war against the infidel. Finally he enjoined it as a religious duty. Fighting the enemy became the most splendid of virtues. To those slain in battle he promised the joys of paradise, to those who shirked or evaded it he, by divine decree, threatened an ignominious death.

The first campaigns of *Mohamed* when he could scarcely put 100 men in the field, were really no more than predatory expeditions, directed against the *Mekkan* caravans which, in their commercial journeys, passed through the neighbourhood of Medina. The paucity of numbers was due to the fact that the majority of the *Medinites* were still unconverted, and, though pledged to protect *Mohamed*, were under no obligation to join him in offensive warfares.

The *Mekkans*, indeed, were careful enough. They either sent their caravans with a strong escort, or took a circuitous route to Syria. To take them by surprise, he organised a predatory expedition during one of the holy months in which the Arabs enjoyed perfect peace. The circumstances of these expeditions are very significant of the character of *Mohamed* and his revelations at this period. We notice, here, as we do in his acceptance of the Pre-Islamic belief in the intermediary character of the idols, a certain want of definite principle and the beginning of a series of acts, committed or approved, for the sole purpose of chastising the Heathens and intercepting their commerce—acts which without reference to a severe ethical code, must be disapproved and condemned.*

Mohamed sent for his brother-in-law *Abdullah*, handed over to him a piece of writing, under seal, and directed him to set out for South Arabia with twelve companions to carry out the orders contained in the sealed cover. He further directed him to abstain from reading the

* [The translator does not subscribe to this view. He is afraid that Dr. Weil is here carried away by prejudices shared by Christian writers.]

contents until the 3rd day of his departure. *Abdullah* obeyed. On the third day he broke open the seal, and found only the following words: Proceed with thy companions to the valley of *Nakhlah* (south east of Arabia) and lie in wait for the *Mekkan* caravan. *Abdullah* naturally interpreted these words to mean that he was to attack the caravan. He did so and successfully.

Two men were taken captive. One was slain. *Abdullah* brought the whole cargo as booty to *Medina*. To put an end to all discussion with *Abdullah* on the subject of predatory expeditions, undertaken in a holy month, *Mohamed* brought forth a revelation.

To heave off responsibility from his shoulders he had given an ambiguous message. But when the Muslims of *Medina* waxed indignant and blamed him for the desecration of the holy month, he disavowed the action of *Abdullah* and contended that he had overstepped his instructions, and that he had never, as a matter of fact, ordered him to attack the caravan in the holy month.

When he saw, however, that he was nevertheless, regarded as the author of that wanton wrong he withdrew from the *Mekkans* the security enjoyed by them, for purposes of commerce in the four holy months. The *Qur'anic* verses were revealed in which war against the infidel was declared lawful at *all times*, because to their many sins they had added one other, and that was the sin of expelling the Prophet from his home.

We could not have acquitted *Mohamed* of the guilt of spilling blood on the occasion of the attack on this caravan *even* if his biographers had not reported many other assassinations recommended; nay, even regarded as meritorious by him—assassinations of women, not excepted.

Even before his flight to *Medina* *Mohamed* had fallen from the path of truth and rectitude.*

To cite only one instance—he related the whole history of the prophets of the Old and New Testaments embellished by much Judaic and Christian fables and legend, and asserted that the angel *Gabriel* had revealed them to him.

* [The translator must express his dissent from this view of the learned author.]

This the *Mekkans* discredited and, not without reason, ascribed his knowledge of matters scriptural to his intercourse with foreigners versed in the scriptures.

The first encounter between the *Mekkans* and the *Mohamedans* took place in the second year of the *Hejrah* at *Budr*, a station well-supplied with water, between Mekka and Medina. With an army of over three hundred men *Mohamed* had started to attack and to plunder the rich *Mekkan* caravan on its way home from Syria.

Abu Sufyan, the leader of the caravan, got wind of the design. He sent a messenger to Mekka summoning his compatriots to the defence of their property. Before the arrival of the summoned aid, some 900 strong, *Abu Sufyan*, who knew that *Mohamed* was lying in wait at *Badr*, managed to avoid that place by taking the route along the sea coast. As soon as the news of the safety of the caravan reached the *Mekkan* camp, a portion of the men who had only taken up arms out of fear of losing their property, showed a desire to return home. Others—bitter enemies of the Prophet—and men fond of war, resolved to proceed to *Badr*. This decision was adopted—though many persisted in their refusal and returned home. In the camp of the Prophet a similar indecision prevailed. There was the prospect of the booty, but it was not a very bright one in a battle against overwhelming odds. But no less powerful was the consideration that if they failed to deal a blow in the interest of the new faith they would be labelled as cowards.

Thus they came to a bloody encounter in which the *Medinites*, trained in war and contemptuous of death, won a victory over the effeminate *Mekkan* traders and carried off a rich booty. *Mohamed* himself remained far away from the actual fight. In a hut he unceasingly prayed until he sank exhausted. On regaining consciousness he announced victory to his men through the help of heavenly troops. This first military success led to the rapid growth of *Islam*. To the poor community, arms, horses, camels captured in war, as also a fair sum of money received in exchange for captives, meant an accession of fresh strength. This military triumph increased their confidence, multiplied their numbers, and cheered them on to a path of further glory. The first victim

of the victorious troops was the Jewish tribe of *Kainuka*. It was compelled to surrender, and would probably have been completely annihilated, had not *Abdullah*, the Son of *Ubai*, the chief of the *Khazrajites*, assisted them in their retreat.* Their belongings, however, fell entirely into the hands of the *Muslims*. About this time, indeed, took place the murders of several men, dangerous or odious to Islam.

Thus a reign of terror was established by men on the side of the Prophet. The result was that all individual opposition was crushed, and the weak sought safety in the bosom of Islam. The *Mekkans*, in the meantime, were not idle or inactive. Their interest as well as their honour called for vengeance for the defeat at *Badr*. To reconnoitre and to make alliance with men hostile to *Mohamed*, *Abu Sufyan* before the end of the second year of the *Hejirah*, had already made an excursion right up to the neighbourhood of Medina. In the following year (625 A.D.) he set out at the head of some 3000 men for Medina, and pitched his camp to the east of the town. Informed by friendly Arabs, of the movements of the *Mekkans*, *Mohamed* decided to confine himself to the defence of the town. But his fanatical followers declaring this as a piece of cowardice, he was compelled to march out with some 2000 men. Of these well-nigh a third, under the leadership of *Abdullah*, mentioned already, who hated in his heart both *Mohamed* and Islam, returned to Medina. At *Ohod*, North of Medina, the *Muslims*, in spite of their small number, successfully beat the *Mekkans*, until the archers, who were to repel the cavalry of the enemy, forsook the place assigned to them. The brave *Khalid*, leading the *Mekkan* cavalry, thus found an opportunity of attacking the enemy from the rear. A dreadful panic took possession of the faithful and they took to flight. *Mohamed* himself was wounded and he fainted away. The report that he was dead caused still further havoc among his troops. A trusted follower, recognizing him by his eye; for he was covered with a coat of mail, a helmet, a visor, brought him to a place of safety.

* The *Khazrajites* were an Arab tribe settled in Medina. The tribe of *Kainuka* were the allies of the *Khazrajites*.

The *Mekkans*, in the meanwhile, believing the rumour of his death, did not worry themselves any further. Satisfied with their achievement they wended their way homeward. Only when the battle had ended and probably a portion of the army was already on its homeward march did *Abu Sufyan* learn that *Mohamed* was still alive. He decided, in the following year, to attack him afresh.

To show that he was in no way dispirited *Mohamed* pursued the enemy, for some miles, the day after the battle, in which he lost seventy men, his uncle among them, whose corpse, along with those of the others, was horribly mutilated.

To the defeat at *Ohod*, which lowered the reputation of *Mohamed* to the same extent as the victory at *Badr* had raised it, we might add some other failures, but they were insignificant predatory expeditions which need not detain us.

For the loss suffered at *Ohod* the only set-off that *Mohamed* could offer to his followers was the expulsion of the Jews of the tribe of *Nadir* in the 4th year of the *Hejirah*. The Jews capitulated and emigrated. *Mohamed* declared their property as his, since it was not acquired in war, and divided it among the poor *Mekkan* refugees. Towards the end of the year (4th year of the *Hejirah*) he again advanced to *Badr* with a fairly strong army, to show that he utterly disregarded the threat of leading a fresh attack against him held out by *Abu Sufyan* after the battle of *Ohod*. The *Mekkans* were not prepared and had indeed no intention of fighting.

Towards the end of the 5th year (beginning of 627 A.D.) the *Mekkans* started for Medina a second time, under the leadership of *Abu Sufyan*. They were 10,000 strong—the *Mekkans* and their allies of the *Beduin* tribes. The *Medinites* were depressed. They could scarcely put 3,000 men in the field, and they further apprehended an attack from the Jewish tribe of *Kuraizah*. This time *Mohamed* decided not to meet the enemy in the open field, but only to defend the town. As soon as he was informed of the approach of the hostile army, upon the advice of a Persian, he caused a ditch to be dug. Inexperienced, as the Arabs were, in the art of laying a siege—this defensive method (however imperfect) was, indeed,

enough to prevent a wholesale attack. But the *Mekkans* were further hampered by a tempest that broke out and the dissension that arose among their allies. The result was a retreat. They returned home disappointed and unsuccessful.

Though the siege of *Medina* inflicted but little material loss—still it affected, as did the battle at *Ohod*, the reputation of *Mohamed* as a warrior and a Prophet, because contrary to all the established and cherished traditions of the Arabs, instead of giving battle to the enemy, he took shelter behind the wall and the rampart.

Once again did *Mohamed* direct his attention towards the Jews who had been meddling with the *Mekkans*, and he compelled them to surrender.

The Jews, the *Banu Kuraizah*, already mentioned, had been the allies of the *Ausites* (the second great Arab tribe settled in *Medina*), and had hoped to secure, through their intervention, as favourable terms as did the *Banu Kainuka* through the intervention of *Abdullah*. But unfortunately the chief of the *Ausites* had been wounded during the siege of *Medina*, and when *Mohamed* summoned him to act as an arbitrator he condemned men* to death and women and children to slavery. This expedition was followed by several others against the hostile *Beduin* tribes. These, indeed, gradually and insensibly effaced the unfavourable impression created by the siege of *Medina*, and towards the end of the 6th year of the *Hejrah* *Mohamed* resolved, with his friends and allies, to make a pilgrimage to *Mekka*. Having announced his intention solemnly and in the name of God, he had no alternative but to undertake the pilgrimage. He had a small following. The Arab account fixes it between 7 to 1400 men. But what he relied on most was the reluctance of the Arabs to shed blood in a holy month—although he himself did not hesitate to do so. He stopped on the frontier of the holy territory when he found the *Mekkans* firm in refusing him admission to the town. After long negotiations they at last agreed that he was to go back that year, but the following year he was to be permitted three days' stay in *Mekka* for the purpose of pilgrimage.

Painful, indeed, it was to the Prophet and his companions to be so near the

* Some six to nine hundred men.

holy town, and yet to go without the pilgrimage. This peace was big with great results—though at first sight it seemed disadvantageous to the Prophet. By this treaty *Mohamed* was indirectly acknowledged as the equal of the proud *Mekkan* aristocracy; for this treaty placed him, in a certain measure, on terms of equality with them. The right of admission into *Mekka* the following year was a victory which considerably heightened his reputation among the Arabs. He could now send his missionaries to all parts of Arabia, make proselytes, and form alliances. To materially strengthen his power, to enrich his supporters and thereby multiply their number, to remove any damaging impression which his unsuccessful attempt at pilgrimage might have conveyed—he marched against the Jews of *Khaibar* who, at a distance of 4 to 5 days' journey, north-east of *Medina*, had their goods and effect. Their forts were successively stormed and plundered and unable to hold out, they at last surrendered to the victors.

They resigned their property in favour of the victors, but were permitted to remain as their tenants on condition that they should make over to them half of the annual produce. Similar terms were granted to other Jews in the neighbourhood of *Khaibar*. Thus did *Mohamed* secure means, more and more, to increase and strengthen his soldiery.

Between 628 and 629 A.D. several other campaigns were undertaken against the *Beduins*. The number of the faithful steadily grew, and the idea became fixed in *Mohamed's* mind that Islam, as the only true religion, was a religion meant not only for the Arabs but for all mankind. Even before the conquest of *Mekka* he had sent messengers to the neighbouring princes of *Persia*, *Byzantium*, *Abyssinia*. He also invited the Christian governor of Egypt and several Arab chiefs under Persian and Byzantine sway to accept his religion. These messengers received more or less a hostile reception. Only the Greek governor treated them in a friendly spirit and sent valuable presents to the Prophet—though he did not accept Islam. Among the presents were two slave girls. One of these, Mary, fascinated the Prophet so completely that, for her sake, he neglected the rest of his

wives. After the death of his first wife, *Mohamed* married some dozen wives; some out of love, some for reasons of State.

Of these were *Maimuna*, aunt of the intrepid *Khalid* who shortly after with *Amr Ibn Aass* was converted to Islam; *Ayasha*, the daughter of *Abu Bakr*; *Hafzah*, the daughter of *Omar* and *Zainab*, the sister of *Abdullah*, notorious for his violation of the sanctity of the holy month. The *Qur'an* limits the number of legitimate wives to four, but *Mohamed* was to be an exception to the rule. In matters sexual public opinion was lax in Arabia. There was unbounded polygamy, and thus the wives of the prophet had to submit to their lot. But when, in the person of *Mary*, an Abyssinian slave, they found a dangerous rival, they could endure it no longer, and *Mohamed*, to appease them, made a solemn promise to keep himself hence forward away and apart from her.

He spent a whole month in a garret without visiting his wives. Then followed some verses of the *Qur'an* whereby *Allah* released *Mohamed* from his promise regarding *Mary* and threatened his wives, should they persist in their obstinacy, to give him, in their place, partners—better and more obedient, than they.

Mohamed's Harem occupies a considerable place in the *Qur'an*. He married *Ayasha*, when scarcely fifteen. She had accompanied him in one of his campaigns. On the return journey she was left behind and arrived in Medina with the captain of the rear-guard some hours later. The whole of Medina talked of this incident and in the presence of friends even *Mohamed* made no secret of his doubts as to her fidelity—for her explanation as to the delay was anything but satisfactory. After the lapse of a month his love for her or rather his regard for her father (his old and trusted friend) prevailed over his sentiments of jealousy and revenge, and, after a severe epileptic fit, he, in the name of God, proclaimed her innocent.

One other revelation relating to *Mohamed's* wedded life deserves a passing reference here. It shows how easily the Prophet, in matters sexual, was carried away by his passions.

Zainab, the wife of *Zaid** attracted his attention. *Zaid*, not failing to notice the

* The translator does not accept this view.

attention of the Prophet, divorced her—whereupon *Mohamed* married her. This marriage was regarded as objectionable for two reasons. Not only was it deemed ungenerous of *Mohamed* to have accepted such a sacrifice from *Zaid*, one of his first and devoted followers; but it was also contrary to the general practice which condemned marriage with the wife of an adopted son who was regarded in the light of a natural son and whose wife after divorce the father could not marry.

To put an end to all adverse comment he declared the hitherto obtaining practice of adoption as foolish, and its practice in future as sinful. To foster the growth of the belief that *Zaid* had divorced his wife, contrary to his wishes, he put forward a verse of the *Qur'an*† in which God was made to say how he (*Mohamed*), in spite of his love for her, exhorted *Zaid* to remain loyal to her and how, even after the divorce, out of fear of men he hesitated to marry her, until so enjoined by God. And then, indeed, he did so, firstly, to show that the idle talk of man was of no consequence where the question was one of the will of God, and secondly, by his own example to invest the law relating to adoption with greater weight.

On the occasion of this marriage one other verse of the *Qur'an* was revealed which shut off the wives of the Prophet from the rest of the world, and also imposed certain restrictions upon the dress and demeanour of all believing women.‡

Thus, by his jealousy, (extending even beyond the grave, for he forbade his wives remarriage after his death) women were excluded, once and for all, from public life, and even in domestic circles their society was confined only to women and nearest relatives.

The *Muslim* wife was thus reduced to slavery, while among the heathen Arabs, she was the partner and companion of her husband. She was now to take part only in her husband's domestic joys; while, before, she enlivened his social and public life. She was, among the *Beduins*, as among the Western knights of the middle

† A quondam slave and then the adopted son of the prophet.

‡ [See, *Muir's Life of Mohamed*, Vol. III. pp 231 et seq.—Tr.]

ages, an object of worship and veneration, *Islam* converted her into an object of compassion and distrust.* She was called, indeed, his *Harim* (a sacred thing) but by this they understood one whom *not* her own virtues but only the veil and the bolt and the eunuch could save from fall.

Just as the letter of *Mohamed* to the Governor of Egypt, inviting him to the faith of *Islam*, had a fateful result on the position of women in Islamic society—so might we ascribe the genesis of several mischievous laws to the embassy which *Mohamed* sent to a Christian chief of the Arabs on the Syrian borders.

The former was the cause of the intervention of God in *Mohamed's* domestic affairs, resulting in the assertion of man's superiority over woman—the latter was the source of several mischievous laws, regarded as sacred to the present day.

The chief ordered the execution of one of *Mohamed's* messengers. This execution led to the first war between the Byzantines and the *Muslims* which ended disastrously for the Muslims at *Muta* (629, A.D.) in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. Three generals fell (one after another), and with difficulty did *Khalid* succeed in saving the remnant of the troops. A second expedition against the Byzantines in the following year yielded but small result. It received scant assistance from the allies of the Prophet. *Mohamed*, therefore, caused the ninth chapter of the *Qur'an* to be proclaimed, which contains quite a new law of war and a new law of nations.

Henceforth none but *Muslims* could enter the holy territory and its neighbourhood, but *even* beyond it idol worship was to be destroyed, root and branch. Jews and Christians could only be tolerated on submission and on payment of the tribute.

The language of the *Qur'an* was interpreted to mean that a duty was cast on the faithful to fight *non-Muslims* until conversion or subjection, and continually to oppress the subject races even if they were other than idol-worshippers.

The Caliph *Omar* made various exceptions

* [I do not at all agree with Dr. Weil. Tr.]

to the law requiring the humiliation of non-Muslims, but his successors sharpened and extended the law in proportion to their religious fanaticism.

The ordinance, which under *Sultan Nasir*, appeared in Egypt in the XIVth century, shows best the terrible consequences which flowed from the language of the *Qur'an*.

The Christians, to be distinguished at first sight from the faithful, should henceforth, it says, wear a blue *turban*, and for a similar reason the Jews a yellow one. Jewish and Christian women, likewise, should carry the distinguishing badge on their breast. The unfaithful are forbidden to carry arms or to ride horses, and *even* on mules they are to sit sideways and use a simple, unadorned saddle. They are to move out of the way of the Muslims and yield the middle of the street to them. In large gatherings they are to get up† in presence of *Muslims* and are not to raise their voices above theirs. Their houses are *not* to be higher than those of the *Muslims*. They are not publicly to celebrate Palm Sunday nor are they to ring bells or to make proselytes. It is forbidden to them to keep *Muslims* as slaves, or to purchase captives of war, or what otherwise would have fallen as booty to the Muslims. Jews and Christians visiting public baths, are to make themselves known by the use of a small bell round their neck. They are not to use Arabic inscriptions on their signets nor are they to teach the *Qur'an* to their children. They are not to put *Muslims* to hard work, and on pain of death they are forbidden to have intercourse with *Muslim* women. No Jew or Christian is to be employed in the State chanceries, a prohibition dating from the time of the Caliph *Omar*, and honoured more in the breach than in its observance.

The ignorance of the first Arabs and Turks in matters of government, and their subsequent indifference to learn and their scant business-like capacity made the services of the Christians and the Jews indispensable to them in the work of administration.

(To be continued.)

† To get up, *i.e.*, to show respect to them.

THE PHONETICS OF BENGALI

READERS of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society are aware that Mr. Grant Brown, of the Burma Civil Service, has suggested that the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association should be used in writing down or transliterating Indian languages. What is this alphabet? It is one which has been invented by M. Paul Passy and other trained phoneticians to supply the deficiencies of European alphabets, which are, as we all know, at once deficient and redundant. In English, for instance, the letter C can be used to represent the sound of either S or K. The numerous vowel sounds of English, on the other hand, are represented by five signs only, and their combinations, and these are used in the most irregular and inconsistent fashion. That a scientifically complete alphabet is needed for European languages is indisputable, and especially for English. The aim of the I. P. A. alphabet (to use a now familiar abbreviation) is to provide a separate and sole sign for every spoken sound, whether vowel or consonant. M. Passy admits that this aim has not been wholly attained, and that the final analysis of even European spoken sounds is not yet complete. But the I. P. A. alphabet is the work of men who have given their lives to the recording of the sounds of language with the highest attainable accuracy; it is far more complete than any other system of writing yet attempted by Europeans, and those who use it go through a course of phonetic training, and recording sounds carefully and correctly, such as makes them extraordinarily skilful in taking down the sounds even of languages with which they are not familiar. For instance, Mr. Brown was good enough to show me a record taken down by a trained phonetician who knew no Bengali from the dictation of a Bengali gentleman. This record did not of course take any account of the characteristic and significant *tone* of the Bengali language,

which closely resembles that of Welsh. But the vowel sounds were registered with remarkable accuracy, and when the writer read his own writing aloud, it was unmistakeably true Bengali, though, of course, pronounced in an English tone and with English stresses. An alphabet which can do that in the hands of a trained user is obviously a good alphabet for recording unwritten languages and, to some extent, the varieties and dialects of languages already written, especially in Europe, where the existing alphabets are confessedly inadequate, and where the art known as "spelling" has to be elaborately and painfully learned. In English many words are practically "ideographs," since the sound of the separate letters of which they are composed give a very faint clue to the sound of the whole word. One such word, to take an obvious instance, is the English word "though."

But need we use the I. P. A. alphabet to transliterate, or as a substitute for, the Indian alphabets, such as the Bengali alphabet, which are derived from the Devanagari script? As for transliteration, we have already an absolutely adequate system in the symbols adopted by the Tenth Oriental Congress at Geneva in 1894. There is in this system a Romanic equivalent for every Sanskrit letter, and though one or two Bengali letters, such as ঞ and ণ are not represented, it is easy to suggest symbols. The question I now propose to discuss is whether the Bengali alphabet; (whether in its own proper character or in the Geneva transliteration of it) is so defective, or, it may be redundant, that it may be worth the while of learners to record Bengali words in the I. P. A. alphabet.

The answer is not so easy as it may seem. Those of us who are familiar with the Bengali character, and can use it readily to write down Bengali words, are necessarily disposed to think that it is practically, if not theoretically, adequate. It is the result

of the phonetic analyses of Hindu grammarians, who anticipated M. Passy's now world-famous labours by hundreds of years. It shows in its originators a remarkable genius for phonetic analysis, and an accuracy of ear such as few Europeans possess save as the result of long and careful training. I may as well say at once that, in my own humble opinion, the Bengali letters are, with trifling and easily removed exceptions, sufficient to represent all the sounds of the language. But the Bengali alphabet has a few obvious defects, due to the fact that the pronunciation of Bengal differs from that of the region where the Devanagari alphabet had its birth. To take the most unmistakeable of all, we have three sibilants, all of which, except when compounded with certain other consonants, have the sound of শ. We have no letter to express the sound of the English letter S, though, in Eastern Bengal, this sound is attributed to ছ. We have two letters, বর্গীয় ব and অস্থস্থ ব, both of which have the same sound, which constitutes what is called redundancy in the case of European alphabets. So বর্গীয় জ and অস্থস্থ য have the same sound. The same is the case with certain combinations of letters; thus ক্ষ, ক্স, খ্য and খ্খ have practically the same sound. So ত্ব, ত্য and ত্ত are difficult to discriminate. Let us, for argument's sake, admit these redundancies. Ought we, on that account, because the sound of these different characters has become the same, to write one sound in each case with one and the same letter?

I think not. Redundancy, in any case, is not so serious an evil as deficiency. In the instances above mentioned, the redundancy is due to the fact that Bengali has retained the Sanskrit spelling, and has not retained the Sanskrit pronunciation. There is, in all languages, a tendency to adapt the pronunciation to the accepted spelling, and in time the Bengali pronunciation may once more resemble that of its Sanskrit parent. Meanwhile, there is no real ambiguity. If the TY in সত্য is pronounced like the TV in সত্ব, it is *always** so

* This is true to some extent; but cultured Bengalis for the most part pronounce সত্য, and সত্ব in such a way as to give different sounds to ত্য, and ত্ব.—Ed., M, R.

pronounced, so that there is not the difficulty which occurs in the case of the English C, which is sometimes S and sometimes K. It is true that স has sometimes its true sound, as in স্তন, স্ত্রী, স্থিত, and sometimes that of শ,* as in সোমবার, but we may hope that the influence of Sanskrit scholarship may lead to the accurate pronunciation of স and ষ. The only other case of ambiguity of which I can think among the Bengali consonants is that of the numerous nasal letters. Here we may perhaps be led to admit that the desire of Sanskrit phoneticians for complete classification may have misled them as when they invented 10 separate vowels (five হ্রস্ব and five দীর্ঘ) to correspond to the five vargas into which the "touch" letters are divided. (Let us note in passing that Bengali has already got rid of ঞ, ঞ, and ঞ, and could easily substitute ঞ for ঞ). It may be doubted whether ঞ, ঞ, and ঞ really represent separate sounds† in Bengali. It is true that the I. P. A. alphabet has three symbols which correspond to ঞ, ঞ and ঞ, but I note that Mr. Nakulesvar Vidyābhūsan, in his admirable little ভাষাবোধ ব্যাকরণ, say that "ঞ ও ঞ এই দুই বর্ণের উচ্চারণগত প্রভেদ বাঙ্গালায় না থাকিলেও বর্ণের আকারগত প্রভেদ আছে।" Here, again, there is at worst redundancy, and there is no real risk of confusion.

It is when we come to the vowels that, in the case of Bengali as of all other languages, we have most difficulty. In the first place, the Sanskrit vowels are retained (with the exception of the unnecessary ঞ, ঞ and ঞ) but the pronunciation is altered. This from our present point of view does not matter, since it is not necessary in this place to discuss the important question of how far the change of pronunciation has affected the rules of *Sandhi* which, with the alphabet, have been borrowed from Sanskrit. (There is obviously no reason why Bengali should not have its own rules

* The Bengali pronunciation of স approximates in sound ষ more than শ; the pronunciation of শ, ষ and স lies midway between ষ and শ.—Ed., M. R.

† ঞ and ঞ do not really represent separate sounds in Bengali, as also জ and য, and ষ and ব. But ঞ and ঞ have their sounds pronounced in such words as ভাঙিয়া (ভাঙিয়া), রাঙা (রাঙা), ডাঙা (ডাঙা) and গোদাঞি (also spelt as গোদাই), মিঞা etc.—Ed., M. R.

of *Sandhi*, and it is only necessary to note in passing, for instance, that the different sibilants in such *Sandhis* as ভাস্কর and পরিস্কার do not record real phonetic differences.) In the second place, we have to consider whether the existing vowel symbols adequately represent the vowel sounds of the language. The defects shown by such an examination will not be so numerous as in English for two reasons. The vowel *signs* are more numerous than in English, and the vowel *sounds* are fewer, partly, I suppose, because, owing to their better alphabet, Bengalis are more inclined than English people to pronounce as they spell. Let us take the vowels in order.

(1) অকার has at least four sounds. There is the normal sound in such a word as অবলম্বন. There is the বিকৃত sound (a rare one and not always heard) in such words as অতি, অক্ষর. There is the প্রসারিত sound which is heard in the last syllable of such words as বড়, ছোট. Finally there is the সঙ্কুচিত sound (hardly requiring separate notation) in such words as চট. For the প্রসারিত sound ও might be, and sometimes is, written. Some small diacritical mark might be used to mark the বিকৃত pronunciation.

(2) হ্রস্ব ইকার and দীর্ঘ ঈকার mark a real distinction of sound. But the former is sometimes pronounced as the latter*; for instance, in the words শিব, পিতা, যতই. It seems unadvisable to alter the spelling here, since it marks the original Sanskrit pronunciation, to which the language might ultimately revert.

(3) আকার has almost always its সহজ pronunciation. The only exception seems to be a case which is really one of epenthesis. কাল, আজ, গাল, আল, দাল, &c., are pronounced as if they were কাইল, আইজ, গাইল, আইল, দাইল, &c. They might be thus written.

(4) একার has a বিকৃত pronunciation in a few words, such as যেন, কেন, যেমন, &c. It would be easy to put some diacritical mark such as ˘ over একার when thus pronounced. (There is also no distinction

between the প্রসারিত and সঙ্কুচিত pronunciation of একার). It remains to note the fact that the বর্ণমালা has no character for the sounds represented in English in such words as 'bet' and 'bat,' and for the sound represented by W, though these undoubtedly exist in Bengali. They can however be written by conventional combinations of letters, though they have no separate letters to represent them. The E in 'bet' is represented by ঐ, as in ব্যক্তি. The A in 'bat' is represented by ঐ, as in খ্যাত. As for W, the symbol which has been evolved to take its place is ওয়, as in যাওয়া, খাওয়া, হওয়া, লাওয়া.

Altogether, including the symbols ঐ and ঐ, and omitting ঐ, (which might be written as ঐ, but for the obvious advantage of retaining the Sanskrit spelling) Bengali has twelve vowels. The I. P. A. alphabet has 32 vowels or more. But of these, only 16 are used in transliterating French, which has vowel sounds such as the u in 'une' which we do not find in Bengali. I am not enough of a phonetician to be sure that (with the admitted exceptions I have noted) every vowel sound used in Bengali has its own separate symbol. My own feeling is that (with the noted exceptions) the স্বরবর্ণ do actually represent all the vowel sounds surviving in the language. I do not think that foreigners learning Bengali are troubled by either inadequacy or redundancy of letters, since Bengali, like French, is a language possessing comparatively few diphthongal sounds.

What in Bengali, as in French, does puzzle the foreigner who "has not a good ear" is the characteristic and expressive *tone* of the language, and this except in a very tentative way, no notation of the sounds of speech has tried to record. That, in any case, is not a matter which affects alphabets and বর্ণমালা. That is the music of a national speech for which a notation has yet to be invented. The stresses of languages like English, Hindi, German, Italian can easily be marked, since they fall on one (or, in long words, two) syllables in a word. But the rise and fall of tone in languages like Welsh, Bengali, and French affect several consecutive syllables, and are more often phrasal than verbal.

* As ই is sometimes pronounced as ঐ so also ঐ is often pronounced as ই—Ed., M. R.

For my own part, I do not see any necessity for recording them, since those who can acquire them will do so by listening to the voices of those to whom the language is native. It is these tones and stresses which enable us to discern what language people are talking, even when we are too distant to discriminate the words they are using. It is the acquisition of these which gives the foreigner complete mastery over spoken speech. Let it be observed, in passing, that it is quite possible to acquire a literary knowledge of a language (as in the case of the 'dead' languages) without learning to hear it or speak it. I have a French friend who has acquired a wide knowledge of English literature by reading it as if it were French. He cannot *speak* a word of English so as to be intelligible to an Englishman, nor can he understand an Englishman's speech, and yet he knows English letters as few Englishmen do. If he had learned an Indian language in the same way, it would have been a compara-

tively easy matter to teach him the sounds of Indian letters.

Finally, let me apologise for dealing with a subject which is the peculiar province of Bengalis born and bred. I have no doubt said little that is not already familiar to Bengalis who have thought about the phonology of their native speech. I hope they will forgive the temerity of a foreigner who was born, and spent many busy years in Bengal, for calling their attention to the effort now being made in Europe to discover a true international and universal alphabet. There are many places, quite close to Bengal, where such an alphabet would be a boon. But in Bengal itself the local বর্ণমালা (with some trifling exceptions) seems to meet all requirements. Perhaps local phoneticians may discover that I have made some omissions or blunders. If so, I hope our Editor will allow them to point them out in the pages of the *Modern Review*.

Cambridge, 1912.

J. D. ANDERSON.

INDIA AND THE WORLD MOVEMENT

THE twentieth century will witness a mighty revolution in India and the world. The Time-spirit will ring out the old and ring in the new in all civilized countries. The nineteenth century has been the period of destruction, criticism and preparation to a large extent: the twentieth century will be the era of construction and fulfilment in many respects.

India is not isolated from the world. Her isolation during many centuries has been one of the chief causes of her decline. A country, which ceases to participate in the general life of humanity, has no future. No one can make a moral and intellectual island of India and then expect her to advance. The great secret of progress is continual activity. Still waters become stagnant.

The requisite conditions for such effective participation in the World-Life are not present in India today. We must strive to broaden our intellectual horizon and come

into touch with the living movements of European society. For this necessary development, the following conditions must first obtain:—

The study of foreign languages.—I cannot too often repeat my advice to the young men of India with regard to the necessity and importance of learning French, German, Italian and Spanish. Generations of Hindus, fed only on English, will not be intellectually robust and efficient. English may be a very beautiful language, but it is not the only language in the world.

French and German are the languages in which a very large proportion of modern research and inter-communication is carried on. French is generally spoken all over Europe except in Germany and the Scandinavian countries. The educated classes of Turkey, Egypt and Russia speak French as we speak English in India. It is pathetic indeed to see Hindu students land at Marseilles and run to London as helpless

protégés of Thos. Cook and Son on account of their ignorance of French. They travel through the land of romance, revolution, art, and culture like deaf-mutes. They come to Paris for a holiday only to see the monuments and theatres. They thus imbibe only a kind of Anglo-Indian culture. We dislike the typical Anglo-Indian; but we are all Anglo-Indians in our intellectual life. We are surfeited with mouldy English literature and ideals. German is the language of science and research. Many of the books that are read by students in England are mere translations from German. Technical education is admittedly at its best in Germany. Our leaders know only the London-Bombay-routes and then set up as guides and teachers in this twentieth century. They regard themselves as clever diplomats and politicians and have no first-hand knowledge of the great popular movements of modern Europe. Spanish is also important for those who wish to keep in touch with South American affairs. It is high time that we should begin to devote some energy to the cultivation of the modern European languages.

Our students are supposed to bring back European ideas with them when they come home. What they really learn in England and America is only a stale stew of philistinism and hypocrisy, for which Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard are so famous. Modern India *cannot* advance *rapidly* without drinking deep at the fountain-heads of European life at Geneva, Paris, Rome and Berlin. Paris towers above all other intellectual centres like a giant among pigmies. Light radiates from Paris over the whole benighted world. Victor Hugo rightly called it the workshop of the future civilization. The universities of Switzerland come next as the representatives of modern ideals and methods. Our students should learn French and German at home, and turn their footsteps towards these countries. We need not send shiploads of youngmen to England every year. England is a very sleepy and backward country, though it may appear to be the very mother of progress (and parliaments) to our ignorant graduates. "Erandopi drumāyate."

The Gurukula, the Council of National Education and other national institutions should take the lead in this work. What

is the use of teaching the same Macaulay- and Tennyson selections as are offered by the official universities? Surely we need not be afraid that English will die out from the land very soon. French or German should be a compulsory or optional addition to the curriculum.

Here I would point out that students in Northern India should cut out the absolutely useless Persian course from their studies and take French instead. What good on earth does Persian do to an Indian student in this age? Hafiz and Urfi and Qāāni can rest in peace for a while; Lamartine and Hugo and Brieux are more important just now. The Hindu youth of Upper India waste an immense amount of time in learning Persian and then forgetting it. This mediæval practice should be given up. Of course, Hindustani as a living language, is our mother-tongue, and should be studied.

I would also recommend students, who intend to go abroad, not to specialize in Sanskrit but in some foreign language. There are many persons in India who know Sanskrit, and we can spare a few clever students for the more important work of bringing India into touch with Europe. There is at present no direct cable-service between the Hindu and the European intellect. We should now establish it in the course of the next twenty years. All Hindu youths need not acquire proficiency in English: they can study it with some diligence, but a few should devote themselves more assiduously to French and German.

(2) *Education at European Universities.*—As a corollary to the above, it follows that more students should go to France and Switzerland than to England and America. The Egyptians, the Turks, the Chinese, and the Japanese all study at European and not at English Universities. If the problem of language is solved at home, the European universities will naturally attract many of our students.

(3) *The remodelling of the social life of the upper and middle classes in India.*—

Before India can understand the world, she must learn to live as the world lives. The upper and middle classes must get rid of their antiquated and inefficient ways of living. At present, it is a veritable enterprise for a Hindu to travel in Europe. It

is an ordeal for him. He is so happy to go home as quickly as possible. Besides, he cannot receive any European guests that may visit India. Our mediæval home-life and manners and customs, which some short-sighted nationalists love as emblems of national individuality, are really so many barriers between India and Europe. The habit of rotting in some Indian town in summer should give place to a keen desire for European travel among the upper and middle classes. A nobleman or a merchant should feel about taking a trip to Europe as he now feels about making an excursion to Hardwar or Puri. We must be pilgrims to Europe now. A European trip should be the Gangā-Yātra of all families of even moderate means. In this respect, the Parsis have already set an example. But this state of things cannot be brought about so long as we dote on old Indian ways, whatever their merits may be. Some people think that the past and future of India are bound up with *dal* and *dhoti* and dirty court-yards and the habit of squatting on the floor. Some of our compatriots seem to imagine that India is the only country in the world and that they are living in the tenth century before Christ. They pride themselves on their love of the antique in everything. This sentiment is more worthy of dilettantes than of hard-headed practical men fighting the battle of the perishing millions against tremendous odds in this ruthless age. If people shut themselves up within the four walls of the Zenana of Bharatvarsha, no wonder that they lose touch with the stern realities of life in this era of change and strife, and weave beautiful dreams out of their own imagination near the Gangotri or on the heights of the Himalayas. Instead of playing with effete ideas and customs now, we should face the world clad in the newest equipment of civilization. That is what Japan has done. Japan did not dig up ancient and mediæval Japanese institutions and practices for revival or imitation, when she began to build up her new life. To all earnest thinkers in India, I say: "Look forward and outward, and not backward and inward." The healing balm must be brought from abroad, as Hanumān brought the herbs for Lakshman in the brave days of old.

The boys and girls of the upper and middle

classes should be brought up with a view to their further education in Europe. This ambition should be entertained by all Indian parents of average means. The money now spent on the inevitable marriage can be applied for this purpose. It is a wrong impression in India that education in France and Switzerland is more expensive than at the higher institutions of learning in India. For the wealthy classes, it will not cost much more to study in Europe than at the Government colleges of India. There are thousands of very poor Russian and Polish young men and women at the French and Swiss universities. It would be a blessing and a privilege for Hindu students to know them. I can arrange for the education of Indian boys and girls in these countries for the same expense as is now incurred at Lahore, Roorki, Rajkot and other centres of education for the well-to-do classes in India.

Our daily social life should be *deliberately* and *persistently* modelled on the European ideal by all leaders of opinion. Character is not developed by any particular set of external mechanical contrivances. The upper classes of India cannot lead the country without divesting themselves of the inefficiency, the mediævalism, the shabbiness and the general disorder of their daily life. The process of transformation is already at work. Instead of lamenting it, we should accelerate it. The old order changeth, yielding place to new.

(4) *The Study of Sociology.*—The study of modern social ideals and movements is absolutely necessary for the future development of India. Our people are experts in metaphysics, but they are the veriest tyros in sociology. We should learn that the new isms of Europe are not theological or metaphysical, but sociological in content and import. The days of *dvaita* and *advaita* and Muslim and Hindu and Bābi and Presbyterian are gone. Instead of these old-world divisions, the students of today are wrangling over socialism and darwinism and syndicalism and feminism. These are the vital issues and problems of the twentieth century. But India still quarrels over doctrines and modes of worship and the comparative merits of revealed books, as the Europeans used to do in the middle ages. This mediævalism will

not die out till our young men and women learn to live and move in an intellectual atmosphere emanating from Paris and Geneva and not in the fetid vapours of bankrupt Hindu or Muslim theology and sociology. The study of advanced European thought is the great tonic for India. It is the efficacious antidote to the poison of indolence, stupidity, pessimism and inefficiency that is undermining our vitality. India too will produce worthy leaders of modern thought, but only after her children have assimilated the teachings of the West. How can great thinkers arise in Modern India, when our best men are content to live in the cramped and dead world of ancient books? Life can come only from the living; death alone can come from the dead. Europe is living. India is half-dead. Let us restore India to full vitality by borrowing the elixir of Europe. "Rite Yūrupān na muktiḥ."

The Indian schools and colleges should teach modern sociology to their pupils. The names of the famous modern thinkers

should be familiar to all educated men and women in the country. Russia is full of visionaries and idealists of all kinds cherishing various social ideals. They fight over these new isms as the Hindus of Buddha's day discussed theories of religion and metaphysics. Thus Russia has made moral and intellectual giants out of her sons and daughters. There is no royal road to progress. There is no short cut to liberty and knowledge passing through the tropical jungles of religious bigotry and obscurantism. India cannot evolve new laws of social growth. She must obey the universal forces of social movement. And she must therefore understand them by study and travel and deep reflection.

The world-force stands around India today, and it says—"Assimilate me, or I will eat thee up." And new India should answer: "I know thee, O Time-Spirit. I will not only assimilate thee: I will control and guide and conquer thee."

HAR DAYAL.

THE DACCA UNIVERSITY SCHEME

THE report of the Dacca University Committee is out. In some quarters it has been hailed with joy, while there are others—and they seem to form by far the preponderating majority of the educated—who have received it with a feeling of utter disappointment. From a Committee consisting of some of our foremost public men, the latter expected a clearer perception of the real educational needs of the country, and it is with profound surprise that they are looking at the jubilation of some people over the achievements of the Committee.

Is the scheme a real boon to the people? Are the framers of the scheme to be congratulated on the result of their labours? To the unsophisticated it will appear that had the avowed object of the Committee been to enforce the policy of partition, division or separation, they could not have succeeded better than they have done.

It will be seen that in the matter of studies the Dacca University will be no improvement upon the Calcutta University. In fact it will be straining language too much to call it an improvement; for it prescribes no higher studies than the Calcutta University; on the contrary, it leaves out of account some of the sciences for which the Calcutta University has made provision. Besides, as regards medical education it will be a pitiable adjunct of the Calcutta Medical College. Those who have gone through the Committee's report, must have noticed how the proposed Dacca University has been made a poor hanger-on to the Calcutta University in many other respects.

When the Viceroy's intention of founding a University at Dacca became first known to the public, we heard much talk about a humble beginning being made. The beginning of the Dacca University as regards the studies, as depicted in the Committee's report

is humble indeed—humble enough to excite the pity of an aspirant after higher studies. But after all studies may not be a material point for the consideration of a university of to-day.

Let it not be supposed that it is a great advantage that the Dacca University will be instrumental in imparting education to a number of our young one. For these young men might as well be educated under the Calcutta University. And that question papers will be set at Dacca rather than in Calcutta makes wonderfully little difference.

As regards plucked students the Dacca University will be as much a step-mother to them as, or even more so than, her elder sister. It is difficult to understand why our educational authorities look upon plucked students with such disfavour. Is success in a University examination at the first attempt any unfailing test of merit? Who is there who does not know that a large percentage of our ablest and most intelligent men dispersed all over the country once belonged to the class of plucked students? Even that eminent litterateur, Rai Kaliprasanna Ghosh Bahadur, of whom any community might feel proud, got plucked in the Entrance Examination. And it is yet to be ascertained whether the failure of some examinees is due more to their own demerit or to the vagaries of the University itself. A friend of mine who got plucked in the B.A. examination, passed the next year with double Honours. Under these circumstances the unwillingness of those who hold the destinies of our young men in their hands to admit plucked students into our colleges, is really inexplicable unless it be that it is the easiest and safest way to shut the doors of the University to some aspirant after higher education. And it is painful to imagine what is in store for the plucked students of Dacca under the proposed university. While owing to the large number of colleges situated all over the country under the Calcutta University plucked students can yet get themselves admitted into some college or other, the narrow limits of the Dacca University will make it next to impossible for them to continue their studies. Nor can we expect Calcutta to take in the failures of Dacca, while she is bent upon excluding what she considers her own failures.

So in respect of these and other similar matters we see no reason to exult over the achievements of the Dacca University Committee. In fact in these respects the Dacca University bids fair to be but a miserable imitation and in some ways, a poor parasite of the Calcutta University with fewer facilities for the development of the latent faculties of our young men.

But it is not exclusively or even mainly for these that we are disappointed in the scheme. On every point the new university proposes to make a departure from the route chalked out for herself by the Calcutta University, it is distinctly retrograde and infinitely worse. The prominent new features of the Dacca University appear to us to be the following:—

- I. A College for the well-to-do.
- II. A Mahomedan College.
- III. Its residential character.

It is refreshing to find that Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh has recorded his note of dissent regarding the proposed College for the well-to-do. Our only regret is that the dissent does not go far enough. But what is the position of Babu Ananda Chandra Roy? The whole country is infinitely grateful to him for the immense service that he has done to Bengal since the beginning of the Partition agitation. It would have been in the fitness of things had this eminent son and intellectual head of East Bengal recorded his note of dissent against the one predominant spirit that pervades the whole scheme. And it may not be in the lot of this veteran to have a hand in the accomplishment of yet another thing of such supreme importance as the Dacca University.

Be that as it may, it is really surprising that in these days of democracy one should think of a separate college for the well-to-do. The Dacca University professes to follow the model of Oxford and Cambridge. Are there separate colleges for the aristocracy and the commoners at Oxford and Cambridge or in any part of Europe? Does not even the Prince of Wales attend Oxford institutions in common with the humblest of his Majesty's subjects? Are there separate colleges for the plutocrats of America in the Harvard or in the Yale University? It is well-known that in America there are undergraduates who, during the vacations, earn

by the sweat of their brow what they live upon during the 'terms.' Yet the Vanderbilts and Goulds, Rockfellers and Leiters never even dream of founding a college for themselves to be shut against the unhallowed presence of the swarthy undergraduate hailing from the workshop. Do the so-called aristocrats of Bengal think that they form a higher class than the multimillionaires of America? Or do they pretend that they can pay better for the education of their children? But perhaps we are unjust to our zemindars. For after all it may not be they themselves who think so; but it may be only those whose interest it is to sing lullaby to them, who pretend to think so.

It may be said that the sons of Zemindars cannot live in the style in which the poorer people of this country do. If it is so, they may have more comfortable boarding accommodation. But that does not require or justify the foundation of a separate college for them. A separate college for the well-to-do can have only one effect, *viz.*, to sever the landed aristocracy of East Bengal from the moral and intellectual kinship with the educated middle class. An aristocracy in the English sense of the term does not exist in Bengal. The land-laws framed by the British Government, the Hindu as well as the Mahomedan law of inheritance and the caste rules that obtain in the Hindu society all tend to prevent the formation of an exclusive class like the aristocracy that feudalism brought into existence in England. But when the State accords to the youthful sons of zemindars the honour of a separate college kept free from the contamination of association with the untouchable proletariat, their callow minds may naturally imbibe a feeling of contempt for the latter.

A separate college for the well-to-do will also serve to stunt the growth of those virtues that emulation and free competition in a University tend to develop. Dr. Johnson's well-known remark that the law of primogeniture is good in so far as it serves to make only one fool in the family, has passed almost into a bye-word. The unwillingness of the sons of zemindars to take the trouble of educating themselves, is proverbial. Now a great remedy for this unhappy state of things would be the development in them of a healthy spirit of emula-

tion for the qualities that are in evidence in the students of the humbler classes whom hunger prompts to study and all that that means. And this requires association between the two classes of students which is exactly the thing that the Dacca University Committee will prohibit.

While the enlightenment of the present age has pronounced its verdict against the system of castes, the Dacca University Committee are for creating a new caste of the well-to-do. The dissociation of class from class thus effected will lay the axe at the root of the very University life that the Dacca University proposes to bring into existence.

We next come to the Mahomedan College, which is the most objectionable feature of the scheme. This College will have a branch and a special branch for Islamic studies. The Committee think that a college for such studies was a long-felt desideratum; and so, it would seem, weighed down with a overwhelming sense of their duty they have made provision for the study of Islamic subjects. But did their sense of duty forsake them when they happened to think of the Hindus? For one Sanskrit College in Calcutta there are several Madrasahs in Bengal. If these Madrasahs have failed to help on 'Islamic studies,' equally have the Calcutta Sanskrit College failed to promote 'Hindu studies'. If, then, the Dacca University has to provide for the study of 'Islamic subjects' why should it not provide for the study of 'Hindu subjects' as well? Do the framers of the scheme mean that the ancient literature and philosophy, history and mythology of the Hindus count for nothing? Or, are we to understand that the Hindus must be ignored when placed side by side with the Mahomedans? We could overlook the old-world narrow-mindedness that prompted the proposal for the foundation of the College for Islamic studies, if the Committee had included a 'Hindu College' in their scheme. For then in spite of a sad want of intellectual fitness for appreciating the requirements of an up-to-date modern University the Committee could have at least the credit for impartiality, though we may assure them that we should not at all like that such a College should be a part of the Dacca University. Nor do we grudge our

Moslem fellow-countrymen this little bit of favour done to them by the Committee, though we cannot honestly congratulate them on it as we firmly believe that the old-world theological education can never make for the real progress of a nation. And we are only too glad that the partiality of the Committee has saved the Hindus of East Bengal from the pernicious effects of such a theological education. But we take strong exception to the spirit that underlies this preferential treatment of a particular class.

In spite of all the loud cry for religious education which is dinned into our ears now-a-days we are always afraid of what they call 'religious education.' There are catchwords that often carry away the unthinking multitude. Sometimes even people with pretensions to culture allow themselves to be carried away by these catchwords for fear of being considered heterodox in case of dissent. The term 'religious education' is such a catchword. People seem to think that because religion is good, therefore, religious education must be equally good. But had it ever occurred to the advocates of religious education that what they advocate is really theological education and not religious education? Books cannot teach faith in God or love of man. A school can teach only the doctrines and dogmas of particular creeds. And the very fact that they speak of teaching the principles of Islam to the Moslem students and of Hinduism to the Hindu students, is a clear proof that they want to teach theology in our schools and colleges in the name of religion. But we cannot expect such logical analysis of ideas from those who labour under such hopeless confusion of thought, or from those who do not like that the minds of our young men should be liberated from the bondage of custom and tradition.

While the study of science liberates the mind by producing the habit of accepting truth for its own sake and of rejecting whatever is demonstrated to be false, and has an immense educational value in so far as it stimulates the love of independent inquiry, the study of theology works in a diametrically opposite direction by engendering love of authority and stifling independent thought. We feel infinitely grateful to the British Government for its successful

dissociation of education from theology, after our people had suffered for ages from such utter intellectual and moral enslavement. And in a country inhabited by the followers of so many creeds, it is in the fitness of things that theology should have nothing to do with the national system of education. If once sectarian education succeed in imparting a theological bias to our young men, there is no knowing to what lengths fanaticism may lead all the heterogeneous and divergent elements of Indian society. The wisdom of the traditional policy of religious neutrality hitherto pursued by Government has been proved almost to demonstration and recognised by one and all. It is extremely unfortunate that that policy is going to be tampered with at least in part by this unhappy experiment at University education. For the 'Islamic subjects' must include Islamic theology. But of this no more here.

Then again the Mahomedan College will have a general branch and all the Mahomedan students shall, if possible, be accommodated in the first instance in the Mahomedan College. We may add its corollary, which the committee did not care to express in so many words, *viz.*, that the Hindu students will be, at least in practice, if not in theory, shut out from the Mahomedan College. Now, if a College for the study of 'Islamic subjects' was a long felt desideratum, was this also a long-felt desideratum that the Hindu and the Moslem students should not be allowed to attend the same College? A College for Islamic studies must of course be a separate College. But why should that College have a general branch also specially reserved for Mahomedan students? Why cannot the Mahomedan students receive education in the ordinary Arts Colleges along with the Hindus? So to put the matter clearly denuded of the cover of carefully selected names, what the Committee mean is that there should be colleges of arts and sciences for the ordinary Hindus, a separate college for the zemindars and other well-to-do people, and a separate college for Mahomedans for the study of the arts and sciences with a special branch for the study of Mahomedan theology and the allied subjects. So the Committee have done their best to place as many impedi-

ments as they possibly can to the growth of unity among the future generations. Even the Aligarh propaganda which in the past had such a distinct tendency to alienate the Moslems from the Hindus did not go so far. For it must be said to the credit of Sir Sayid Ahmed and his followers that the Hindu students had free access to the Aligarh College in common with the Moslem students. Though the Aligarh College was a specially Mahomedan College, the Mahomedan founders of the College did not think it proper or expedient to reserve the College exclusively for the Moslem students. But yet after the lapse of so many years since the foundation of the Aligarh College the framers of the Dacca University scheme could hit upon nothing better than a separation of class from class more complete than anything hitherto attempted in India.

The main utility of a University in these days of cheap books and easy inter-communication may be said to consist in

- I. That it makes education easy.
- II. That it produces a unity of ideas and ideals by moulding the minds of the students after the same types.
- III. That it leads to the formation of friendship in college days lasting through life.

It is a trite saying that the debating clubs of Oxford and Cambridge are the nursing ground for the future statesmen of England. Several years ago an English paper referring to the comparatively large number of political parties in France commented adversely on the unity of the French people. In reply a French paper retorted that England had only two parties because there were only two great men in England, *viz.*, Gladstone and Salisbury; whereas France could boast of a number of great men and had, therefore, as many parties. Now, whatever the French paper might say out of self-love, it is well-known that England owes her greater solidarity in this respect to a great extent to the fact that the would-be politicians of England imbibe the same inspiration in their youth at Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover it has been said by those who know, that the friendships formed at Oxford and Cambridge have a most important and abiding effect on the public life of England. But the Dacca University will be power-

fully instrumental in preventing both these most important effects of University education from being produced in our young men. The difference of ideals as foreshadowed by the College of Arts and the Islamic College is as wide as the world; and the chances of friendships being formed between young men following the different creeds and belonging to different social grades are the remotest under the rules prescribed for the admission of students of different sects and sections into mutually exclusive colleges. And such an unhappy arrangement is most inopportune at a time when the leaders of both the communities are doing their best to bridge the gulf that separates the Hindu from the Moslem.

Both Hindu and Mahomedan youths are now being educated together in the same schools and colleges and the country naturally expects that such comradeship and healthy intellectual competition will lead to the formation of friendship and unification of ideals that will ultimately bring about lasting unity between the two great branches of the Indian people. A university that aims at the real progress of the people must try to do all it can to help on that consummation so devoutly to be wished. But the Dacca University Committee have succeeded only in making the already existing separation wider still by making it impossible for young men of the two communities to sit together at the feet of the same preceptor.

And this dissociation of class from class and their theological bias of education that the Islamic studies are almost sure to generate can have but one effect, *viz.*, to create yet another centre of education that will accentuate the already existing differences between the different sections of this unhappy people.

Then as regards the residential character of the Dacca University, the less said of it, the better. After what we have said above, a lengthy discussion of it is unnecessary. If only a few hostels for ordinary Hindu students, and a few more for Mahomedans, supplemented, it may be, by one or more for the sons of zemindars, make university life, then certainly the Dacca University will be a residential one. But we are afraid mere physical occupation of particular quarters is not the only, or even the main

requisite of a residential university. For then the Calcutta University, as far as it relates to the Calcutta colleges, would be as good a residential university as any in the world. The real essence of a residential university is the moral and intellectual life that it quickens into existence in young men as members of a corporate body and controlled and fostered by it. But with all the elements of separation and dissension above referred to, how can we expect in the Dacca University that feeling of corporate life and that spirit of healthy emulation that are the principal factors in the development of those qualities of head and heart that are expected from a residential university?

There is yet another point to which we must advert before we have done. The justification for the curtailment of the natural freedom of individual man lies in the resultant total well-being of the corporate life of society. Any restraint upon natural freedom beyond what is just necessary for that purpose, is unjustifiable and injurious to boot. For absence of freedom dwarfs growth, both moral and physical. The limb that cannot move freely, cannot grow. The young stripling cannot

grow to the fullest height when it is obstructed by the massive branch of an over-hanging tree. Now young men in a residential university have many restrictions put upon their natural freedom over and above those imposed upon the students of a non-residential university. The corporate life of the former is regarded as more than a compensation for this curtailment of freedom. But under the Dacca University while the compensating advantages of corporate university life will be of the smallest, as pointed out above, the restraints upon the freedom of the students will be as complete as in any other residential university. It will be specially so in the case of the middle class Hindu students as is quite clear from the report of the Committee. Thus our young men will labour under a double disadvantage: they will lose a good part of their freedom to the prejudice of the healthy growth of manhood in them; but there is little prospect of compensation for this loss in the form of the development of that University life that one looks for at Oxford and Cambridge.

PARESH NATH BANERJI, B.A.,
Pleader, Dacca.

THE ACTS OF THE POLISH NATION AND OF THE POLISH PILGRIMS

BY ADAM MICKIEWICZ.

BOOK II.

The Book of the Polish Pilgrims.

IV.

THE princes and the magistrates of this century are the tall trees that attract the lightning, and the wisdom of this century is the great ocean.

Do not believe that power is bad in itself, or that knowledge is bad in itself; it is men who have corrupted them.

For the magistrate's bench, according to Christ, was a cross upon which a just man allowed himself to be nailed and tortured for the good of others.

And kings were anointed, like the priests, to receive the grace of sacrifice. And the

vicar of Christ called himself the humblest of his servitors.

And knowledge, according to Christ, ought to be the Divine Word, the bread and the source of life. Christ said, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

And so long as it was thus, knowledge and power were esteemed. But, subsequently, vile men fought among themselves for power, as for a warm and snug bed on which to sleep; and they estimated a public office as a tavern on the highway--by what it brought in.

And learned men distributed poison instead of bread, and their voice was like the

whirr of empty mills, in which is wanting the grain of Faith, and which make their din without giving nourishment to anyone.

And you have become as the touchstone of princes and of the doctors of this world, for, during your pilgrimage, you have, thank God, received more help from beggars than from princes; and during your fights, in your prisons, and in your poverty, you were better satisfied with a prayer than with all the science of Voltaire and of Hegel, who are as poison; and than all the doctrines of—or—who are like empty mills producing nothing but sound.

It is for this reason that knowledge and power have fallen into contempt.

But you have received the mission from on high to rehabilitate science and power in your own land, and in all Christendom.

For your superiors are not by any means those who sleep the most peacefully in their posts and draw the largest profits from their employment.

But those that have the greatest anxieties and the least sleep; and that are persecuted and decried more than you who have abandoned the greatest riches and the vastest domains; and that would be subjected to the most cruel tortures if they fell into the power of the enemy.

Among you, you know that the best of your senators, your nuncios and your generals, are the most guilty in the eyes of the Tsar of Moscow, and those whom he calls the most guilty are the most worthy of esteem, and those whom he shall have put to death by torture shall be saints in the eyes of God and of man.

And the wise men are not those among you who have enriched themselves by selling their talents, and who have bought lands and houses, and whom the kings have loaded with gold and heaped with favours.

But those only who have spoken unto you the word of Liberty, who have undergone prison and the knout; and those who have suffered most are the most worthy of esteem.

Verily, I say unto you, that Europe shall learn from you who are those who should be called wise and powerful. For now in Europe, power is disgrace and wisdom is folly.

And if any one of you shall say—"Look! we are without any weapon except our

pilgrim's staff; and how shall we change the established order in great and powerful states?"

Let him who speaks thus consider that the Roman Empire was wide as the world, and the Emperor of Rome was as powerful as all the kings together.

And lo! Christ sent against him twelve simple men. But as these men had the holy spirit, the spirit of devotion, they vanquished the Emperor.

And if any one of you shall say—"We are nothing but illiterate soldiers, and how shall we convince the wise men of the most enlightened and most civilized countries?"

Let him who speaks thus remember that the wise men of Athens were reputed as the most enlightened and most civilized of men; and they were conquered by the word of the apostles; for when the apostles commenced to preach in the name of God and of Liberty, the people abandoned the wise men and followed the apostles.

V.

You are frequently told that you are in the midst of civilized nations, and that you ought to civilize yourselves by their example. But learn that those who talk of civilization do not themselves understand the sense of their words.

The word "civilization" is derived from the Latin word "*civis*," a citizen; and signified "civism." A citizen was a man who devoted himself to his country, like Scaevola, Curius and Decius; and such devotion was an act of "civism." It was a pagan virtue, less perfect than the Christian virtue, which orders self-sacrifice not only for one's country but for all men. Nevertheless it was without doubt a virtue.

But later, when idolatry had produced confusion in languages, "civilization" came to mean elegant and exquisite attire, sumptuous living, comfortable hotels, fine shows and wide roads.*

Not only a Christian, but certainly even a pagan of Rome, if he came again to life and saw the men who call themselves civilized to-day, would be indignant, and would enquire of them by what right they dared to arrogate to themselves a title derived from the word *civis*, a citizen.

* In one word, the English "comfort," which seems to have dethroned the primitive and only real signification of the word "civilization,"

Do not admire, then, the nations that grow fat upon "Well-Being," or that are industrious and well-administered.

For if a wealthy nation that eats well and drinks well is to be the most esteemed, you ought also to respect those men among you who are the most corpulent and the most robust. Animals can possess the same qualities; but for man something more is needed.

And if industrious nations ought to be considered perfect, the ants surpass all in industry. But for man something more is needed.

And if the best administered nations are to be regarded as perfect, where is there a better administration than in a bee-hive? But for man something more is needed.

For the only civilization worthy of men is the Christian civilization.

—A citizen had several sons, and he himself brought them up in piety and virtue, and when the eldest had grown out of their infancy he sent them to a large school.

And these sons, being virtuous and diligent, studied well and earned general esteem. They prospered and made great progress in knowledge and wisdom.

And finding that everything went as they wished, they became arrogant and said to themselves, "Men respect us and justly so, for in knowledge we are far greater than they; and it is fitting that we should be better lodged, better dressed, and enjoy more of the world than others."

But as their father sent them only enough money for their needs, not for their caprices, they ceased to apply to their father; they broke with him and began to get money for themselves, at first by honest means, then by contracting debts on their inheritance, and they found a money-lender who accommodated them freely, fore-seeing their ruin. And when they became anxious and miserable, they sought to forget their troubles by drinking and debauchery, and said to each other, "Our father has clearly pointed out to us the evil effects of debauchery and drunkenness; but since we have arrived at the age of reason, let us try to enjoy ourselves by indulging in liquors and pleasures within measure, and in a manner befitting reasonable men."

But presently they lost all measure, and became great drunkards, and great debau-

chees, and, for obtaining money at any price, swindlers, also. The money-lender, however, having obtained a judgment against them and being already in possession of their estate, lent them no more.

So they were in great distress, and the father having learnt of their misbehaviour, disinherited them; and they were handed over to the money-lender so that they might be made to work till the debt was completely discharged. And as they worked, they recalled the advice of their father and thought within themselves—"Severely indeed have we been punished for not having followed it." But as they were stubborn, they refused to repent and write to their father who was weeping for them. So these men who had sinned shamelessly before the whole world, were ashamed of the convicts who worked in chains by their side, and were afraid lest these convicts should say, "Look at these pusillanimous and weak-hearted men who cry and implore their father's pardon." And thus they died.

Seeing all this, their neighbours said,—
"These young men were virtuous so long as they remained in their father's house; but as soon as they went to school and became learned they were corrupted. Knowledge, then, must be a bad thing; let us bring up our children in ignorance."

Now, the father was a man of experience; and not allowing himself to be discouraged by his misfortunes, he sent his younger sons also to the large school; but he placed before them the example of their elder brothers. So they never forgot the warning of their father, and made as much progress in knowledge as their elder brothers had done, and were ever virtuous and respected, and proved to their neighbours that knowledge is a good thing if one obeys one's father.

This father is the Christian Church; the elder brothers were the French, the Germans, &c., the money was well-being and wordly glory; the money-lender was the Devil; and the younger brothers will be the Poles, the Irish and the Belgians and other faithful believers.

VI.

Who are the men on whom your country founded her highest hopes, and still founds them to the present day?

Are they the men who dressed the most elegantly or who danced with the most grace, or who had the finest cuisine? No, for the greater part of these men had no love of country.

Or those who have long been engaged in war, and who have exercised themselves in marches, manœuvres, evolutions, and dissertations on the military art? No, for the greater part of these men had no faith in the cause of their country.

But rather the men whom you call good Poles, the men full of devotion, the faithful and simple soldiers, and the youth.

Now, the world is like a *patrie*, and the peoples are like individuals. The *patrie* of the peoples has based its hopes on the peoples who are believers, full of hope and full of love.

Verily, I say unto you—it is not you who should bring yourselves up in the civilization of the Gentiles; it is rather you whose duty it is to teach them the true Christian civilization.

It is good to acquire a profession, an art or a science; not only from Europeans but from the Turks and even from savages one may learn the most useful things. Acquire knowledge, then, so that you may be able to live by the labour of your hands, just like the apostles who lived as carpenters, as weavers, as coopers, but without ever forgetting that they were apostles called to teach far higher things than all the industries and sciences and arts.

Refrain from dealing with the Gentiles by speeches and discussions; for they are full of cries and shouts, like school boys, and the most learned of masters will never have the last word with an insolent and bawling school boy.

Instruct them, therefore, by your own example, and reply to their babbling by the parables of the Testament and the parables of the Book of the Pilgrims.

VII.

— In the olden days, when the first town was constructed upon the earth, it happened that a fire broke out in this town.

Some of the inhabitants rose from their beds and looked out of their windows, and seeing that the conflagration was far off, went to bed again and slept.

Others, seeing the fire nearer at hand, remained at their doors, saying: "When the fire reaches us, it will be time to extinguish it."

But the fire spread with violence, and consumed the houses of those who watched at their doors; while those who went to sleep were burnt along with their houses.

There were, however, some sincere and zealous men also; these, seeing the fire, left their houses and went to the succour of their neighbours, but as there were only a few such men, their succour was of no avail.

And the town was burnt down. The zealous men set themselves to rebuild it with the help of their neighbours, and as all the people of the surrounding country aided them, the town arose larger and more beautiful than ever.

And those who did not run to the fire but remained only at their doors, were banished from the town, and perished of hunger.

And a decree was passed in the town that in case of fire, all the inhabitants should help, some with ladders, some with water, some with hooks; or at least appoint a body of night watchmen for the purpose of extinguishing fires.

And this law and these orders were subsequently adopted in all towns, and the inhabitants were able to sleep without fear of fires.

Now, this town is Europe; the fire is the enemy of Europe, *viz.*, despotism; the men asleep are the Germans, and the men who remain at their doors are the French and the English; and the zealous and devoted men are the Poles.

VIII.

In former times, there were in England great farmers who possessed large herds of oxen and large flocks of sheep.

But the wolves often made inroads upon their fields and ravaged them.

So the English took their guns and their dogs; they hunted and killed the wild beasts, but as fast as the wolves were exterminated in one place they reappeared in another; and for every wolf that was killed there were born ten. And the farmers who were always pursuing the wolves, became impoverished, forced as they were to

keep many dogs and purchase fire-arms. Their oxen and sheep had perished.

Other farmers, however, who were wiser, said to themselves: "Let us hem the wolves in the forests, and track them down to their very dens." But other wolves came from other forests, and these farmers also grew poorer, and lost their flocks.

Being thus impoverished, they went to their neighbours and said: "Let us assemble all the people, let us hunt down the wolves during a whole year until we shall have exterminated them from the island." For England is an island.

So they all went and hunted till they had destroyed the entire race of wolves. Then they laid down their arms, and let their dogs roam about freely; and their flocks graze peacefully without a shepherd from that time down to our own day.

IX.

There was once in Italy a canton very fertile in olives and in rice, but very unhealthy, because each summer *malaria*, or bad air, attacked it bringing fever and death.

Among the inhabitants of this canton, some fumigated their houses and spent a great deal of money on perfumes; others built walls on the western side from which came the epidemic; others again ran away during the unhealthy season. Nevertheless, all died, and the canton became deserted, and its rivers and its groves of olives became the habitation of wild boars.

And the malaria spread to another canton, and the inhabitants began over again their fumigations and their desertions, until a wise man appeared and said to them:

"This bad air has its origin far away in a marsh fifty miles from here; go there and drain the marsh by diverting all the water that is in it; and if you yourselves die of fever, your children will inherit the fruit of your labours, and the whole canton will bless you."

But these lazy men hesitated to go so far, and they feared death; and presently they died in their beds. The malaria, however, pursued its course, and already ten cantons are infected.

For whosoever does not venture to leave his house to go out and face evil and extirpate it from the earth, will see the evil

come to meet him and stare him in the face.

X.

Remember only that you are amongst the Gentiles, like sheep among wolves, and like a camp in a hostile country; and harmony will reign among you.

The blunderers among you are like sheep that separate themselves from the flock because they do not scent the wolf; or like soldiers who wander away from their camp because they do not see the enemy, but if they saw them and scented them, they would remain united.

And you have for enemies, not only the diabolical trinity, but also all those who speak and act in the name of this trinity; their number is great among the Gentiles—all the worshippers of Force, of Equilibrium, of Arrondissement, and of Egoism.

You are not all equally good; but the worst of you is better than a Gentile who styles himself good, for each one of you has the spirit of sacrifice.

And if any of you differ from the others, it is because they dress like the Gentiles. Some wear a red cap *à la française*; others put on ermine, *à l'anglaise*; others muffle themselves up in gowns and square caps *à l'allemande*. And under these disguises, a mother would not recognize her own children.

But when all shall dress like Poles in their *polonaises*, they will all recognize one another as brothers, all will go and sit on their mother's knee, and she will kiss them all with the same love.

Do not incessantly rake up the past to bring to light errors and crimes. You know that the confessor forbids us not only to recall our past sins, but even more strongly to speak of them to others; for such recollections and such conversations make us fall again into sin.

Do not cry out; "Here is a man who bears a stain, I must point it out. There is a man who has committed such and such faults." Rest assured, there will always be enough men whose duty it will be to ransack this dung-heap, and enough judges whose business it will be to judge them, and executioners to punish them.

When you pass through the town, is it your function to clean the pavements if

there is mud on them? And if you come across a thief who is being conducted to prison, is it for you to drag him to the gallows? There are other men who concern themselves with these things.

And such men will never be wanting. For example, when a dynasty of executioners recently became extinct in a French town three hundred and sixty-six candidates presented themselves for the post.

In speaking of the past if you repeat: "In such a battle, such a fault was committed; and in such another battle such another fault, and such and such a fault on such and such a march,"—that is well. But do not believe that you are for that reason very able men; for it is easy to observe the faults and difficult to appreciate the good qualities.

If on a painting occurs a black spot or a hole, the first blockhead that comes along will notice it; but only the connoisseur will realize the beauties of the picture.

Good men judge by beginning from the good side.

In preparing oneself for the future, one ought to go back mentally on the past, but only as a man who wishing to clear a ditch retreats a few paces to take a better spring.

You are among the Gentiles as shipwrecked men on an unknown sea.

— A vessel having run aground, a part of its crew took refuge on a foreign shore.

Now, there were among the men who had saved themselves, soldiers, sailors and seamen, artisans, and scholars who wrote books.

They began lamenting their fate and wished to return to their native land. So they entered upon a discussion.

The people of this bank would give them neither a vessel nor a canoe, and being avaricious they would not even give them wood except for money.

So they went into a forest, and commenced to examine the trees and to discuss the number of these trees that they would need, and the kind of vessel they would have to construct. Should it be a vessel like the old one, or, should it be constructed on a new model? A frigate, a brig or a schooner?

Hearing the noise of the dispute, however, the men of the shore hastened there and

drove the shipwrecked men out of the wood.

So they recommenced their lamentations and again entered upon a discussion.

Some said that the wreck was due to the fault of the pilot, and wished to slay the pilot; but he had already been drowned. Others accused the sailors; but as only a few of the sailors had survived they did not dare to kill them through fear of being unable to guide themselves on the sea; they therefore contented themselves with reprimanding them and making fun of them.

Some pointed out that the wreck was due to the north wind; others incriminated the west wind; others again charged a submarine rock. And there arose among them a great quarrel which lasted a whole year, and yet nothing was decided.

Then they said: "Let us separate and look for means of existence." So the carpenters went to hew timber, the masons to plaster walls, and the scholars to write books for the Gentiles; each workman according to his profession.

And it came to pass that they all sighed for their country; the one set did not know how to build after the measurements of the Gentile architects; the other did not know the writing of the Gentiles.

So they began their lamentations over again, and entered upon a fresh discussion.

But there was among them a simple man who had up to that point kept silence, for he was of a peaceful temperament. He said to them:—

"In working for means of livelihood you forget that we ought to return to our country, and we cannot return there except on a vessel and by sea.

"While, therefore, each of you is making houses, walls or books, let each one buy an axe and also learn how to swim.

"And let those of you who are sailors study the sea, the shores and the winds of this country.

"And when we are prepared, we shall go into this wood, and we shall quickly construct a vessel for ourselves before the men of this place have the time to discover it; and if they wish to prevent us, we have our hatchets and shall be able to cope with them."

They said therefore:—

"Let us proceed to the choice of a pilot."

Some wished him to be very old; others very young. The masons wanted one, the scholars another. And this dispute lasted half a year, without any decision being arrived at.

So the same simple man said to them: "Choose first a carpenter who will quickly make you a vessel, and, for the moment, have it constructed after the old model, for we have not the time to try a new one.

"And when we are on board and have set sail, we shall collect together those of us who are sailors, and shall make them elect a pilot from among themselves.

"The sailors would not wish to be therefore drowned, any more than we, and would choose a good pilot.

"And even if we are then in disagreement, we shall soon put an end to it, for the rebels will be handcuffed or thrown overboard. But as long as we are on this bank our disagreements will never cease, for we are not allowed to kill or imprison any one."

They acted on his advice, and the shipwrecked men set sail happily.

XII.

In your assemblies and your deliberations do not imitate the Gentiles.

For some of you begin your speeches, your conversations—all of which things demand wisdom and harmony—by a dinner or a supper, by eating and drinking.

Now, who has ever known a loaded stomach to produce wisdom; or that harmony and concord ever arose from wine-sodden brains; or that meat and drink ever caused one's country to be resuscitated?

Such meetings never succeed, for as the beginning, so is the end.

Medical men know that a child conceived when the father is in drink is generally an idiot or dies before his time.

Do you, therefore, enter upon your councils and assemblies after the custom of your fathers, by going to mass and communion; and that which shall have been resolved upon in this manner shall be wise.

For men have never been known to blunder or become cowards on the day on which they had piously approached the Holy Table.

Once you have entered a council or as-

sembly, humble yourself in your own eyes, for without humility there can be no harmony.

And that is why one does not say to men: "Rise to harmony," but "Let yourselves incline to harmony."*

For he who wishes to bind together into a bundle the tops of trees, must first bend them down; so also, bend your proud understandings and you will have peace.

In your fêtes, do not imitate the idolaters; for the idolaters among whom you live, celebrate the anniversaries both of rejoicing and of mourning in the same manner, that is to say, by eating and drinking; the stomach and the table are their gods and their altars.

You, on the contrary, celebrate your anniversaries,—the fête of the insurrection,† the fête of Grochow,‡ the fête of Wawer§—after the custom of your grandsires, by going in the morning to church and fasting all day.

And the money that is saved on that day at your table, give it to your leaders for the maintenance of your mother, the country. And for such an act of solemnity, you will not need to take the permission of a magistrate, nor to rent a large house, nor to assemble in crowds in the public places.

In your costumes, do not imitate the Gentiles, for the idolaters among whom you live wish to make the magistrate's bench respected not by its zeal but by its costume; and they fashion it in purple and ermine, and make it look like a prostitute all painted and decked out, who, the uglier she grows, the more attention she pays to her toilette.

You, however, old and young, should wear the *Polonaise*||, for you are all soldiers of your country and in Poland this was the costume given to men who were put to death.

Who indeed is there that would not recognize under the *Polonaise* the man who

* This distinction is much clearer in Polish, and is difficult to translate.

† 29 November, 1830.

‡ Victory gained by 30,000 Polish troops over 100,000 Russian troops on 25th February, 1831.

§ Victory gained on Good Friday and Easter eve, 1831.

|| The Polish name of this costume is *czamara* (pronounced *chamara*.)

conquered at Waver; or the man who was victorious at Stoczek; or the man who directed the retreat of the Lithuanian army or the man who commanded the regiment of Volhynie; or the man who was the first to cry out: "Down with Nicholas!" Their names are sufficiently known to the world.

But who knows the names of the King of Naples or the King of Sardinia, although they wear the royal purple?

And if any of them are known at all, it is because they distinguish themselves by their depravity and their turpitude; just as in a small town every one knows the names of the notorious bandit and the famous juggler, and of the mountebank who runs the streets for the amusement of the people.

Of this kind is the fame of the Tsar Nicholas, and of the little tsar don Miguel, and of the little tsar of Modena.

Wear, then, the *polonaise*.

And if any one has to wear a more sumptuous costume, and he has the means to do so, let him act thus: if the garment costs ten crowns, let him after paying that price, lay aside ten crowns more for the costume of the country. You will do the same as regards your food and your dwelling, which will be those of soldiers, and you will submit all that exceeds the ordinary limit to a charitable tax.

Do not, however, control others as regards their food, their dress or their dwelling; but pay attention to your own selves, for this advice has been written that you may apply it not to others but to yourselves.

Be indulgent to others and severe with yourselves; for as you judge others, so will you be judged.

Again, ponder over the following secret:—

That a man who judges his neighbour with too much harshness for a fault, whether of timidity, or of negligence, or of changeableness, is himself on the point of falling into the same fault, and will be judged similarly by others.

This is a secret which a certain pious Pole has found out, and which he now reveals to you.

A coward is taxed most severely by other cowards; a thief by other thieves; a madman is especially scoffed at by other madmen.

A wise and courageous man is indulgent in his words. If, however, he becomes a leader or a judge, and if the people arm him with the power of the sword, then he is severe; he judges and punishes according to his conscience, for the whole people decrees through his mouth, and the hand of the people kills with his sword.

And the vain man is severe in his words as long as he remains in the crowd; but as soon as he is appointed a chief of the people and begins to judge, he betrays his little worth, for he is timid and partial, and he judges not after the heart of the people but according to his friendships and his animosities.

If you say unjustly of some one: "He is a traitor!"; or if you say unjustly of some one: "He is a spy!", you may be certain that at that very instant others say the same of you.

Do not produce division among yourselves by saying: "I am of the old army and you of the new; I was at Grochow and at Ostrolenka, but you only at Ostrolenka; I have been a soldier, whereas you are only an insurgent; I am a Mazour* and you a Lithuanian."

Let those who talk thus read in the scriptures the parable of the labourers who came to work in the vineyard; some were called in the morning, others at noon, and others in the evening, and they all received the same wage. And those who came earliest envied the rest; and the Lord said to them: "Envious men! what have you to complain of? Have you not received your salary?"

The Mazour and the Lithuanian are brothers; do brothers quarrel among themselves because one is called Ladislav and the other Witold? They have only one name—that of Pole.

XIII.

Do not wrangle over your merits, your orders or your decorations.

—On one occasion, some very courageous soldiers made an assault upon a city. A ladder was placed against the wall, and the army cried out: "The first man to set his foot on the wall will receive the grand cross of military merit."

The first squad rushed at it; and as each

* An inhabitant of Mazow, a Polish province of which Warsaw is the capital.

one wished to be the first on the ladder, they began to fight among themselves; they upset the ladder, and fell from the top of the walls and were killed.

A second ladder was prepared, and a second squad hastened to it, and the one who was the first to jump on to the ladder was followed by his comrades without any opposition.

But the first soldier after having accomplished half the ascent, began to waver; he stopped and obstructed the others. The one who followed him struggled with him, and lifting him from the ladder, hurled him down, causing all the others also to fall to the ground. A great disorder ensued, and all were killed from the height of the walls.

Then a third ladder was put up, and the third squad advanced to scale it. The first soldier was wounded and did not wish to continue; but the one who followed him was a strong man of gigantic size. Without a word, he seized the leader of the file, and holding him with both arms carried him before him, protecting himself with his burden as with a shield. And he placed him on the summit of the wall. Whereupon the others arrived in a file and the citadel was taken.

Then the army assembled in a council of war, and wished to confer the grand cross upon this vigorous soldier. But he spoke to them in this wise:—

"Comrades! you have proclaimed that the first among you to place his foot on the wall shall receive the decoration; here is a wounded soldier who scaled the wall before me. So it is to him the decoration is due; it is through him that God has conquered the city.

"Do not estimate him lightly by saying that he owes the first place only to the agility of his limbs; for agility in a soldier is a quality as commendable as strength and courage.

"Do not say that he has done nothing, for if he had not been wounded before me, it is I who should have received the wound, and perhaps today the city would not be in your hands. For he who covers and defends is equal in every way to him who fights, and the shield is equal in value to the sword. Take back your decoration, for you all know what I have done."

God gives victory by making use of the agility of one, the courage of another, the strength of a third. As soon as a strong or able man, instead of pushing a comrade to the top, flings him down, he creates a disorder resulting in defeat; and if he boasts of his merit he sows discord.

XIV.

Let each of you give his talent to the Motherland, as he throws his alms into the box, in secret and without saying how much he gives. A day will come when the alms-box will be full, and God will keep an account of how much each one has given.

But if you glorify yourself for having offered so much, men will laugh at you and will recognize that you made a gift of your talent only that you might boast about it.

Services rendered to the Motherland are as powder to a cannon.

The man who spreads out his powder over a large surface and sets fire to it, produces a blaze without force, without noise, and without effect.

But the man who places his powder in the earth, buries it deep, and ignites it, not only will convulse the earth and the sea with a great explosion and complete success, but those who witness the explosion will say to themselves: "Certainly a great deal of powder has been used." Only a very little, however, was employed, but in a deeply-buried mine.

So also deeply-hidden merit shows itself in glory. And if anyone conceals it in such a way that it never shows itself on this earth, it will show itself in eternity, and its fame will be unlimited, its glory imperishable, its victory eternal.

A service rendered to the Motherland is like a grain of corn. If a man takes one in his hand, and shows it to everyone in turn, exclaiming: "Look at this fine grain!", he will only cause it to dry up, and will reap no profit.

But the man who sows the grain in the earth and holds himself in patience for some weeks, will see the grain produce an ear of corn.

And he who keeps the grain along with the ear of corn for the coming year, for his future life, will obtain from it a hundred

grains, and from this hundred, thousands of thousands.

Therefore, the longer the wait, the greater is the remuneration, and he who receives nothing for it here below, will receive on high the largest reward of all.

What is to be thought of men who complain: "We have been brave and yet we have received neither a title nor a decoration." Have you then fought only for rank and for ribbons? If a man wishes to fight only for a ribbon or for rank, he has but to hire himself to the Muscovites.

And what is one to think of men who complain: "This man on the right is a coward, and he is decorated; that man on the left is ignorant and he has received a title." Does a good soldier look to the right and to the left when he flings himself upon the enemy? He only looks before him and marches straight. For the man who looks to the right and to the left is a coward. To examine and pass in review is the business of the chief of the army.

And what is to be thought of men who complain: "Our chief has committed a fault in distributing titles and decorations to unworthy men." For everyone easily sees the defects of the chief and not his good qualities; just as everyone sees his own merits without seeing his defects.

Now, very often that which is good in the chief is more necessary to the welfare of the nation than the good that is in us.

Do you not know that God the Son admitted a traitor among the twelve Apostles? If then a mortal chief chooses only five bad men among twelve citizens on whom he confers promotions and decorations, such a leader is perfect.

And among the Apostles, St. John was the best loved, although he was the youngest, and although he had no particular mission, and was neither vicar of Christ like St. Peter, nor destined for the vocation of the Gentiles, as St. Paul, nor treasurer like Judas.

It was John alone, however, who prophesied in the Apocalypse, and who, had the name of Eagle; his end was a mystery, and many believe that he is not yet dead, but lives even to-day; and this belief exists regarding no apostle but St. John.

You see, then, that merit without tem-

porary reward has become more glorious in the course of the ages.

XV.

You are among the Gentiles as hosts in search of guests, to invite them to the banquet of Liberty.

—A certain foolish host having found some guests, first showed them the corners in his house where the sweepings were thrown, and other unclean places, with the result that it made them sick, and no one wished to sit at his table.

But a wise host conducts his guests to the banquetting hall through a spotlessly clean vestibule. There are in every house receptacles for impurities, but hidden from all eyes.

There are people among you who in speaking to foreigners about the Motherland, begin with all the defects in her laws and her institutions; there are others who begin with all that is beautiful and worthy of being seen in the first instance. Now, tell me which among them were the foolish hosts, and which the wise hosts, and which ought to succeed with their guests?

Do not cast pearls before swine. Do not speak to all the Gentiles of the great things your nation has accomplished for the benefit of humanity; for the former will not believe you, the latter will not understand you until after their *conversion*.

—A Christian dwelt near a forest of which he was the guardian. He discovered a brigand who was coming out of the forest and was making his way towards an inn kept by some Jews whom he wished to kill and rob. The brigand said to the forester: "Let us go together to attack the Jews, and we shall share the booty."

The forester had a musket in his hand, but loaded only with small shot for birds. Nevertheless he threw himself upon the brigand and wounded him; but he himself received a more serious wound. They seized each other by the throat, and struggled a long time until the brigand knocked down the forester, trampled him under foot, and left him believing him to be dead. But as he was wounded and was losing a great deal of blood, he could not carry out his robbery, and returned to the forest. The forester, on the other hand, dragged himself along up to the inn to seek help.

The Forester (to the Jews.)

I have just encountered a bandit and I have wounded him and forced him to return into the woods ; but as soon as he is healed of his wound, he will come back ; and if he does not come back here he will go to rob other Jews in other inns. Go then, capture and bind him, and if you are afraid only help me. The brigand is a man with a strong arm, but as he is weakened we shall make an end of him.

[Now the Jews had seen from their cabaret what had taken place ; they knew that he had saved them from being plundered, but feared he might ask for a reward.

They affected great astonishment, and asked him where he came from and what he desired. The old Jews gave him bread and eau-de-vie ; the young pretended to weep for pity].

The Jews.—We do not believe that the brigand wished to kill us ; he used to visit us formerly, drank our eau-de-vie, and did us no harm.

The Forester.—If he has been here, all the worse for you, for he has examined your house and your safes, and has seen that the house is inhabited by Jews, that is, to say, by people of a weak and timid heart.

The Jews.—Do not blaspheme the Jewish race. Is it not this race that produced David who slew Goliath, and Samson, the strongest of men ?

The Forester.—I am a man little versed in books ; I have heard my curé say that this David and this Samson had once lived, and that they are not likely to come to life again. Think then of yourselves.

The Jews.—It is not our business to clear the forests of brigands ; for this there are magistrates and policemen. Go and speak to them.

The Forester.—To defend you I did not invoke the magistrates nor await the gendarmes.

The Jews.—You defended yourself.

The Forester.—But I could have helped the brigand to plunder you, or followed him at a distance without saying anything ; and

he would have shared your property with me. I could also have refrained from leaving my house.

The Jews.—You protected us because you counted on a reward. Very well ! We have given you bread and eau-de-vie, and we have dressed your wound, and we shall give you also a sound crown.

The Forester.—I do not care a fig for your reward ! And as for the bread, the eau-de-vie and the medicines, I shall send you the price of them as soon as I return to my house.

The Jews.—You have fought with the brigand because we know you are a man inclined to quarrel and that you amuse yourself with fighting and killing wild beasts.

The Forester.—If I had left my house to fight, I should have been better armed ; I should have taken bullets and a hunting-knife ; I should have gone out earlier or later ; but you have seen that I went out neither earlier nor later, but at the very moment when I saw the highwayman make his way against you.

The Jews (astonished).—Speak, then, and tell us the whole truth. Why did you do what you did, and what were your thoughts ; for you are a singular man.

The Forester.—That is something I shall not tell you ; and I shall tell you something that you will not understand ; for the Jewish reason and the Christian reason are two different things. But if you become converted to Christianity, you will understand without my having to explain.

(And having said this, he left them. Now, in walking he groaned with the pain of his wounds.)

The Jews (among themselves).—He boasts of his courage, yet he groans ; his wounds are not serious, he groans merely to frighten our children.

These Jews knew that he was sorely wounded ; but they knew that they had acted wrongly, and they wished to persuade themselves that they had not acted wrongly ; and they spoke aloud to drown the voice of their conscience.

ALUMINIUM INDUSTRY IN INDIA

BY PROF. P. G. SHAH, M.A., B.SC., M.S.C.I.

*The working in Aluminium.**

ALUMINIUM working is not much different from working with copper; as a consequence Indian coppersmiths can work well with the new metal after a few trials. The tools required are almost the same but the working is a little more difficult.

Aluminium is melted dry, that is to say, without any flux, in clay or graphite crucibles, and during the melt the metal is constantly added. When the mass is completely molten, it is brought to a red glow, and the crucible is removed from the fire. The metal is now violently stirred by means of an iron rod which ends in a small round ladle at right angles to the rod and perforated; the surface of the metal is skimmed and the layer of the oxide formed is removed, whereupon the true operation of casting commences. The stirring rod is removed from the melt as soon as it is so hot that the metal does not adhere to it.

Since aluminium shrinks on solidifying quite perceptibly—by about 1·8 per cent—the molten metal should be cautiously added, in as small quantities as possible, in order to keep the mould well filled. For the casting mould, metal vessels may be used, but for complicated objects it is advisable to cast in sand.

Pure aluminium as well as that of commerce with 98·5 per cent purity may be forged, drawn, and rolled cold on wooden hammer and anvil without being necessarily annealed beforehand: annealing is necessary if the purity is above 97 per cent., in which case the metal may be heated up to 200°C; while with 95 per

cent. aluminium both annealing and heating are quite unnecessary. The metal preserves the shape once given to it without deformation; for pieces with sharp curves and bulgings it is better to take aluminium that is slightly alloyed.

Aluminium is soft like copper and may be bored without difficulty; Boring. it is however desirable to use tools as sharp as possible and to oil them before use with petroleum or turpentine. Nor is there any difficulty in riveting; the plates may receive hard hammering without being split, they do not burn, stay straight, and do not hollow out at the rivet holes, so that the rivets hold well even in the millings. At most, since it is very malleable, the metal occasionally shows a tendency to bulge out a trifle when the rivets come too near the edge.

Aluminium may be *grooved* and *filed* like copper to which in fact it is so similar. When alloyed and hammered, it may be perfectly well turned and planed, if the instruments are sufficiently sharp and work at sufficient speed. The instruments need to be lubricated with turpentine or petroleum or better still with suds but never with oil. The work of milling proceeds smoothly; but in case the cutters are clogged they must be cleansed with oil and brush.

Aluminium takes a high polish; but the lustre is not white, like silver or nickel, but is bluish, somewhat like tin. For polishing, the pieces are first scoured with pumice stone, and then rubbed by brushes with a paste of half-powdered emery and tallow; the polishing is finally completed with polishing soap and turpentine oil. Another way is to clean the metal with a fine powder of fine sand or clay and wood ashes and to polish by means of polishing leather, or with chamois skin and brass rouge.

* The information in this section is mainly derived from Mr. Minet's book on Aluminium, p. 172, &c.

The soldering of aluminium is a matter of great difficulty and presents a problem which is not yet solved quite satisfactorily. "There has been great difficulty in finding a wholly satisfactory solder for the metal and one that shall resist corrosion. Dagger (Journal of Society of Chemical Industry, 1891, p. 436) quotes as useful for heavy soldering a mixture of—

Aluminium	12 pts.	} and a mixture of the three
Copper	8 pts.	
Zinc	80 pts.	

metals in the ratio of 6: 4, and 90 for light soldering. Joints however can be made by autogenous welding with an oxyhydrogen or acetylene flame and electrically. Butt and other joints may be effected by various mechanical devices with the aid of fusion at the surface or by a casting of the metal around the junctions.*

In the absence of a good solder the method adopted for patching and joining two pieces is the autogenous welding just mentioned. The connecting surfaces are heated by oxyhydrogen flame and joined together when melted. It is for this reason why the repairing of old aluminium articles is not easily done by ordinary workers in the absence of the hot flame required.

Possibilities of Aluminium Manufacture in India.

It was already pointed out that the most essential conditions of the Electric power in success of the metallurgy of aluminium have been upto now, a cheap electric current and a cheap supply of alumina (the oxide of the metal). The many projects† for electrical power now being worked or proposed leave aside one of the requirements of the industry as being ready for immediate service when required. The other requisite, viz., alumina, is still, so to say, in the prospecting stage. Large deposits of a mineral approaching the bauxites of France and Ireland have been discovered, but it will take much time

before they are utilised for this industry. The Laterite which is so abundant in Southern India and which has been unsuccessfully used as a source of iron (like the French Bauxite in its early days) contains a very high percentage of Alumina in many cases. In the opinion of Sir Thomas Holland,* the utilisation of these deposits of alumina would completely swamp the market of bauxite.

There are three possible ways in which the Indian bauxites could be utilised.

The first would be the simple export of the richer bauxites in the raw or calcined state to the alumina

factories of Europe or America. This however is not practicable on account of the low price of the mineral which in European market fetches not more than 22 to 23 shillings per ton.

Another way would be to extract alumina from the mineral on the spot, and export the same to European or American

factories or to utilise the same in India for the manufacture of aluminium salts, which are useful as astringents, as mordant in dyeing, and in the sizing and finishing of paper. This scheme does not require any heavy outlay or involve any large risk, as the

process of the manufacture of alumina is simple and practicable in India. The process consists in boiling

the powdered bauxite with a caustic soda solution, which can be filtered off. The solution could be decomposed by passing carbon dioxide, but the most recent method (Baeyer's method) is to boil the solution with alumina; by both of these methods† aluminium is completely separated as solid aluminium while the solution contains caustic soda which could be recovered and used again. The hydrated alumina thus separated requires to be purified by calcination, when it can be obtained as fine white flour, containing 99 per cent of aluminium

Madras, 1892, where he proposed to manufacture aluminium at Periyar waterfalls, near Ammanarakur on S. M. R.

* Sir T. H. Holland, Sketch of the Mineral Resources of India.

† See also Rec. Geol. Ind., Vol. XXXV, p. 29.

* Thorpe "Dictionary of Applied Chemistry," Vol. I, New Edition 1912, p. 106, &c.

† For example, see proposals for utilising water power in Southern India by Mr. A. Chatterton,

oxide, suitable for export to any distance.

Exportation of Alumina. In this form, alumina is at present exported on a large scale from Europe to America for reduction to the metal, and fetches a price varying, from £ 12 to £ 38 per ton, with the quality. The only difficulty in this mode of utilising the Indian bauxites is the absence of cheap alkali in India, which has to be imported. However, this does not count much as the alkali could be recovered after the separation of alumina and could be used over again.

The third way would be to begin the manufacture of aluminium after getting the alumina rather than export it. By itself this is the best method,* but there are tremendous difficulties in the way. It requires preliminary investigations on an elaborate scale for the selection of a site near cheap water and electric supply; and needs the risky outlay of heavy capital in entirely untried conditions in an industry which has already passed to the stage of the keenest competition. However this does not mean that India can never hope to manufacture the metal; we have simply to wait till the manufacture of alumina is put on a sufficiently sound basis, and then the next step will be the utilisation of cheap supplies of power for the manufacture of the metal.

In this connection, it might be pointed out that there is a tendency on the part of the metallurgical engineers to depart from the production of the metal from its oxide: and experiments are conducted to manufacture it from the aluminous clays; bauxite is limited in quantity and for any large production the question of freights as well as the sufficiency of supply are controlling factors. An example of the change of method has been already given in the manufacture of alumina as a byproduct from clay. "The presence of large bodies of excellent clays, and the very high efficiency recently attained in the modern types of large unit gas-engines promise in the not too distant future to completely change the sources and the

Tendency in Europe to extract the metal from clays.

methods of production of metallic aluminium."

The aluminous deposits of India are very rich and varied. By comparison of analysis it has been shown that the Balaghat and Jubbulpore (Katni) bauxites are of very high value compared to the Irish, French, and American Bauxites. The following are the most important places* in which aluminous bauxites or laterites are observed:—

Bengal.—Neturhat, Palamau Dist; Saraguja State, Chhota Nagpur; Korlapet in the Kalahandi State.

Bombay.—Mahabaleshwar.

Central Provinces.—Katni and Bijeeeraggarh in the Jubbulpore district; various hills near Rupjar, and Samnapur in the Baihur Tahsil (the richest ores) of Balaghat district, Bhopal.

Madras.—On the Palni hills small deposits of almost pure gibbsite occur.

Rajputana.—Near Modh in the Bikanir State; also in the Gwalior State.

According to the report in the Records of the Geological Survey for 1910, "the Katni bauxites (at Tikari) have been

successfully prospected and proved to be workable by the Bombay Mining and Prospecting Syndicate, Managing Agents, Messrs. C. Macdonald and Co.; and a joint stock company is to be floated for working these deposits." But there is no further mention of the progress of this venture, the report and in 1910, published in 1911 mentioning only the following:—

"The Bauxite deposits of India still remain undeveloped but the Katni quarries again produced a small quantity of 66 tons valued at £25." In August 1912, Messrs. Macdonald & Co. floated a joint stock company for the manufacture of cement at Katni and also for the utilisation of other deposits like bauxites.

It is a question only of time and opportunity for the manufacture of the metal in India. Perhaps it will take some years, before the market for alu-

Necessity of further expansion in the market of the metal.

* Specially because the second scheme may not be successful in the event of a fall in the price of alumina in Europe.

* For details the following may be consulted:—Records of Geol. Sur. India. Vol. XXXII, p. 125; Vol. XXXV, p. 29; Vol. XXXVII, pp. 216-7; Vol. XXXIV, p. 210.

minium ware has reached a sufficiently large volume to pay the expenses of the production of the metal on large scale, and before sufficiently cheap electric power stations are installed in the country. In the meanwhile it is suggested that experiment-

Suggestion for al work should be done in the extraction and the manufacture of allu- purification of mina from bauxite, and alumina.

attempts should be made to purify it and make it free from impurities like iron and silica which are detrimental to the use of the metal. If this problem is solved, and if by that time electric power made available, the success of the aluminium industry is assured. "If it pays the British Aluminium Company to transport French and Italian bauxites to Ireland for the extraction of alumina, and to Scotland for electrolysis," there is no reason why it should not pay the Indian capitalists to extract alumina, on the spot, from the highly aluminous and easily quarried laterites of the Central Provinces and rail it for further treatment to centres of cheap electric power in the southern or the northern part of the country.

The present state and the possibilities of the Aluminium Industry in India.

It is very difficult to obtain reliable statistics showing the present condition of the aluminium industry in India and its progress during the last few years. No official returns as to the import of this metal in India are available—this metal being enumerated among "other unenumerated" metals in the trade returns of the Indian ports. Similarly there is nothing to show the number of the factories working in aluminium.

By the courtesy of the Director or Commercial Intelligence Department a few statistics of the imports* of aluminium in the Bombay and Madras presidencies are given in the appendix—similar returns for other parts being not available. In the statement showing the aluminium factories in India sent by the same department mention is made of only the Indian Aluminium Company of Madras. Of course, the num-

ber of aluminium factories is very large comparatively, nearly 40 being estimated.

However from what one can see about Evidence of progress. Aluminium around one's self, it is easy to notice that the number of factories and the sale in the market are both increasing every year, and the metal is getting more and more popular.

If ever a single man be given the credit of introducing a new industry in the country, the name of Hon'ble Mr. Alfred Chatterton, C. I. E., must be pointed out in connection with the aluminium industry. It was he, who by importing the metal and by working privately on a small scale laid the foundation of the industry. Shortly after the start the Government took over the factory and ran it for five years and a half, during which time a net profit of Rs. 60,000 was accumulated. It was gradually taken up by private individuals, and the Government business sold to the Indian Aluminium Company who are still carrying it on. The success of this procedure of starting new industries should leave no doubt as to the feasibility of State protection without any bad effects. Mr. Chatterton started the industry on his own behalf, and through Government help was able in successfully inducing the capitalists to take up the industry, after he had demonstrated to them the profitable and practical character of the work. It was in 1898 that he brought out the first of

First imports of the metal imports in 1911-12. the largest lot of aluminium metal into India, which amounted to about one hundred tons only. The progress in the industry can be judged by the fact that the imports in 1911-12 reaches the figure of nearly 1200 tons, as can be seen from the figures in the appendix. It is a pity that the figures for other years and other provinces than Bombay and Madras are not available.

The number of factories making Aluminium vessels in India is nearly 40 or more, though no official statistics are available. The profits of the industry are fairly large, specially when big factories are worked. All the letters, written to various aluminium companies with a view

* See Tables (A) & (B).

to find the present state of the industry, were unreplicated except one. The Indian

The Indian Aluminium Company of Madras was the only one that replied to the queries.

They employ a capital of nearly 5½ lakhs of Rupees; their nett profit is reported to be about Rs. 70,000/-, i.e., nearly 15 per cent on the capital outlay. It is calculated that, taking into consideration all the factories of India, the total capital employed in this industry is nearly a crore of Rupees, while fifteen years ago, the metal was not at all a commercial commodity.

Out of the factories that turn out Aluminium vessels, a great portion is situated in Madras and Bombay. The Madras and Bombay factories compete for the markets in many cases; the Bombay ware is generally cheap, but the metal used being of a cheaper type the utensils do not last

so long as those that are made at Madras out of better metal. The import figures in the appendix reveal the fact that while Bombay imports the largest amount of the metal from Germany 6·38 lakh of rupees' worth out of a total of 8·9 lakhs, the Madras Factories use British aluminium to the value of 4 lakhs of rupees, out of a total of 6·32 lakhs. The use of better quality in Madras is necessitated by the fact that the people in southern India use a lot of tamarind water which as an acid liquid has considerable solvent action on the metal. However, this is a step in the right

direction, for if at all aluminium is to be popular in India, it should be in the best form. The use of metal of bad quality is detrimental to the increased sale of the metal and to the expansion of the market. It has to be noted that the many advantages aluminium is reported to have refer to the pure metal. The statements that the metal is nonpoisonous, is lighter, is easier for cleaning, cooks quickly, does not burn into holes, etc., apply to a fairly pure kind of the metal. The weakest point in the use of aluminium for culinary purposes is that it is acted upon by some acids and the organic salts formed in cooking. These could be minimised by

the use of metal free from iron and silicon; the use of purer metal cannot be too strongly insisted for the commercial success of the present and future aluminium industry of India.

Judging from the wholesale price of Aluminium which varies from Profits of the £ 60 to £ 80 per ton, aluminium factories in India, we can safely expect the

aluminium sheets to cost to the factories not more than 8 to 9 as, per lb. The price of the finished product varies from 14 as. per lb to Re. 1-8 per lb. This shows the large scope there is for the manufacture of the article from imported metal, and the amount of the profits that may be derived from the industry. The factories, however, do not pay unless started on a sufficiently large scale to pay for the cost of running very costly machinery under expert management.

As to the expansion of the market for Aluminium, there is no doubt that it is progressing very rapidly. Though the industry was introduced in 1898, when the price of the metal was very high, £192 per ton, the number of workers and sellers of aluminium was considerable, as judged by the census returns of 1901. Within less than three years of the working of the industry as many as 254 persons were supported in Madras and Mysore only. The number has considerably increased now, a single factory employing over 200 men; and the returns for 1911 census when published will throw great light on the progress of this industry.

The aluminium ware is slowly progressing northwards and its use in the north is not so great as in the south, because of the high railway freights and because it requires time before the ware is popularised. Thus the markets in the Punjab have begun to show this ware only recently; but in that short period the progress has been steady. The metal is valued both by the Hindus and Mahomedans as the vessels are much cheaper than those of the same size made of copper and brass, and besides possessing the advantages already mentioned, save the botherations of tinning which is quite necessary for the former class of goods. Thus the

popularity of the metal is increasing steadily, but there may soon ensue a reaction against it if a high standard of purity of the metal is not maintained. Besides being slightly corroded by certain organic acids and salts, aluminium possesses another disadvantage that vessels made of the metal cannot be easily repaired* locally, whereas

Difficulties of repairing.

a hole or crack in a copper or brass vessel could be easily set right by the local coppersmith. However, there is no such great necessity to get the vessels repaired, as they do not cost so much as the heavy handmade articles of brass or copper, and last for a fairly long time if care is taken. Moreover old aluminium vessels are taken back by the factories at the rate of 5 to 8 annas per lb. Thus there should not be much difficulty in the expansion of the market on this score. Difficulties about the durability of the vessels and of the polish would be minimised by the use of better quality of the metal.

As to the future of the industry, there is not the least doubt that it is a bright one. The making of aluminium vessels could be started in large factories

or on a small scale by the ordinary copper-smiths, as it has been already pointed out aluminium can be worked easily with almost the same tools that are required for copper. The only difficulty is about soldering which is not quite easily done. The best substitute for soldering is the joining

Oxyhydrogen blowpipe.

of the two portions of the metal by means of a hot flame from an oxyhydrogen or oxyacetylene blowpipe or by electrical heating. If a small oxyhydrogen blowpipe—such as is used for Drummond's Limelight in Magic lanterns—be obtained and worked

* See supra for the methods of repairing.

properly, the difficulties of production on a small scale and of repairing old vessels can be removed to a certain extent at least.

However, the goal of the Indian aluminium industry should not be only the manufacture of the utensils from imported metal. As Mr. Chatterton has suggested, the ultimate aim should be to manufacture the metal in India. Unlike the copper and brass industries, for which the ores are poor in quality, the aluminium ones of India are, some of them at least, as rich as the French and Irish bauxites. Electric power is getting cheaper in India; and in the presence of both these requisites it is a question of time when the people and the market will be ready for the manufacture of the metal itself. According to the letter of the Indian Aluminium Co. of Madras already quoted, "the manufacture of aluminium from bauxite at present would not be profitable, our main reasons being that the present consumption is not sufficient and that there are very great difficulties in the way of obtaining services of fully qualified experts."

It has already been noticed that the production of aluminium in the world has already reached such a stage, that it will not pay unless manufactured on a very large scale. The present market for Aluminium in India is not able to accommodate more than 1200 tons (the imports during 1911-2) and is not capable of supporting a good size factory for the metal which would produce at least about two or three thousand tons. Therefore the process of the popularisation of the metal is to be more thoroughly put into practice if the goal is to be attained sooner.

Necessity of the expansion of the market for the metal.

TABLE (A).

Imports of Aluminium in various forms into the Bombay Presidency during 1911-12.

	United Kingdom.		Germany.		Belgium.		U. S. A.	
	cwt.	1000 Rs.	cwt.	1000 Rs.	cwt.	1000 Rs.	cwt.	1000 Rs.
Circles ...	2175	173.8	9085	638.9	230	17.3	58	4.2
Sheets ...	17	1.7	393	29.4	...	...	9	.6
Sheets and circles ...	200	20.6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ware ...	1.7	.2	28.5	4.2	...	...	...	...
TOTAL ...	2712	196.3	9206.5	672.5	230	17.3	67	4.8
	GRAND TOTAL }		cwt, 12219.5, Rs. 8,90,900					

TABLE (B).

Imports of Aluminium in Various forms in Madras Presidency during 1911-12.

	United cwt.	Kingdam 1000 Rs.	Germany cwt	1000 Rs.	Belgium cwt.	1000 Rs.	U. S. A. cwt. 1000 Rs.
Circles and Sheets ...	4068	309'5	1371		161	11'1	1110 79'6
Ingots and Blocks ...	223	11'2	146	100'3	100	4'6	220 11'2
Bars and Notched Bars.	1772	85'6	154	7'1 8'2	60	2'6	...
Pyramids ...	1/4	155	...		...	...	...
Wire ...	2	190	11lbs.		...	...	...
Rivets ...	5	725	...	15	...	...	...
Leaves ...	3 lbs.	69	...		...	...	...
Aluminium Tubing ...	64 lbs.	130	...		...	...	...
Ferro-aluminium ...	2	60	...		...	...	...
TOTAL ...	6072	4,07,7	1671	115'8	321	18'6	1133 90'8
GRAND TOTAL ...		63,29,000					

The writer is grateful to the Director of Commercial Intelligence for these figures: returns for other provinces are not available.

OUR NATION DAY CELEBRATION IN CALIFORNIA

THE Hindustani residents of Berkeley, California and adjoining cities such as San Francisco, Oakland, privately observed the Nation Day, October 16, at Berkeley. On Saturday evening Oct. 19, at Stiles Hall, Berkeley, the California Hindi Students' Association held a special meeting to celebrate the memorial day. A very interesting programme was arranged to suit the occasion and the hall was tastefully decorated with National flags and pictures of Sister Nivedita, and many Indian patriots. About two hundred people, many professors of the University of California and very respectable ladies and gentlemen attended the meeting. Among the members of the Faculty present were Prof. and Mrs. Pope (Philosophy Dept.); Prof. Reed (Political Science Dept.); Prof. Dr. Blum, (Political Economy); Prof. Dr. Fryer (Languages Dept.); Prof. Corry, (Dean of the Engineering Dept.) and others.

In the course of the address of welcome Prof. Har Dayal, M.A., in his characteristic scholarly way pointed out the insufficiency of the Oriental and Occidental civilizations and urged that East and West must co-operate to bring forth a higher civilization. He explained the importance

and significance of our Nation Day and compared Oct. 16, with other memorable dates.

He said that Oct. 16, the day on which the seed of the new spirit in India peeped as a plant might be regarded in future as the birth-day of a new civilization. He said: "In days of yore Christianity was subject to persecution and the few followers of the new faith observed the Martyrs' Day and All-Saints' Day; but then few did think that Christianity as an institution would make such a tremendous progress; so we hope that though our Nation Day Celebration is very unpretentious in the beginning but this day might be regarded by posterity as the birth-day of a New Era."

Mr. Har Dayal prophetically announced, "I am an internationalist. I do not believe in so-called patriotism, factional flags and narrow views of nationalism of today. But I know that India is passing fast through a period of transformation. I know my people, I know the ins and outs of the movement and I can assure you that within twenty years there will be a tremendous change in India and the people are now engaged in constructive work." Mr. Har Dayal paid a tribute to the American

people for the cordial treatment and the opportunities offered to our students by the American Universities and people at large. He urged that the sympathetic American public ought to study more about India. On behalf of India and her people he assured the American people that India will repay her debts to U. S. in the most befitting way in the near future.

In the absence of Prof. D. P. Barrows, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of California, who failed to attend the meeting under unavoidable circumstances, Prof. R. H. Reed, Professor of "Government," took the chair and replied on behalf of the University of California and the American people. He said: "As the new spirit of Indian Nationalism is for Self-government, we are in favor of the movement and our presence assures you the most cordial sympathy of the faculty of the University of California and the American people. American institutions are for 'Rights of Man' and we are always ready to co-operate in all movements which uphold the principles of American institution by which I mean, government of the people." He urged that "India should send out her best representatives to foreign countries to acquire scientific knowledge and to remove the prejudices against them existing among the people in general. India must create strong public opinion at home and abroad so that her national movement for self-government may not be misunderstood as an anarchistic movement." Prof. Reed reminded us of President Benjamin Ida Wheeler of the University of California, who said in a reception given to the Hindu students, six years ago in the residence of Dr. Jotue Fryer of the Oriental Dept. of the University of California: "On behalf of the University of California and the American people, we welcome you, the students from India. We will not spare any pain to properly educate you, the future leaders of India, and in return we expect that you will do your duty towards your own people and America."

Mr. Fo Sun, son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, could not be present at the meeting owing to ill-health and Mr. Wee, a representative of Young China, spoke on behalf of the Chinese people. Mr. Wee pointed out the cordial relation that has existed between China and

India for the last 4,000 years and expressed China's debt to India in the field of art, science, commerce and religion. He assured us of the genuine sympathy and co-operation of the Chinese people, who have succeeded in establishing an up-to-date democratic government. He said: "China and India, in fact all the Orient, should learn many lessons from the Occident; but India and China should not forget their mission. Three hundred millions of the Indian people and four hundred millions of the Chinese people, i.e., 700 millions of strong people, living in peace side-by-side for 4,000 years should teach the aggressive West a new lesson in the art of peace."

"Bande Mātaram" was sung by Mr. Mitra helped by Mr. Bhakat Singh and was much applauded by the audience.

Mrs. Bertha L. C. Pope, wife of Prof. Arthur U. Pope, of the Dept. of Philosophy, University of California and one of the trustees of Sri Guru Govind Singh Scholarship Fund, endowed by Sardar Jwala Singh of Mooreland, California, read the article "The New Nationalist Movement in India" by Rev. J. T. Sunderland, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Oct., 1908. As a matter of introduction she said that Rev. Sunderland may be regarded as the best authority on India in this country. It is impossible to give a synopsis of the scholarly article full of facts and figures, but we shall quote the concluding paragraph of the article:—

"We have now before us the data for understanding at least in a measure, the meaning of the 'New National Movement in India.' It is the awakening and the protest of a subject people. It is the effort of a nation, once illustrious and still conscious of its inherent superiority, to rise from the dust and to stand once more on its feet. It is the effort of the Indian people to get for themselves again a country which shall be in some true sense their own, instead of remaining, as for a century and a half it has been, a mere preserve of a foreign power,—in John Stuart Mill's words, England's 'cattle farm.' The people of India want freedom which is their right—freedom to shape their own institutions, their own industries, their own national life. This does not necessarily mean separation from Great Britain; but it does mean, if retaining a connection with the British Empire, becoming *citizens*."

It does mean a demand that India shall be given a place in the empire essentially like that of Canada or Australia, with such autonomy and home rule as are enjoyed by these free, self-governing colonies. Is not this demand just? Not only the people of India, but many of the best Englishmen answer

unequivcally, Yes! In the arduous struggle upon which India has entered to attain this end, surely she should have the sympathy of the enlightened and liberty-loving men and women of all nations."

Mr. Taraknath Das spoke on "The Scope and Aim of Indian Nationalism," in course of which he said: "It is impossible to describe definitely and adequately the scope and aim of Indian nationalism because it is an expression of human aspiration. Our programme will change with the progress of the world. But as far as we can foresee today, we expect that young India will implant a new ideal of civilization which will practically demand a revolution in modern social ideals, that it will place humanity and liberty above property, that it will adopt means that genius shall not be wasted under adverse circumstances, that poverty will not shrink human aspirations, that special privilege will not over-shadow equal opportunity, that women will not be kept under subjection, that women and children will not be ground down with unusual hardships in the factories."

Prof Arthur U. Pope, who is known to the Indian student community as a true friend of India, in course of his speech "American Ideals and the New Spirit in India" criticised the administrative, judicial, and revenue system of British India. Prof. Pope, as a philosopher, asked the people of India "to be effectively good and not to be hasty in bringing about the desired change." He urged young India to follow the method of constructive works done by Sree Sayaji Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda.

The meeting was adjourned and refreshments were served to the audience. In fact it was the most successful meeting ever held by the Hindusthanee students in California, and the success was due to the genuine sympathy of our American friends, especially Prof. and Mrs. Pope and the members of the California Hindi Students' Association.

University of California,
Berkeley, California.

T. N. DAS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Orissa and her remains—ancient and mediæval, by Mano Mohan Ganguly, Vidyaratna, M. R. A. S., District Engineer, Howrah. Price Rs. 10, published by Thacker Spink & Co.

Here we have for the first time an attempt made by an Indian, who is himself an expert Engineer, to understand and interpret the claims of Indian architecture, and he could not choose a better field for his investigation than that repository of ancient Hindu Art—the *Punya Bhumi* of Orissa. Since the days of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra the study of the architecture of Orissa has not appreciably advanced despite the contributions now and then made by Mr. Mano Mohan Chakravarty, Mr. Bishan Swarup and others and by the Archaeological Survey Department. Even the last edition of Fergusson's *History* does not throw any new light on this interesting subject. The author of the volume before us, therefore, deserves unstinted praise for the attempt for the first time made to investigate the principles of Hindu architecture as exemplified in Orissa on a thorough scientific basis and to demonstrate by a detailed analysis of their forms the indigenous and self-evolved character of these remarkable monuments. Chapter V, VI & VII contain very interesting matters, the results of the

author's own investigations now made public for the first time. The most important of his investigations is his analysis of Indian architectural columns (many of which occur in Orissa) which are classified and designated in the *Manasar* under various technical terms (p. 89). They afford one of the convincing evidences to disprove the theory of Greco-Roman influence on Indian architecture and we wish the author had pursued the subject in greater details with regard to the evolution of the other parts of Orissan temples and to have made his grounds more sure by reference to actual treatises on *Silpasastras* many of which are still current and govern modern temple construction in Orissa. For, the system of Indian architecture with its characteristic principles having a nomenclature and a scientific classification of its own, as embodied in the *Basu Sastras*, show, more than anything else, that Hindu styles of architecture were evolved in the country in which we find them, without any extraneous influence. The Sanskrit works on Hindu architecture are numerous and though the *Manasar* is perhaps the most important of these treatises, the various local texts current in particular provinces deserve careful study as they afford direct assistance in studying the peculiarities of the architecture of this or that province. In this way the Sanskrit texts in the possession of the living

hereditary architects of Bhubaneswar and the neighbouring villages are more useful in elucidating the many points of Orissan architecture than the texts of Mansara of which the existing ones are all South Indian versions and have no direct bearing on the peculiarities of the styles of Northern India; we regret very much the author has been unable to utilise in this publication the Orissan MSS. on Silpasastras secured by him (p. 229). Whether the denticulated spheroid which is the peculiar characteristic of the finial of an Orissan temple is AMALAKA SILA or AMARA SILA and what form it suggests could only be settled by reference to actual texts on the subject. If reference could be found in Orissan texts as to the definition of a KIRTIKUKHA (p. 187) it would afford very important clues as to the genesis of the art of Java and the particular part of India with which the colonisation of Java could be specially associated. Similarly the decorative forms of the Orissan temple ornaments (e.g., in the *Stambha* illustrated in plate 9) if identified with any particular names in the Silpasastras could easily settle the date and birthplace of these forms. The particular ornament referred to above occurs in Gaur and in many monuments of the Gupta period and has been profusely used in many of the Bramhminical temples of Java. The author has noticed many of these decorative forms which deserve further study as they constitute the elements of the æsthetic scripts of India quite as important in assisting historical enquiries as the various copper plate inscriptions and other palæographical records.

The author has been at a disadvantage in accepting for the Orissan images the general and somewhat loose *resume* of the rules of Indian sculpture given in the compilation attributed to Sukracharya and he has been led into the erroneous proposition that all the images of Orissa have been made in the *Sapta-tala* proportions. The unit of a *talam* constituting the measurement of the face is the length of the latter from the chin to the upper extremity of the forehead excluding the cranium. This is supported by most of the South Indian texts and by the practising image-makers in all parts of India. Measured according to this unit the Sun-God of Kanarak (plate XXVII) as well as various other images of Orissa will be found to be proportioned in the *Naba-tala* measure. The Sukraniti does not recognize the finer classifications of each *tala* into UTTAMA, MADHYAMA and ADHYAMA defined in all other Sanskrit texts on sculpture which generally specify the particular *tala* in which particular deities should be constructed; none of the gods and goddesses are prescribed in proportions less than the *Naba-tala*. All the measurements below the *Naba-tala* are prescribed for saints and human personages except that of GANESH and BALA KRISHNA. Even the Sukraniti is quite specific in stating that the average human male is *Asta-tala* (Ch. IV, Sloka 83) and the average human female figure is always *Sapta-tala* (Sloka 84). The difference alluded to in respect of the three *Yugas* (Sloka 89) suggests a theoretical scale of ethnical degeneration, and does not mean that all images in the *Kali-Yuga* are to be made in *Sapta-tala* proportions. The Orissan texts on the making of images ought to clear this point, but in the absence of such texts, it is not safe to rely on the chapter of Sukraniti as especially applicable to the Orissan images. Mr. Ganguly does not give the measurements of the images of the *Parswa*

Debatas in the Puri and the Bhubaneswar temples. They are important specimens of Orissan sculpture and ought to throw much light on the actual canons of proportions followed by the Orissan artists.

A word about the illustrations. Having regard to the importance of the subject and the very able way the author has treated it the halftone reproductions are small and inadequate and hardly show sufficient details. The book is well got up and neatly printed and we have no hesitation in accepting it as a very important contribution to the study of Orissan Art and Architecture. It ought to serve as a model as to how the architecture of other provinces in India should be surveyed and studied.

O. C. G.

"*The Hero and the Nymph*": translated from the Sanskrit of Kalidas by Aurobindo Ghosh. (R. Chatterjee, Calcutta) Price Re. 1.

The ordinary educated reader will take this book as an acceptable addition to the good things of literature. But there is a public, in India, not only European in race, or confined to the C. I. D., to whom the name of its author is either a hated by-word of political reproach or the venerated symbol of impassioned enthusiasm; and it is perhaps necessary to remind this section of the public that there is a wholly intellectual and poetic side of the life and work of Aurobindo Ghosh, which is indisputably the least controversial and the most pleasant to contemplate and, to our mind at any rate, by far the most permanent. When we remember this we will then more fully appreciate the undeniable worth of this translation of Kalidas's "Vikramorvasi."

It is interesting to see how this play of all others in Sanskrit Drama attracted the fancy of the gifted translator: it contains certain distinct Greek analogies which in view of the originality of Sanskrit Drama in general, and that of Kalidas in particular, is indeed remarkable. In the first place, the *trotaka* feature in the play with its commingling of the natural and the supernal elements is reminiscent of the Hellenic manner. Pururavas, "the Ilian," the lord of the Middle World, and the ally of Indra, rescues Urvasi, "the ornament of Eden and its joy", from the rude hands of Titan violence and wins her love and the rivalry between her and his earthly queen supplies much of the *motif* of the play. In the second place, the play almost alone in Sanskrit Drama is predominantly lyrical in character, the fourth Act is almost wholly so; and the translator takes advantage of this fact by rendering even most of the prose passages into blank verse. Further, not unlike Hellenic playwrights, Kalidas introduces something like the conception of a chorus in the first scene of an Act, as a setting to the main lyrical theme which is embodied in that Act. Again, Indra, described as "the Thunderer", and the idea of

"The near uprising
Of Titans warring against Gods"
have their obvious Greek analogues.

It was inevitable, then, that a brilliant classical scholar like Mr. Ghosh, steeped in the literature of the Hellenes, should have felt drawn towards the play.

But when we refer to the difficulties incident to a task like this of translation into a language so different from the genius of Sanskrit poetry, we get a clearer idea of the magnitude of the work which Mr. Ghosh

has accomplished. To begin with, the Sanskrit verse is essentially quantitative in character: its sonority depends on the particular length or otherwise of the vocables employed. Sometimes it happens that sense is so much interwoven with sonance that the significance of the one is lost in the beauty of the other. Take a verse such as the following:

एषा मनो मे प्रसभ शरीरपितुः पदं मध्यमसुव्यतनी
सुराङ्गना कर्षति स्खलितगच्छात् वृणालादिव राजहंसी ॥

—Act. I. Verse 18.

It is impossible to translate it any better than this:—

"She soars up to the heavens,
Her father's middle stride, and draws my heart
By force out of my bosom. It goes with her,
Bleeding; as when a wild swan through the sky
Wings far her flight, there dangles in her beak
A dripping fibre from the lotus torn."

But at the same time one feels one loses the nameless charm and the beauty of the original.

Again another difficulty springs from the nature of the Sanskrit language itself. Its facile gift for word-building, coupled with its elaborate *Samasa* system lends to it an air of epigrammatic terseness which is lost in translation. This aspect of Sanskrit diction has led our poets and dramatists to carry the figure of hyperbole to grotesque lengths: for what was the harm in exaggerating the *idea*, argued they, if such could be done with economy of *language*? And the word-building faculty was made use of to let in similes in abundance for could they not be safely tucked away and concealed amidst the forest of sonorous polysyllables? In an English garb, however, these similes, bereft of their protective adornments, appear strained, inapt and even ludicrous. Under these circumstances, it is small wonder that Mr. Ghosh has occasionally succumbed to his difficulties. At places his translation becomes diffuse and loose-jointed. As for example:—

तरङ्ग-स्रग्मङ्गल-चुमित विहगश्रेणि-रसना
विकर्षन्ती फेनं वसनमिव संरम्भशिलम् ।
यथा विरं याति स्खलितमभिसन्धाय बहुशो
नदी भावेनेयं ध्रुवमसहना सा परिणता ॥

Act. IV. Verse 28.

"For, O, it seems

Just like my angry darling when she went
Frowning,—as this does with its little waves,
A wrathful music in her girdle,—and see!
This string of birds with frightened clangour rise,—
She trailed her raiment, as the river its foam,
For it loosened with her passion as she moved
With devious feet, all angry—blind with tears,
And often stopped to brood upon her wrongs:
But soon indignantly her stormy speed
Resumed, so tripped, winding goes the stream,
As she did. O most certainly 'tis she,
My sweet quick-tempered darling suddenly changed
Into a river's form."

Or, take another verse:—

आविर्भूते शशिनि तमसां सुचनानिव राचि-
नै रास्त्राचिर्हृतमुज इव च्छिन्नमुसिष्ठधुमा ।

मोहेनान्तर्वरतनुयि लघाते सुक्तकल्या
गङ्गारोधः पवनकलुषा गृहतीव प्रसादम् ॥

—Act. I. Verse 7.

This appears rather lamely in translation:

"So I have seen a glorious night
Delivered out of darkness by the moon,
Nocturnal fire break through with crests of brightness
Its prison of dim smoke. Her beauty, wakening
From swoon and almost rescued, to my thoughts
Brings Ganges as I saw her once o'erwhelmed
With roar and ruin of her banks, race wild,
Thickening, then gradually from that turmoil
Grow clear, emerging into golden calm."

These are but minor blemishes however; and we offer our cordial felicitations to the gifted writer for the general success of his undertaking; and to show how great that success has been, we conclude with a few representative extracts both from the translation and the Sanskrit original:—

गतं भयं भीक सुरारिसम्भवं
चिलोकरची महिमा हि वज्रिणः ।
तदेतदुन्मीलय चक्षुरायतं
महोत्पलं प्रलुषसीव पद्मिनी ॥

—Act. I. Verse 5.

"The Enemies of heaven

Can injure thee no more: that danger's over.
The Thunderer's puissance still pervades the worlds.
O then uplift these long and lustrous eyes,
Like sapphire lilies in a pool when dawn
Comes smiling."

अस्त्राः सर्गविधौ प्रजापतिरभूच्चन्द्रो नृकालप्रभः
शृङ्गारैकरसः स्वयं नु मदनी मासी नु पुष्पाकरः ।
वेदाभ्यासजडः कथं नु विषयव्याहतकोत्तहलो
निर्मातुं प्रभवेन्मनोहरनिदं रूपं पुराणो मुनिः ॥

—Act. I. Verse 8.

"But rather in the process beautiful
Of her creation Heaven's enchanting moon
Took the creator's place, or very Love
Grown all amorousness, or else the month
Of honey and its days deep-mined with bloom:
How could an aged anchoret, dull and stale
With poring over scripture and oblivious
To all this rapture of the senses, build
A thing so lovely?"

सामिअ सङ्गाविआ जह अहं तुए अणुसिआ ।
तह अणुरत्तसुस जइ गाम तुह उववि ॥
णं मे लुलि अपारिजाअ सअणिज्जग्मि हीनि ।
णन्दणवणवादा वि अच्चुन्हआ सरीए ॥

—Act. II. Verses 12 and 13.

"My master and my king!

Were I what thy heart thinks and knows me not,
Scorning thy love, would then the soft-winged breeze
Of deathless gardens and the unfading flowers
That heap the beds of Paradise, to me
Be fire?"

अङ्गमनङ्गकिष्टं सुखयेदन्वा न मे करम्यशात् ।
नोच्छसिति तपनकिरणेयन्दस्त्रीवांशुभिः कुसुदम् ॥

—Act. III. Verse 16.

"The lily of the night
Needs not to guess it is the moon's cool touch.
She starts not to the sunbeam. 'Tis so with me.
No other woman could but she alone
Heal with her little hands all my sick pining."

अचिरप्रभा-विलसितैः पताकिना

सुरकार्मुकाभिनवचिदशोभिना ।

गमितेन खिलगमने विमानतां

नयं मां नवेन वसति पयोमुचा ॥

—Act. IV. Verse 43.

"O waft me

"Nearer the sun and make a cloud our chariot,
While lightning like a streaming banner floats
Now seen, now lost to vision, and the rainbow
With freshness of its glory iridescent
Edges us. In thine arms uplift and waft me,
Beloved, through the wide and liquid air."

S. V. M.

"A Wreath of Indian Rose" by Mohd. Ruhimuddin,
Secunderabad (Columbian Press.) Price 6 as.

A slender volume of weakling verses. And yet they deserve encouragement, not so much for present achievement, as for the promise they give of better things to come. In spite of many bad lines and awkward turns of phrase, and such puerile audacities as "books I've wrote" or "the Ogré's son with pa's consent," or "Thou gemmy orb,"—"gemmy orb" is a memorable piece of atrocity.—Mr. Rahimuddin has the makings of a good writer of verse. His poems on "Melancholy" and "The Rose" have some very good lines. He should persevere with his translations from Firdausi. With greater experience, he will lose much of his present callowness and acquire more confidence. It is essential that he must remember two things: First and foremost, he should remember the Indian earth from which he is sprung; and he should therefore strive to drink deep of the ethos of the immemorial east. Secondly he should always have before him some one as model. He need not go very far for one: for Mrs. Naidu is there, than whom no better exemplar can be named. We commend the young author to her care.

S. V. MUKERJI.

I. *Scenes from the Ramayan*. II. *Idylls from the Sanskrit*: by Ralph F. H. Griffith, M. A., Principal of the Sanskrit College, Benares. Reprinted and published by the Panini Office, Bahadurgunj, Allahabad, 1912.

Time was when Sanskrit was not regarded as fit to be compared with Greek and Latin in regard to literary excellence and its philological aspect was alone considered as deserving of study. This was the view placed before the Public Service Commission of 1886 by many cultured Anglo-Indian witnesses who wanted to justify the difference observed by the Indian Civil Service Commissioners in marking the classical languages of the East and the West. No one with any pretensions to culture would, we trust, hold by the same opinion now. Not a year passes by but important discoveries are made of works in the Sanskrit language covering the entire domain of human knowledge. Even the oftquoted anonymous verses—the number of which is legion—which fly about from mouth to mouth are found to contain the

very quintessence of wisdom, crystalising as they do the generalised experience of an ancient race which has thought deeply on all varieties of subjects affecting human life and conduct. The two neatly got up volumes before us should serve to dispel the illusion that Sanskrit cannot contribute much to literary culture. Mr. Griffith was himself a poet of no mean order, and he combined with his poetic gift a deep knowledge of and an abiding love for Sanskrit literature. His free metrical renderings of selected passages have caught the fine spirit of the original in a higher degree than many laboured literary translations. By readers unacquainted with the rich storehouse of Sanskrit literature, or even those who are on the threshold of it, these volumes will be highly appreciated. The publishers have rendered a patriotic service by making available the treasures of Sanskrit literature to foreign readers in their present attractive poetic garb.

P.

III. *Life of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the first President of the Chinese Republic (with a brief character sketch of Yuan Shi Kai)* by P. Venkayya. China series No: 1. Madras. To be had of Messrs. Higginbotham & Co. Price Re. 1-8-0. 1912.

The dramatic conversion of China from autocracy to republicanism has a deep lesson for us in India, and the author has done well to narrate the salient features in the careers of the two great statesmen who have between them achieved this wonder. The author has made full and good use of the materials available, and the book has been dedicated to the people of England who, true to their traditions, rescued Dr. Sun Yat Sen from death at the hands of the reactionary Manchu Government. The book is well printed and covers 178 pages and is sure to find a welcome among the reading public.

P.

IV. *Compulsory Mass Education in India*: by L. Ramdhan, B.A., LL. B. Printed at the "New Press", Lahore. 1912.

This paper was awarded Dr. Mullick's prize of Rs. 100 announced for the best and most practical essay on the subject. It therefore deserves to be widely circulated and should be translated in the vernaculars to assist in the proper understanding of a subject now very much to the fore.

P.

V. *The Education of the Women of India*: by Minna G. Cowan, M.A., Girton College. (Illustrated). Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrior, 100, Princes Street, Edinburgh, 1912. Price 3s. 6d. net.

A perusal of this book has made us feel how in the matter of female education it is still the ruling race which takes the greater interest though the women to be educated are our sisters and daughters. The authoress has read up all the available literature on the subject and though dominated by a strong Christian zeal and falling into occasional errors due to her brief acquaintance with India, she writes sympathetically and discriminately and throws out many useful hints and suggestions which deserve the careful consideration of the Government and the people. She bestows high praise on the Isabella Thoburn College of Lucknow and the Dioscesan College of Calcutta, has something to say on the value of religious instruc-

tion and quotes with approval the observations of Principal Paranjpe who is of opinion that to make morality depend on religion is dangerous if the religious sanction is no longer regarded as binding, regards the educational value of the Mahakali Pathshalas and Mrs. Besant's Girls' School at Benares as disappointing though the attempt to base the education on a national superstructure, which is the special feature of these schools, is considered by her to be distinctly desirable and even essential. In this respect she gives the palm to the Queen Mary College at Lahore, "the only one in which a definite constructive theory has been put forth for the education of Indian girls on such lines as combine excellent modern education with training suitable to their future environment." She repeatedly warns us of the danger of a denationalising and too literary education as in the case of the Parsi girls. "The classic Indian ideal of womanhood, with its wonderful vicarious suffering, its selflessness and devotion, is enough to make the world weep."

But the glory and grace of it may live, and its gentle womanliness transfigure modern life. The Indian woman need lose none of those qualities which made her loved in Vedic times, but may prove to the world that she is conscious of her own heritage and capable of choosing only what is good from the life of the West." Again, "it is here that the opportunity lies for English educators who can help Indian women through an exceedingly difficult transitional period to realise the meaning of modern culture, which while possessing universal elements, must be evolved by every nation on the lines of its own genius and characteristics." The dearth of teachers is frequently dwelt on, and in the opinion of the writer Hindu widows, properly trained, can alone solve the difficulty as married women prove scarcely suitable as teachers. Another difficulty lies in the withdrawal of girls from school as soon as they attain the marriageable age. "In spite of the fact that less than one per cent go on to College, the whole plan of school education is made to lead up to Matriculation and instead of completing a school course, the aim is to prepare for a college course that is never entered upon." The authoress is of opinion that Government should evince a greater interest in female education and should lead public opinion into proper channels by establishing model girls' schools. She holds that reformation, in order to be successful, must begin at the top, with the women's colleges, and filter downwards. She pleads for the establishment of a women's university and quotes the following from the Bombay Public Instruction Report of 1910: "If the conditions of university education were in accord with oriental ideas of women's functions, the number would go up by leaps and bounds." The authoress is not in favour of mixed education in the higher grades, and observes that co-education is not provided for even in England, and she knows that in medical schools particularly the reputation of women students should be carefully guarded. In the Calcutta Bethune College the majority of teachers are men and it has no corporate life and unity among the women students as a whole and to this she attributes the fact that it is almost wholly confined to Brahmos and is not resorted to by other classes. The Brahmo girl is 'supposed to be free, but is almost shy of her freedom'; the Parsi girl is 'independent, bright and alert.' "Actual

personal contact with some of the Indian students is a pathetic experience, as we are forced to realise how little real grit there is behind their text-book knowledge. They have gained no broad outlook on life: a tired brain has struggled through so many hours a day of lecture work and book work, and no energy is left for thought!"

The book is the first we have come across which handles the problem of Indian female education in a scientific, practical and rational manner and gives us a good idea of the dangers and difficulties it is beset with, and points the way how best to meet them. Every Indian calling himself educated should study the book and help in the solution of the problem, the urgency of which can no longer be denied.

P.

Among my Books : by Frederic Harrison (Macmillan & Co.)

The volume consists, as remarked by the author in the prefatory note, of studies, reviews and memoirs of very recent date. Mr. Harrison has been before the public for more than forty years, delighting them with essays, causeries, monographs of remarkable insight and power. The present book made up of papers almost all of which were contributed to leading magazines in his 80th year would detract nothing from his reputation as a versatile writer of great vigour and sincere conviction, whose style is the direct outcome of clear thought and who hates complexities and involutions as a vice. It certainly redounds to Mr. Harrison's credit that in his old age he should roam, without straining a muscle, over such a diversified tract of history and literature full of zest, full of eagerness to form correct notions and to be scrupulously fair to all parties however removed some of them may be from his own line of thought. It is a miracle that he has not succumbed to any particular fad. To keep the critical balance perfect when one is four score years old—to maintain oneself aright and not give way to the insidious cajoleries of time nor listen to the unctuous accents of long-accepted theories about men, art, religion, is certainly a triumph of the human intellect. It is really a great thing to have resisted all temptation to make a parade of the hobby-horse, to indulge in ranting and vociferous condemnation.

The majority of the works by Mr. Harrison are collection of either magazine articles or addresses and lectures. Necessarily, therefore, the plan does not make for unity nor does the reader get any continuous thread of literary criticism or historical reflection. They have been thrown off as the mood or the moment dictated and a more rigorous selection would have eliminated the rather insistent newspaper attitude towards important questions. And though the language is full of glow, eloquent, resonant, though the diapason never degenerates into a dreary drone—yet a perusal of all the volumes is apt to leave an impression of scrappiness of mere journalistic outpouring, of scattered aims and incoherent parts. This remark of course does not apply to *Cromwell* or *Chatham* (English Statesmen) or *William the Silent* (Foreign Statesmen) or *Rushin* (English Men of Letters) where the materials were fused and concreted together to make a perfect whole, and where the appraisal of events that shape history and the

vision into the motives and character of the principal actors attain a marvellous level of excellence.

The volume under review is full of splendid things. Read with the "*Choice of Books*" issued about 25 years ago, it constitutes a very reliable literary guide, teeming with noble and wise sayings and possessing a tolerance of spirit and a breadth of view not obtainable within the same compass, elsewhere.

In the chapter on the "Poets That I Love" one misses the name of Shakespeare. Mr. Harrison, curious to say always speaks of the English poets in these pages with restrained enthusiasm, with a subdued accent of praise. There is nothing of that exalted strain and impassioned note which we find in Dr. Bradley, Professor Dowden, and Sir Walter Raleigh when they write about Shakespeare, or in Myers, Matthew Arnold and Dean Church when they deal with Wordsworth, or Symonds Swinburne and Stopford Brooke when they expatiate on Shelley's lyrical emotion. Towards the bards of his own tongue Mr. Harrison is to some extent apathetic. There are no heightend touches. There are no tidal waves of rapture. There is scarcely any passage which rising in fire consumes the pettinesses of pretentious critics and lifts us off our feet. On the other hand Mr. Harrison is extremely lavish in his admiration for Homer, Aeschylus, Dante whom in his fervour, he mentions in the same breath with the inspired prophets of the world and who in his opinion, shed a wide and more living influence, over the human race than the codes of Moses, Confucius, Mahomed.

"Homer gave the tone to the Greek race—as no poet before or since has ever done to his own people—a tone at once free, manly, joyous, serene, and sympathetic, the ideal of which was a sense of beauty, proportion, symmetry; a thirst after perfection and completeness."

"During all these ages Homer filled the imagination of these scattered and anarchic tribes of the Greek name with unfading types of heroism, loyalty, audacity, and ingenuity, hospitality, courtesy and noble simplicity of existence,—but withal with tragic pictures of man's destiny, the unseen powers of the gods, cruel suffering for crime, agonies of blighted love, marred friendship, ruined ambition, hope and pride."

"I go further, and insist that in the quality of sublimity no poet has been quite the equal of Aeschylus—neither Dante nor Shakespeare, nor Milton—I mean in the creative fire of imagination that can bring to life before the eyes of all mankind so long as human language shall remain, beings so imposing, so original, so superhuman and yet so living; nor has any poet painted scenes of weird imagery so sublime, so gorgeous and withal so eternal in their realism and truth. . . . I take again the bursting forth of the Beacon fire which has been watched and longed for during ten weary years, the home-coming of the victorious monarch amid sinister warnings, mysterious chants of coming doom, the piercing wail of Cassandra, the intolerable agony of suspense which swells to an oppressive omen as the Queen leads her victim within. Then the silence, the awe, the mystery, the sense of impending bloodshed broken at last by the shriek of the prophetess and the groan of the

king. . . . The whole range of the drama contains no scene so tremendous, so vivid, so rich in mass, pathos, and intensity of colour. . . ."

"Englishmen will not admit that Dante was the greatest of all poets nor will Greek scholars admit it. But no one doubts that Dante was the mightiest philosopher who ever used poetry as his instrument of the thought and also the most profound poet who ever idealised the whole cycle of previous history and learning."

But enough of quotation. The chapters on "Great Biographies," "General Literature," "The Attic Drama," "Chatham" and "Tennyson" contain much profound thought, the result of an original mind working on the masterpieces of the world. The appreciation of Tennyson's poetry is well-balanced and informed with right feeling though there is no special mention of *In Memoriam*, or of the tremendous chasms of doubt which yawned before the Laureate, or of the agitated manner in which he stretched out wailing hands to grasp the skirts of immortality and faintly trusted the larger hope.

The book is unreservedly commended to all Indian scholars.

H. L. CHATTERJI.

A Course of Indian Gymnastics, Part I. By Raghuvelu Naidu, Senior Gymnastics Instructor, Pachaiyappas College, Madras. Price As. 12.

It is an authoritative manual on an organised plan, of the system of physical culture that has been in vogue in this country for centuries. The author has shown by his careful plan of arrangement that the system can stand favorable comparison with the best rational systems of today. Its marvellous cheapness is a great recommendation in its favour. As no apparatus is required it is within the reach of even the poorest individuals and institutions. The book is nicely got up and neatly printed. It will prove specially interesting to all lovers of physical culture.

S. M.

Questions of the Day in Philosophy and Psychology, by H. L. Stewart, M.A., (Oxon.), D. Ph., Lecturer in Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy in the Queen's University of Belfast. Published by Edward Arnold (Indian Agents—Messrs. Longmans Green & Co.). Pp. 284. Price 10s. 6d. net.

The subjects dealt with in the book are (i) The Reform in Psychology (ii) The Present Position of the Hypothesis of Subconscious (iii) The Interpretation of Genius (iv) The growth of public opinion psychologically considered (v) Pragmatism (vi) Recidivism: the problem of the habitual criminal (vii) Pessimism (viii) The value-judgment and the Independence of Ethics (ix) The cult of Nietzsche.

These essays are in the main an expansion of a course of public lectures which Professor Stewart delivered in Queen's University of Belfast during the winter of 1910-11 under the general title: Some recent philosophical movements. A considerable portion of the audience to which these lectures were addressed, consisted of persons possessing little previous knowledge of the subject and the essays as now published are intended to be intelligible to the general educated reader. The author has written the book in a popular style and tried his best to avoid the technicalities of philosophical discussion. The only

chapter that the non-philosophical reader will find a little stiff, is that on "Pragmatism." But Pragmatists and Anti-Pragmatists are making so much noise in the philosophic world that one should not remain ignorant of this phase of philosophic development.

The book is recommended to general readers, and even philosophic students will find in the book much that is interesting.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Ramkrishna Mission Home of Service Benares. July 1910 to June 1911. Pp. 63.

The objects of the Mission are:—

(1) To impart and promote a real knowledge of Hinduism or the Religion of the Vedas by means of preachers trained in the Ramkrishna Math at Belur.

(2) To look upon all men, women and children, irrespective of sex, colour, creed or caste as veritable manifestation of the Lord and worship them as such by trying to remove all their needs and sufferings—physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual by raising funds from the public at large, in and out of this country.

During the year under review the total number of persons who obtained relief were 7676 of whom 591 were indoor patients and 7085 outdoor patients, 289 persons were treated and nursed at their own houses. 126 persons who were indigent and invalid obtained relief from the Home in the shape of two seers of rice and two annas per head weekly. 7 persons who were found lying in the streets, suffering from starvation, were fed by the workers. Relief in the shape of money and food was rendered to 75 special cases of persons who had been once in good circumstances but were reduced to destitution and needed immediate relief.

In the last annual report the Home appealed to the public for help to acquire two bighas of land in the vicinity of the Hospital. But as that is insufficient for its purposes, the Home is now attempting to acquire, in addition to it, some 22 bighas of the adjoining land, by the Land Acquisition Act. Even then it will have to make an outlay of about Rs. 13500 for the whole plot. The mission wants funds also for building separate wards for infectious diseases and for a Home for the diseased, decrepit and destitute. The President appeals to the sympathetic public for help and hopes "that the generous public would place the institution on firmer foundation by the endowment of beds for the support of the diseased and destitute and so insure the continuance of the noble work which they have so liberally installed."

The mission is doing a very useful work and we hope the appeal of the president will be responded to by the sympathisers and well-wishers.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus. No. 39, 40, 41 and 42. Vol. xii—Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4. Brihajjatakam of Varahamihira translated by Swami Vijnanananda of Belur Math alias Hariprasanna Chatterji, B.A., L.C.E., late District Engineer, U. P. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. iii (Foreword) + 400 + iii (Appendix) + vii (Alphabetical Index of the verses). Price Rs. 6, Annual Subscription Inland Rs. 11-12, Foreign, £ 1.

"The Brihat Jataka of Varhamihira is generally considered all over India as one of the best and most

authoritative treatises on the science of Hindu Horoscopy. In fact, Varahamihira is recognised as the greatest of the Indian astrologers. There are four commentaries on this work. The well-known is that of Bhatta Utpala; another is known as Subodhini; the third is Mudraksari and the fourth is known as Sripatiyam. The commentary of Bhatta Utpala is followed in this work."

The book contains the Sanskrit text, English meaning of every word of the text and an English translation. The notes given by the translator are very important. He has given English equivalents of most of the technical terms of Hindu Jyotish. The book is divided into 28 chapters, viz:—

(1) On Zodiacal signs (2) on the Planets (3) on the Manifold Births (4) on Impregnation (5) on Birth matters (6) on Early Death. (7) on the Length of Life of a child (8) on Dasas and Antardasas (9) on Astaka Varga (10) on Advocation (11) on Raja Yoga (12) on Nabhesa Yogas, (13) on Lunar combinations (14) on any two planets in any one sign (15) on Ascetic Yogas (16) on the Moon and the Stars (17) on the Moon and the Zodiac. (18) on the Planets and the Zodiac (19) on Aspects (20) on the Planets in the twelve Houses (21) on Asraya Yoga (22) on Miscellaneous Planetary combinations (23) on Evils (24) on Female Horoscopes (25) on Death (26) on Lost Horoscopes (27) on the Decarates (28) Conclusion.

The book has been well edited, translated and annotated.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

The Compass of Truth, being an English rendering of Dara Shukoh's pamphlet "Risala-i-Haqnuma," by R. B. Srisa Chandrá Vasu, xii + 28, (Panini Office, Allahabad), 8 annas.

The illfated eldest son and chosen heir of Shah Jahan was well-known for his desire to peer into the mystery of the World Beyond. He composed several tracts on pantheism and its deep abstractions, the book under review being one of them. As he writes,— "In the beginning of my youth, I saw in a dream that an angel of God proclaimed four times: 'That which the rulers and the kings of earth did not get, God has made it (sic) easy for thee.' On awaking I interpreted this to mean that I shall get divine wisdom, and I always expected the day when this illumination will come to me. In time the foreshadowing of it began to manifest [itself], and day by day the veil was lifted."

This book is a popular and compendious exposition of Sufism or rather of occultism. "All the teachings, found scattered in the various ancient books of theosophy and modern compilations, are too large and voluminous for the study of ordinary man. This treatise is an abstract of those books." Its basis is Islamic, viz., the *Quran*, the *Hadis* and the sayings and interpretations of Islamic saints, particularly Mian Mir. Among the topics handled are the holding of breath, the etherialisation of the body, the astral plane, cosmic sound, absolute truth, etc. The translation is not literal, but only an adaptation of the text; e.g., p. 5, l. 10, *pesh-i-mā* has not been translated; on p. 4, l. 7, the second and third verses of the quatrain have not been correctly rendered, (*war ham nakuni. nazar tu* should be construed as *wa agar tu ham nazar na kuni*, i. e., as hypothetical and not as

imperative); on p. iv, l. 18, *ghair as man* is not translated. P. 17, l. 23, for *Hurra* read *Hira*.

The pamphlet is written in very lucid English, with every technical term explained. On p. 17, l. 20, the structure of the sentence requires correction.

J. SARKAR.

The Fall of the Magul Empire, by Sidney J. Owen, with a map, (J. Murray, 1912), xii + 271. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This work has not justified the expectation with which we had opened it. The brilliant author of *India on the Eve of the British Conquest* had made his mark a generation ago by a book in which no page was dull, every paragraph glittered with an epigram and every chapter gave the reader a vivid character sketch or historical parallel. The editor of *Selections from the Indian Despatches and Minutes of Wellesley and Wellington* had shown his familiarity with original documents. But the present volume does not at all add to our knowledge either by presenting new facts or by marshalling old ones in a new light. It is a mere *rechauffe* of Khafi Khan and Grant Duff. The map is the old one which accompanied Elphinstone's *History of India*, and is not a quarter as useful as that drawn by Mr. Wm. Irvine for his *Storia do Mogor*. The transliteration of Oriental names is pre-Victorian. We had flattered ourselves that the spelling *Alamgir* had disappeared with the age of side-swords and lace ruffles.

The late learned "Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford" clearly neglected to keep himself abreast of recent advances in the knowledge of Mughal and Maratha history, and his ignorance of Persian prevented him from going to the original sources. He does not show any sign of having read Mr. Wm. Irvine's monumental history of the successors of Aurangzib. His only authorities are Manucci, Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, a sadly out of date work, and Khafi Khan's gossip book written long after the events and without using the State papers on which the formal court annals of the Mughal Emperors were based. The only English translation of Khafi Khan, that of Dowson as given in Elliot, volume VII, is also incorrect. For instance, the expression *ba kâr-i-bâdshâhi âmad* is a familiar phrase meaning "was killed fighting on the emperor's side," because a soldier is only food for powder, he comes to his master's use when he is slain. But Dowson translates it literally as "was in his Majesty's service" (p. 62), and thus misses the whole point of Shaista Khan's taunt to Jaswant. The Khan really meant to say, "I thought that you had opposed Shivaji to the death before he could reach me. But I, your chief, have been robbed of a son and of my fingers, and here you are scatheless!"

After this it would be idle to point out that Dilir Khan was not a Mughal but an Afghan (p. 19), that Shah Nawar Khan was slain in the heat of the battle of Ajmir and not murdered in cold blood, (p. 37), that Aurangzib's bigotry could not have been inherited from his mother who was also the mother of the Hinduphil Dara Shukoh (p. 51), that Aurangzib's measures of persecution against the Hindus were undertaken in 1669 to mark the auspicious occasion of the beginning of the second decade of his reign and were not the result of his anger at Shivaji's success in

the South (p. 53), or that Shivaji made his romantic escape from Agra and not from Delhi (p. 66).

This book will not enhance either our stock of knowledge or its lamented author's reputation.

The Holy City (Benares) with 58 illustrations and a map, by Rajani Ranjan Sen, B. A., B. L. (Chittagong, 1912) X + 280, Rs. 2-8.

We are pleased to see such excellent printing done by a mufussil press. The plates, too, are extraordinarily distinct, in spite of their small size. It would be interesting to learn who made the blocks and which press printed them. A few—but only a few—of the illustrations are, however, so small as to be practically useless, and the map also would better have been drawn at least four times as large. The author is too modest, he has thrust his own portrait into an obscure nook at the very end of the volume on the back of the map, without mentioning either below it or anywhere else whom it represents! But the present critic is not to be so easily baffled; he has pierced the mask of anonymity of the portrait.

Mr. Sen has consulted all available authorities on Benares, and we highly commend his thoughtfulness in supplying a bibliography and an index, which writers of guide-books usually neglect to give. But *the Holy City* is something more than a guide-book. Besides the information about the sights and antiquities of Benares,—learned, full, and carefully accurate,—we have here the author's reflections and sentiments, and now and then philosophical disquisitions which are not irrelevant. On pp. 138—146, he vigorously plies the cudgels—or more correctly the goose-quill, as we see from the picture of the author in his study, discovered by us at the end of the volume,—on European critics and asserts that the Shiva *linga* which "is now taken, no doubt, as [a] phallic emblem, was in [its] origin a representation of a column of flames and one of the purest conceptions of the (*sic*) Hindu mythology." It strikes us that the evolution of the *linga* from the Buddhist *stupa* is capable of clearer proof. A votive *stupa* (of solid stone) with Buddha's image set in a niche of it, is the exact precursor of the *linga* with the head of Shiva (and latterly of Parvati) fixed on its front side. Near the Sivai lake on the outskirts of old Pataliputra, we have seen a very small *stupa* actually worshipped as a *linga* with a flat stone slab (a modern addition) placed loosely under it as the *Gauripith*.

We venture to dissent from the author when he calls Benares 'the Athens of the East.' Far greater is its claim to be called 'the Oxford of India,'—we mean the mediaeval Oxford, the 'adorable dreamer,' the stronghold of the Anglican church and compulsory Greek. Benares is the heart of Hinduism; it has nothing in common with the restlessly intellectual, versatile and sceptical city that was 'the eye of Greece.'

In a few places the author is not in touch with modern research; he evidently does not realise that we have in several points advanced beyond the stage of historical knowledge represented by R. C. Dutt's *Ancient India*. Pages 98 and 129, in particular, contain statements no longer considered as correct. Again, it is unfortunately impossible to accept the theory of the honest Muhammadan gentleman of p. 133 footnote that the mosques ascribed to Aurangzib were not really built by him. The great Mughal stands convicted out of his own mouth: in several of

his letters he exults in the demolition of Hindu temples. I possess a letter of the Secretary to the Mughal Deputy Governor of Orissa, written about 1667, in which it is stated that orders had come from the Emperor to demolish all Hindu temples between Katak and Medinipur built during the preceding ten years and to prevent the repair of the older ones! Finally, in the Persian history of Aurangzib's reign compiled from his State papers at the request of his Secretary Inayet-ullah Khan, it is distinctly stated:—"In April 1606 his Majesty ordered the Colleges and temples of those infidels (the Brahmans) of Tatta and Multan, and especially Benares, to be demolished. ... In Sept. his Majesty learnt that according to his orders his officers had destroyed the temple of Kashi-Vishwanath." (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 81 and 88).

The *farman* of Aurangzib given in the appendix is marred by an error of date, due to Mr. Sen's copyist having read the Arabic numeral for 6 as 4. By the courtesy of Mr. Muhammad Ali, Editor, *Comrade*, I have been placed in possession of a very large size photograph of the original, where the date can be clearly read as 15th Jamad-us-sani 1069 Hijeri = 28th February, 1659 A. D. It must be evident that in the year 1653, as printed by Mr. Sen, Aurangzib had no right to issue any order about Benares, as he was then Viceroy of the Deccan and his father Shah Jahan was the reigning monarch. The back of the *farman* contains a note that it was procured through the intercession of Prince Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzib. The date, 28th February is very interesting. Less than two months earlier Shuja had been defeated at Khajwah and Md. Sultan had been deputed to pursue him. The young prince had taken Allahabad fort about the middle of January and had then passed through Benares on the heels of his defeated uncle. As Shuja had levied a forced contribution of four lakhs of rupees from Benares on his way to Khajwah, the miserable citizens might naturally have claimed some sympathy and favour from his rival brother and secured this *farman* by entreaty with Md. Sultan.

Should a second edition be called for, the author would do well to prune away his rhetorical paddings and rhapsodies, and subject the English to careful revision. On p. 171 for *methkally* read *mishkali*, p. 167 for *palliate* read *soothe*, p. 98 omit *the before Kusunagar*, p. 99 omit *the before living Buddhism*. In connection with the work of the missionaries, their Dom reclamation colony deserved mention. P. 9. "Banar the last of the Gaharwar princes" was not a historical king.

J. SARKAR.

BENGALI.

Sita: by Abinas Chandra Das, M.A., 30, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Third Edition. Cloth-bound, Price Re. 1-4-0.

The beautiful get up of the book and the many nice illustrations attract the eye; but the contents are even more attractive. The original Ramayana has been literally followed in important passages, and a connected story of the ideal of Indian womanhood presented before us in the author's chaste and dignified style. We read the author's *Palasban* long ago, and the delicate perfume of the story still lingers in our memory. The present volume is a production worthy of the same pen. The noble theme has been worthily

treated, and this is high praise to bestow on a writer who has to deal with the noblest character in Indian epic poetry.

P.

"Jagadish Chandrer Abiskar" by Professor Jagadananda Roy.

It needs no special apology to justify the existence of this book in Bengali. There are many readers who do not understand English at all. There are many who cannot sufficiently understand English to appreciate thoroughly the experiments and conclusions of Dr. Bose's works in the original—even when written in Bengali. Very few of our Bengali linguist can render the technical subject so lucidly as has been done by our author in this book.

In less than 250 pages its author has explained these various theories very lucidly with the help of scientific terminology which did not exist before—but are all mostly his own happy coinings. This is in fact an art in which the author excels.

After shortly giving the life history of him, whose discoveries he is writing about—he has followed the most psychological method of explaining—the natural evolution of the discoverer's thoughts. His parentage and liberal surroundings in early life, and his education in the best of English colleges and schools and training under the greatest savants of the day Lord Kelvin. It is these early circumstances in his life which determined the pertinacity of his belief against powerful odds—in Europe and America.

The broad and bold unification which the discoverer has established—namely the existence of similarity of phenomena in various spheres of things living or dead on their molecular basis of matter—is a sound idea indeed, which has unified the different sciences existing in the scientific world. And on these definite and practical demonstrations—by the help of Automatic recorders, his position has been unassailable. His evolution and transition of thoughts as appears from the series of his writings are—

First—the "Response in the living and the non-living."

Second—"Plant response."

Third—"The Electrophysiology of Plants."

Fourth and last the "Plant Autograph." These have all been a complete series of the most spontaneous and rational evolution of thought,—much kindred to what the great synthetic philosopher Herbert Spencer showed in the series of his ten classical volumes on universal human knowledge.

The expositions of Professor Jagadananda Roy—who is also a broad and a systematic scientist in his thoughts—has represented his master's view—so simply and so successfully—in a language which so long contained no happy scientific terms to express his thoughts in appropriate scientific terminology.

We thank the author of this work, for he has brought a very valuable field of discovery and knowledge of a scientific and sublime literature to the reach of his less fortunate and literate countrymen.

I. M.

HINDI.

Swami Vivekanand ka Patravivahar, by Pandit Lakshmidhar Vajpeyi. Printed and published by Kumar Hanumant Singh Raghuvanshi at the

Rajput Anglo-Oriental Press, Agra. - Demy 8vo. Pp. 91. Price As. 6.

This is a Hindi translation of eighteen letters written by the late Swami Vivekananda. These letters have a religious and philosophic tone and even in those which speak almost exclusively of the sage's tour in different countries, this element is not wanting. The translator has been able to keep up a great deal of the simplicity and pathos of the original. The language is fair. Besides the Swami's philosophy, which has some especial characteristics of its own, a globe-trotter would be interested to see how the Swami viewed the things in various places from their botanical, zoological and other standpoints.

Bhartrihari's Niti and Vairagya Satakas with full Commentary, Prose Order, Grammatical and other Notes and Hindi and English Translations, edited by Babu Balmukunda, B.A., and published by Lala Ram Narain Lal, Bookseller and Publisher, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. Pp. 408. Price Rs. 2.

The Notes are pretty satisfactory and exhaustive, while a short life of Bhartrihari in English with a critical appreciation of his works has been subjoined. Efforts have been made to make the translations as literal as possible. The book is often prescribed as a text-book in some of the University Examinations and we hope it will be serviceable to the students appearing at these examinations.

Mata our Kanya, by Shreemati Hemant Kumari Chowdhuri, Lady Superintendent, Victoria Kanya Pathshala, Patiala State. Printed at the Sudarshan Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. Pp. 33.

This book purports to be presented by the authoress to her daughter, Sreemati Shailaja Devi, on the occasion of her marriage. It contains very valuable instructions. We do not remember to have come across any such book in Hindi. The language is pure, while the get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired, the cover with golden letters being exceedingly attractive. We think that this book should be presented by a mother to every educated daughter on the occasion of her marriage. The price of the book is not mentioned anywhere.

Jenindramat Darpan Part I, by Babu Shital Prasad of Lucknow. Printed by Mr. C. S. Deole at the Bombay Vaibhav Press, Kandewadi, Sadasiu Street, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo. Pp. 29. 4th Edition. To be had gratis.

This pamphlet is a summary of the Jain Itihas Series No. 1 by Babu Banarsi Das, M.A., LL.B., Vakil, Saharanpore, with some other additions. In it an endeavour has been made to dissipate the many misapprehensions that are in the air with regard to the Jain Sampradaya. Arguments based on historical facts have been given and they are for the most part convincing.

The Life and Teachings of Swami Ram Tirth, M.A., Part I. by Pandit Haribhajan Prasad Chaturvedi, Head Clerk, Collector's Office, Cawnpore. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Press, Cawnpore, and to be had of Pandit Ramdatta Chaturvedi, Parade, Cawnpore. Demy 8vo. Pp. 104. Price One Rupee.

The book begins with a short life of the Swami in the course of which a description of the strange

manner of his death will be found interesting. After that we find three lectures delivered by the Swami. The life tells us how people of different countries felt enthralled at his speeches even though he spoke in foreign languages. The hero of the book, as might be known, was an M.A. and a Professor for some time. He left some of his earnings for his wife and children and suddenly abandoned the world. The speeches in the book are imbued with religious spirit, while their simplicity goes to the heart. They have been reproduced in the words of the Swami, but in the footnote we find explanations of the difficult words of Persian and Arabic with which the speeches abound. The price of the book is a little too high. To ensure a large sale it must be under-priced.

Bhuvankumari, by Babu Vishwambhar Dayal Gupta, B.A. To be had of the Manager, Onkar Book Depot, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. Pp. 76. Price As. 4.

This is a short but a very interesting novel, its interest being in the diversity of the plot. Its heroine who has been betrothed to an educated youth, has been made a captive of the Waziris, a fierce tribe of nomads. Another young man volunteers his services for her rescue and after several futile endeavours in various ways (interesting in themselves) succeeds in enlisting the help of the Subadar. Another brave Sikh, a general of the Subadar, figures conspicuously, and through the physical and intellectual aid of several people, not only the girl is enfranchised, but the dreadful Waziris are transformed into a tribe of peaceful citizens, their leader cutting out his thumb in repentance of his former deeds. The heroine is at last married to her betrothed husband, who as soon as the marriage is finished, is appointed a Superintendent for Education under the Subadar with a handsome salary. This also soothes the bride's mother who was opposed to the marriage, but who later on thinks that the marriage is auspicious. The publication will make a pretty present.

Adarshamata, Part I, by Shreemati Hemant Kumari Chowdhury, Superintendent, Victoria Kanya Vidyalaya, Patiala. Printed at the Punjab Economical Press, Lahore. Crown 8vo. Pp. 187. Price As. 8.

In this work a very successful attempt has been made to teach a mother her duties from the time she is with a child to the child's adolescence. The concrete shape given to the narrative will make it interesting. The family of a middle-class gentleman, who is an M.A. and the Head Master of a school has been chosen as the model family and the housewife thereof as a model mother (Adarsha-mata). The way in which a child should be trained and preserved from pitfalls has been pointed out with considerable minuteness and with consummate ability. A suitable place has been found for every piece of useful instruction or information. The only drawback in the book is the somewhat careless manner in which it has been printed. This is in sad contrast with what we find in the other book by the same authoress reviewed above. The type is big and the printing is neat, but there are many typographical errors. They must be removed in subsequent editions, while in this edition a list of errata posted at the end of the book will serve the necessary purpose.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Satya Dharma Prakash, by Mulshanker Manehlal Yajnik, B.A., Agent, The Indian Specie Bank Baroda. Printed at the Shri Satya Vijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, cloth-bound. Pp. 239. Price Re. 1-4-0; (1912).

The author explains the work to be "a collection of important verses from Shruti and Smriti with simple Gujarati translation and scientific explanation." The collection is most interesting as it gives in a connected form, the mode of life at its various stages, of a Hindu, enjoined by the Shastras. The translation is indeed simple. There might be two views about the practical utility of such a book, but of its being entertaining and informing there can be no doubt. The introduction betrays a serious study of the subject in hand on the part of the compiler.

(1) *A translation in verse of the Bhagvad Gita*, by Hiralal Narsinhram Vyas. Pp. 82, cloth-bound, price Re. 0-3-0.

(2) *Swami Ramtirth, a translation of his writings, Part V*, by Madhubhai Baharao. Pp. 240. Cloth-bound, price 0-8-0. Both published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay, (1912).

There have been many translations of the Gita in Gujarati verse dating from the 16th or 17th Centuries. Many well-known Gujarati poets including veterans like Dayaram had tried their hand at it, and in the face of such compositions we doubt if there was room for this fresh attempt. As it is, it merely adds to the number, and after all it is the prose version that fully bears out the meaning of the original.

The continuation of the translation of the speeches of Swami Ramtirtha reflects great credit on the work of the society, and we find this translation particularly well done, the author having fully identified himself with the spirit of the Swami.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Why military training is necessary for Indian Civilians?

It is said that Civilians who are purely of Indian descent lose their heads in an emergency like a riot, and this argument is trotted out as a reason for not appointing them to charges of districts as executive officers. Even granting for the sake of argument that such is the case, it does not reflect any discredit on Indian native Civilians. Since the fault is not wholly their own. The Iron Duke (of Wellington) used to say that man is naturally a coward, it is military discipline which makes him brave. This dictum of the Iron Duke is true for all times and climes. While Lord Roberts and other men of his way of thinking in England are doing all they can to ameliorate the physical condition of the youths of the British race, for they are deploring the degeneracy which is fast overtaking them, very little has been done to improve the physique of the natives of India. In England, there is the system of volunteering and on the continent of Europe, in many countries, prevails conscription. But what have we in India corresponding to these institutions?

A sound body is necessary for a sound mind. It is a fact which cannot be gain-

said that as a rule, our educated youths do not possess sound bodies. It is the bounden duty of every state to do everything in its power to prevent the physical degeneracy of its subjects. India should be no exception to this rule.

It was owing to military training in their early youth that some of the best known English Civilians were as familiar with the sword as with the pen. We need only mention the names of the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone and Mr. Allan Octavius Hume as noted Civilian-Soldiers.

The same is possible for Indians also, if they are given the opportunity of receiving military training while under instruction in schools and colleges. If this be done, then no one would say that some of the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service were not equal to the occasion in such emergencies as riots, which as a fact is not true.

Unsociability of Indian public servants.

Some of the Anglo-Indian papers were loud in their complaint against the employment of Indians in high offices of trust and responsibility, because such officers in small stations and out-of-the-way places did not care to mix with Europeans, and since man-

possesses the gregarious instinct in common with many other animals, Europeans felt their want of society and social amusements where Indian officers formed a dominating factor in the district administration. Those who advance such arguments mean that India should exist for the services and not the latter for India. But in fairness to Indian officers, should it not be said that in large stations their presence is not tolerated in clubs and messes, the members of which are only too glad to black-ball any Indian (however respectable and of exemplary character he may be) who has the temerity to show his intention of joining them? What wonder if Indian officers should fight shy of the company of Anglo-Indian men and women who very often say many unpleasant things behind their backs, and not unfrequently are positively rude to them in many ways. No self-respecting Indian can, under such circumstances, court the company of any European.

Swadeshi and non-employment of pure-blooded Indians.

Ever since the Swadeshi movement came into existence, it has been noticed that preference is given to Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians in the filling up of ministerial posts in the State offices of this country. One reason that has been urged for this undue preference is that they can enroll as volunteers and so it is necessary to employ them to act as a counter-check to the present unrest that is observable in Indian society. Another reason that we read of in some of the journals conducted by Anglo-Indians was of a commercial character. Indians were taking the vow of using country-made articles and thus to a certain extent preventing the importation of British-made goods. Not to injure British trade, it was considered expedient to employ "Anglo-Indians" who would not have any sympathy with the Swadeshi movement.

Are the Indian people particularly litigious?

Mr. Leitch Ritchie in his work on the British World in the East, published in London in 1847, wrote:—

"It has been customary to stigmatize the Indian people with the character of litigiousness from the great overflow of business in the Courts, established by the

British; but the simple fact is, that the native Courts then abolished were numerous, and their authority was concentrated in a new system very inadequate as regards extent, and so ill-administered as to draw from the Court of Directors the remark, that it would be better to have left the people to decide their causes themselves, by any arbitrary methods they chose, than to harass their feelings and ruin their property, by establishing Courts where justice is sought for in vain! Above the village watchmen, the authorities, though corrupt and tyrannical, were sufficiently numerous for the complete administration of the law; and when their courts were one and all shut up, it is no wonder that those of the British should have been crowded. But the institution of the panchayet is sufficient of itself to disprove the charge of litigiousness, at least as regards the Hindoos," [Vol. I, p. 391].

Pension regulations.

Pension regulations should be so framed as to be equally applicable to all public servants. At present public servants are compulsorily retired at 55 years of age. As far as Indians are concerned, they are so much overworked, that if they do not die in harness, they do not live long to enjoy their pensions.

But the case is quite different with European public servants. They get fat pay, liberal allowance of leave and are by no means overworked. It is these facts which account for their good health and longevity. About eleven years ago in a powerful speech which the late Mr. Caine made in the House of Commons, he brought out the fact in bold relief that Anglo-Indian pensioners attain to a more advanced age than the average stay-at-home native of England. They live much longer than the allotted span of life of three score and ten. Mr. Caine argued that their fat and life-long pensions were a great drain on India. He suggested that the compulsory retirement should not be made at 55, but at 60 years of age. There will be a great deal of saving in the Indian Budget, if this suggestion of Mr. Caine be given effect to by the Government of India.

Technical Education.

The evidence of Sir Charles Trevelyan before the Parliamentary Committee appointed to enquire into Indian affairs in 1853 regarding the duty which the British Government owed to the people of India in the matter of giving technical education to compensate to a certain extent the injury that they were made to suffer by the destruction of their arts and manufactures in

the days of the East India Company has already been quoted in this *Review* (vide *Modern Review* for November, 1912, p. 516.) Lord George Hamilton when he was Secretary of State for India, said in his Budget Speech of 1897:—

"Is it impossible to so alter the current and tendency of the education we give as to associate it with objects of a practical and technical character, by which India's latent resources might be developed, her industries multiplied, and her productive power extended?"

This pious wish has so far almost remained unfulfilled on the part of the Indian Government.

As in the matter of General Education Indians themselves took the lead and helped to educate themselves by establishing Schools and Colleges, so in Bengal at least, they have again done the same thing in the matter of technical education also. The Swadeshi movement gave such an impetus to the awakening of national consciousness in Bengal that the Bengal Technical Institute was brought into existence by the much-abused Bengalis. It was the first institution of its kind in Bengal and so the Government wanted to get control over it. The establishment of a technical institute in Bengal has been promised by Government. The sooner it is established the better. The Dacca University is not so urgently needed as this institution for the welfare of the people of Bengal.

A Training College for Indian Civilians.

One of the interrogatories of the Royal Public Services Commission refers to the desirability or otherwise of establishing a Training College for Civil Servants in India. We who have been advocating one Standard Service for India and the holding of all examinations for public service in this country alone, should prefer the establishment of not only one Training College, but several at the headquarters of every province. In these Training Colleges Anglo-Indians—both "pucca born Briton" and Eurasian—should learn the vernaculars and good manners and etiquette of the Indian people whose affairs they have to administer.

Mr. Frederick Shore, in one of his papers "On the Intercourse between the English and the Natives" republished afterwards

in his well known "Notes on Indian Affairs"—wrote regarding Anglo-Indian functionaries of his days:—

"Generally speaking, they have left their own country at too early an age to have had any opportunity for the exercise of command or authority in their own persons; and, from the classes of society from which the larger proportion have hitherto been selected few have had much intimate experience of it in the examples of their near connections,—for the truth must be told, that by far the greater number of those who find themselves such great men in India, would have been obscure individuals at home; so that the temptation to make the most of their temporary consequence and dignity, is irresistible." [Vol. II, p. 107.]

What Shore wrote in the thirties of the last century holds equally true now. He said that that had not been the case during the first thirty years of the acquisition of the Dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa by the East India Company. No, the English people then did not talk of their having conquered India by the sword or holding it by means of that implement. Wrote Shore:—

"This was not the case formerly, as may be learnt from some of the old residents, who are still in the land of the living. I have talked so familiarly with men of the last century, that, I may say, that, in many points, my recollection of India goes as far back as 1780; and these have all asserted that a very different order of things existed then. * * The reason was, that, in those days, we had not arrived at that happy state which the 'blessings' of the English Government' has since produced in India, and were not convinced of the real or imputed corruption of the whole population. We were then sufficiently aware of the advantages which might be gained by their knowledge and experience, to further our interests, and knowing the insecurity of our situation in the country, were sensible of the necessity of conciliation and mutual good understanding. So far from supposing it expedient to exclude them from every situation of respectability and power, we knew that it was through their means, principally, that we ourselves should be secured, in our own situations of trust and dignity. Many natives, in those days, held very high authority; and our intercourse with them was much more on a footing of equality. The change may be dated from the era of Lord Cornwallis's grand reforms of 1793, by which natives were excluded from all employments, except such as no Englishman would accept. From that day, a separation seems to have taken place between the two classes, which has been widening ever since. Many a young civilian, who had previously looked up to a native as holding a much higher appointment than himself, was suddenly elevated to the situation of a judge or collector; in which he had appointments in his gift, which were not beneath the acceptance even of the native whom he had supplanted. It is no wonder that their heads were turned with such rapid promotion; and that some portion of the feelings said

to be experienced by a beggar on horse back; should have arisen in their minds." (Vol. II, pp. 108-109).

Unless there is a large admixture of Indians in all the public services of this country, the unhappy state of affairs depicted by Shore, which exists as much to-day as it did a century ago, would not come to an end.

We reproduce below from the *Modern Review* for October, 1909 [pp. 401-402], a passage regarding the advisability of establishing an Advisory Committee for the benefit of Anglo-Indian youths in this country :—

"An advisory committee with its branches in India has been formed with the ostensible object of befriending the Indian sojourners in England who are for the most part students. . . .

"But should not a counterpart of this committee be established in India with its branches in Great Britain and the Colonies to befriend the Anglo-Indian and Colonial youths who come out to this country, to teach them the good manners and etiquette of Indian society, so that they should learn to behave better than they do at present? The Secretary of this Advisory Committee should be an Indian gentleman whose annual salary of £ 500 should be paid out of the revenues of Great Britain and the Colonies. Surely there is a need for such an institution to teach good manners to those who come out to India to shake the pagoda tree and grow rich. . . ."

Lord Lytton on the Employment of Indians in the Indian Public Services.

It was during the regime of Lord Lytton, that the age limit for the examination of Indian Civil Service candidates was reduced to 19. A deputation from the Indian Reform Association of London waited upon Lord Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India on the 3rd April, 1884, to urge the Government to raise the age limit. The members of the deputation attributed the lowering of the age to Lord Lytton with the object of preventing natives from entering the Civil Service. In reply, in a letter dated April 13, 1884, addressed to the Editor of *The Times*, Lord Lytton wrote denying those charges. He wrote :—

"Lord Kimberley said he was aware that Lord Lytton had written to Lord Cranbrook to get an Act passed to prevent natives becoming Civil Servants; but if that could not be done, then the age for passing an examination should be lowered, which would practically have the same effect."

"From the date of the Queen's Proclamation, communicated to Her Majesty's Indian subjects by Lord Canning, her first Viceroy of India, down to the commencement of my own Viceroyalty no serious effort had been made by any Indian Government to

give systematic and regulated effect to the principles put forth in that Proclamation respecting the employment of the natives of India in the Civil Service of the Crown. * * * * What I proposed to Lord Cranbrook was not the exclusion of natives from the Civil Service of India, but the exclusive reservation to natives of a large number of Civil appointments previously held almost entirely by the European members of the Covenanted Service together, with the withdrawal from the Uncovenanted Service of certain other appointments, to be held henceforth by natives only with an official status equivalent to that of a Covenanted Service.

We invite the attention of our readers to the sentences which we have put in italics in the above extract. It was this state of affairs which made Lord Lytton write in his confidential minute :

"We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them; and we have chosen the least straightforward course."

The complaint of Lord Lytton in his letter to the *Times* from which an extract has been given above, is an old standing complaint against the Indian Government. Mr. John Bright in the course of his speech in the House of Commons June 3, 1853, said :—

Another subject requiring close attention on the part of Parliament is the employment of the natives of India in the service of the Government. The Right Hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), in proposing the India Bill of 1833, had dwelt on one of its clauses, which provided that neither colour nor caste, nor religion, nor place of birth, should be a bar to the employment of persons by the Government, whereas, *as a matter of fact, from that time to this, no person in India has been so employed, who might not have been equally employed before that clause was enacted*; and, from the statement of the Right Hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Control, that it is proposed to keep up the covenanted service system, it is clear that this most objectionable and most offensive state of things is to continue. Mr. Cameron, a gentleman thoroughly versed in the subject, as fourth member of Council in India, President of the Indian Law Commission and of the Council of Education for Bengal—what does he say on this point? He says :—

"The Statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have since elapsed, not one of the natives has been appointed to any office except such as they were eligible to before the statute: It is not, however, of this omission that I should feel justified in complaining, if the Company had shown any disposition to make the natives fit, by the highest European education, for admission to their covenanted service. Their disposition, as far as it can be devised, is of the opposite kind.

"When four students were sent to London from the Medical College of Calcutta, under the sanction of Lord Hardinge, in Council, to complete their professional education, the Court of Directors expressed their dissatisfaction: . . ."

Under the Act of 1833 the natives of India were

declared to be eligible to any office under the Company. No Native has, in the twenty years which have since elapsed, been appointed to any office in pursuance of that clause, which he might not have held before the Bill passed, or had it never passed at all. There might not, perhaps, have been so much reason to complain of this circumstance, had the Government of India meanwhile shown a disposition to qualify the natives for the covenanted service; but the fact is that the Government has, on the contrary, manifested a disposition of a totally opposite character.

We should like very much to know what has been done in recent year by the Indian authorities both in England and in India "to qualify the the native for the Covenanted Service."

The Indian-bureaucracy on their trial.

The appointment of the Royal Public Services Commission is looked upon by Anglo-Indians as placing the bureaucracy on their trial. It was regarding this trial that the late Mr. Seymour Keay wrote in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1883, that:—

"When a powerful bureaucracy like the Government of India, * * * is put upon its trial it is very sure to find defenders. It is true the defenders may chiefly consist of its own members, whose defence is open to the natural suspicion inseparable from all paid advocacy; * * * the Anglo-Indian official furnishes perhaps the only instance known of a man being taken as an authority, when setting himself up as a judge in his own cause. * * * Their whole traditions and interests have led them systematically to disparage the native races as corrupt and utterly incompetent to manage their own affairs, and to belaud themselves and each other, believing, no doubt, most sincerely, that the happiness and prosperity of the natives of India were never more signally secured than when they and their friends were placed in posts of preferment and substantial emolument."

The above writing of Mr. S. Keay is brought to our mind by the evidence of the Anglo-Indian witnesses before the Public Services Commission. Some Indian witnesses, too, fawning upon or hypnotised by them, are expressing views like theirs.

Mr. Cardew and Sir Henry Russell on the non-employment of Indians.

Twenty years ago when Mr. Herbert Paul's resolution for simultaneous examinations was passed by the House of Commons, the Madras Government was the only Indian Government which supported it. But there is nothing like consistency or permanency in politics. The Royal Public Services Commission has commenced its business

in Madras and the Acting Chief Secretary to that Government, one Mr. Cardew, has deposed before it his reasons, which, we believe, are shared by other members of the Madras administration, against holding examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India. His reasons are very curious ones, the most important of his objections being as follows:—

(1) It would at once produce an immense increase in the number of Indian candidates. The larger population of India (300 millions against 40 millions), the greater attraction to Indians than to Englishmen of the service in India, the absence of great competing careers (such as Army, Navy, Commerce, etc.) would all combine to attract an immense number of candidates. In England the total number of candidates for Home and Indian and Colonial Services combined is under 250. What proportion of these is Indian is not known, perhaps 25 or 10 per cent. Under a system of simultaneous examinations this number would be enormously increased.

Similar was the reason which prompted Sir Henry Russell to vehemently oppose the advancement of Indians to high offices of trust and responsibility.

A century and more ago, when the number of Anglo-Indians was not large and when the English woman was a *rara avis* in this country, the few sojourners from the British Isles were compelled to mix more freely with the peoples of India and in most cases marry or keep native women of low classes, which accounts for the existence of Eurasians. Those Anglo-Indians were courteous and polite, though not sympathetic to Indians. They played the part of the diplomat so well that the latter in the simplicity of their hearts looked upon them as their best friends and well-wishers, which in fact they were not. Sir Henry Russell was a man of this description. A hundred years ago, he filled the office of Resident at Hyderabad, Deccan and was considered to be a friend of India. In his remarks presented to the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company of 1832, printed as Appendix No. 18 to Vol. VI (Political or Foreign) he says:—

"The distance between us and our Indian subjects has been said to be 'immeasurable.' Why are we still so ignorant of their real views and opinions? Why have we acquired so little of the very information which it most imports us to possess? Not for want of a knowledge of their language, not for want of diligence or curiosity, but partly from the reserve of our national character, and still more from the prevalence of a system which precludes the possibility of

confidential intercourse, and rigidly severs those whom it ought to be its object to draw together. We hold no other relation with them than that of master and servant. Other European people have kept themselves much less apart from the natives of India; the French, in particular, live on more friendly terms and treat them with more familiarity than we do; they are consequently more popular, and wherever they have been known, are still considered with more kindness than the English. The common people at Hyderabad think that they do honor to an European by addressing him as 'Monsieur Bussy' though it is upwards of 70 years since M. Bussy left the place and the tomb of M. Raymond is still illuminated by a contribution from the corps he commanded, though it is between 30 or 40 years since any Frenchman was attached to it." (p. 172).

He understood so well the weakness of his countrymen in hating or looking down upon the people of this land that he had no difficulty in awarding the praise to the French for their sympathetic attitude towards Indians. But then his sympathy for the poor Indians did not proceed from his heart, it was merely lip deep. He was not in favor of employing Indians to high posts of trust and honor. In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the 19th April, 1832, he said:—

"If we raise the natives to higher offices in the civil department it will be difficult to maintain the exclusion of them in the army. But in this as in every other attempt to enlarge the field for the employment of the natives, it must be remembered, that although they are calculated to improve their condition, they are so many steps towards the extinction of our own authority. If we both give the natives power, and teach them how to use it, they will not much longer submit to our control. On this subject there is a preliminary consideration, which I am afraid we overlook. In what character, and for what purpose do we appear in India? If we are to act as mere philanthropists, and to consider only how we can best improve the moral and political condition of the Indian population, we may govern them as we would govern one another, and the sooner we can make them wise enough and strong enough to expel us from the country, the greater will have been our success. If we go as subjects of England, for the extension of English power and the improvement of English interests, a different course must be pursued. We may govern them as kindly as we can; it is our interest as well as our duty to do so; but we must retain all substantial power in our own hands, and must remember that, be our objects what they may, the natives of India can never stand upon the same level with ourselves; they must be either above us or below us."

Sir Henry Russell was the best exponent of latter-day Imperialism.

Justice demands the throwing open of all the services—Military, Naval, Political, etc., to the children of the Indian soil.

That is the only remedy for the present unrest. Regarding Mr. Cardew's objections, we shall say only this that he forgets that of the 300 millions of Indians only about 1½ millions are literate in English (literacy meaning the mere ability to read and write), that, therefore, for his purpose the populations of India and England should be taken as 1½ and 40 millions respectively, that we have never said that we do not want naval, military or commercial careers, that, on the contrary, we have repeatedly sought them, that it has never been proved by our past history or by modern actual experience that we are unfit or cannot be made fit for such careers, and that Great Britain has not yet made adequate reparation for the injury (in most cases fatal) done to our industries and commerce by the East India Company and during its administration. If in course of time Indians get most of the higher posts in India, that is what ought to be. We look forward to that day with hope and confidence, and without any apprehension of a cataclysm coming to pass in consequence.

How is Heat dissipated.

When an "irresistible" force meets an "immovable" barrier, what is the result? "Heat, of course," will be the answer. Such an "irresistible" force is public opinion.

Physicists tell us that heat is a mode of motion and may be translated into visible and tangible movement of various kinds. Hence wise statesmen do not place any "immovable" barrier, such as class prejudice, vested interests, blind conservatism and the like, in the way of public opinion. The British Liberals have shown wisdom of this description in dealing with the Irish Home Rule question. But the Lords are going to illustrate what political unwisdom means.

Fortunately they no longer possess the final veto.

Great Britain's "Mission" in India.

There can be only two views of Great Britain's "mission" in India. One is that the British people are here merely as exploiters, to suck India dry as a spider does a fly. The other is that Britain's work here is to help India in rising in the scale of humanity to the level occupied by the most progressive among nations in those respects in which she is inferior to them,

and in raising other nations to her own level in matters in which she is superior to them. The first view is sordid, the second is noble. No true son or daughter of Britain would like the sordid view to be taken. And many British statesmen have openly declared that the mission of Great Britain is noble. Britishers and Indians, therefore, ought all to place before themselves an exalted ideal of the goal to which the Indo-British connection should lead both the peoples. Let us here consider what is necessary for the fulfilment of this noble mission in so far as India is concerned.

If a man has to manage a cattle-farm, he has simply to see that the cattle are properly fed and housed and are not cruelly beaten or overworked. But in the case of human beings, the duty of the manager does not end with feeding, housing and kind treatment. It may be a foolish fancy but we believe that we are not cattle in the disguise of human beings, but really belong to the human species. Therefore the good Government of India does not mean simply the proper feeding, clothing and housing and kind treatment of Indians, though even this standard has not yet been attained by the British Government (its failure in this respect nor being entirely due to its own shortcomings). Not until Indians have become as great scientists, historians, manufacturers, merchants, generals, admirals, statesmen, rulers of men, &c., as have ever adorned the annals of any country or may do so in future, not until Indians can give a good account of themselves in every sphere of thought and outward activity, will it be true to say that the British people have consciously or unconsciously fulfilled their trust. Some may believe and say (there are unfortunately Indians among their number) that the people of India are incapable of reaching the full stature of humanity. But we have faith in the capacity of our people. We *can* and *must* rise to the heights of being;—not by vain boasting of our past, not by idle dreaming of our future, but by faith and hope and daring, and strenuous endeavour and sacrifice to the uttermost.

Evidence given before the Public Services Commission.

From the point of view of the above ideal

of Great Britain's work in India, the evidence given before the Royal Public Services Commission at Madras by all the Anglo-Indian witnesses, official, merchant or missionary, has not been what it ought to have been. Some Indian witnesses, too, have displayed utter want of faith in the future of their nation. The Anglo-Indian witnesses have shown admirable unanimity in asserting their right to rule India for ever; they are quite sure that their kith and kin are the salt of the earth, and as defenders of the interests of their people they have not yielded an inch of the ground taken up. We wish our people could have as much faith in themselves as these men of the British race.

But the Anglo-Indian witnesses have neither shown any sense of justice, nor any appreciation of the lessons of history. The future can have in store only one of four destinies for India: (1) India under British subjection and ascendancy, as the sphere of lucrative careers for British administrators, warriors and exploiters and their (to them) inexpensive training-ground; (2) India under some other foreign power than the British; (3) India, a self-governing part of a *federal* British Empire, sharing *perfectly equal* rights and responsibilities with every other part of that Empire, including Great Britain herself; (4) India, free and independent. With regard to the first, it is clear that no people who have become politically self-conscious as we have, can agree even in imagination to occupy for ever or even for an indefinitely long period, a position of subjection and subordination. The second we do not want, and is not likely to overtake us. The colonial form of self-government within the empire on which the majority of educated Indians seem to have set their hearts is a close approximation to the third. Whether the third will or will not lead to the fourth, or the fourth goal will or will not be reached in some other way, is more than we or anybody else can say. For the days of nationalism or national patriotism may be succeeded by an age of internationalism; and "the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world" may not be a mere poets' dream, may not be so long in coming as is supposed.

But practical politicians will probably

consider it idle to speculate about the dim future. Most Anglo-Indians and other Britishers of their way of thinking seem incapable of imagining that the Indo-British connection can last without the British monopoly of pelf and power, or that this connection can assume any other form than the one that it has at present. In their mental canvas Indians are always painted as playing the under-dog. Possibly the mere thought of Indians occupying a position of equality with them gives a rude shock to their sense of dignity and self-respect. But may we without offence lay claim in all modesty to some share of the sense of human dignity and of self-respect? Playing the under-dog for ever, even to the British race, is not a glorious destiny.

Service and other careers.

But it may be asked: "Why hanker after public service? Acquire knowledge for the sake of knowledge, and be scholars and thinkers." We may be permitted in reply to ask a counter-question: "Do the British people acquire knowledge simply for the sake of knowledge and become scholars and thinkers, leaving all the highest administrative, military, naval and educational posts in Great Britain to be held by Germans or Frenchmen or Chinese or Japanese?" We may also say in the words of Lord Lansdowne:

"What is the use of great attainments if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose, the service of the community, by employing those who possess them according to their respective qualifications in the various duties of the public administration of the country? Our books alone will do little or nothing; dry simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward, no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people."

Again we may be told: "The public services are not the only possible careers; why not become traders, merchants and manufacturers?" In reply we may be permitted to ask: "Though Great Britain is a great manufacturing country, are the public services even there filled by Germans or Frenchmen or Americans? Are they not filled by Britishers? And in India during the British period our commerce and industries have decayed almost to the vanishing point, owing to the fault partly of the

people and partly of the State, but in what proportion need not be discussed here. If Government wants us to adopt commercial or industrial careers, we may be allowed to ask what Government has done to train us for such careers. True, the people have their own duty to do in this respect. But the question here is, has the Government done its share?"

The fact is the public wealth of a country, whether raised by taxation or gained in other ways, should in all justice be enjoyed by the people of that country. The experience gained in a country and at its expense should be utilised for its benefit. This can not be done unless Indians are freely allowed to occupy all posts for which they are fit. This fitness should be tested by means and methods whose reliability can be ascertained. The dictum of no one man or class of men as to our capacity can be accepted as reliable, least of all can the dicta of those be accepted unquestioningly as trustworthy whose occupation would be gone, to some extent at any rate, if our fitness were proved. Without accusing anybody of insincerity or deliberate misstatement, it may be laid down as undoubtedly true that rivals or possible rivals cannot have full justice at the hands of those with whom the competition lies or may lie. Conscious bias there may not be, but unconscious bias it does not seem possible entirely to get rid of. Therefore rivals should not be judges, and there should be tests of fitness imposed whose value can be verified.

We have said that the wealth of a country and the experience gained in it should be utilised for its welfare, and that for this reason its public services should be freely opened to its inhabitants. There are other reasons why this should be done. There should be opportunities for developing all sides of our manhood. This can not be done, unless all artificial obstacles which prevent us from rising to the top of the administrative ladder, be removed. Moreover the Government of a country can do much good to its people. There is no reason why we should not form an influential part of the governing body and possess the power of initiating and directing measures intended to do good to the people. There is no reason why our power of doing

good to our own country should be exercised almost entirely in a non-official capacity.

But it will be said, as has been said by all the Madras witnesses, that Indians do not possess the capacity for governing; they are not efficient or not as efficient as Britons. Let us, therefore, consider for a while the question of

Efficiency.

It should be distinctly understood that the question to be decided is not the relative efficiency of the British people and the Indian people as a whole; in this connection we neither admit nor deny our inferiority *as a people*, we simply treat it as an irrelevant question; because it is not the British people in a mass or the Indian people in a lump who is to become a Magistrate or a Lieutenant Governor, it is one British man or one Indian Man. The question is whether among our ablest men there cannot be found a sufficient number to carry on the administration of India in the way that British Covenanted Civilians of average ability do. Cannot the 150 millions of the male population of India by any possible training furnish some 1,300 men to act as magistrates, judges, etc.? Britishers say such Indians cannot be found in sufficient numbers, or cannot be found at all; but they can give no better proof of their dictum except their opinions or impressions. We assert that such Indians exist and can be found, and in proof of our assertion say that, speaking generally, Indians have shown their fitness for any office which has been bestowed on them. Even if it had been a fact that they did not prove as successful in the performance of their duties as British officials, that would not have proved their inferior capacity. For it is well-known that they do not get as much encouragement and backing from the Government as British officials do and their mistakes or faults, if any, are not treated with as much indulgence as those of their British colleagues, for the very good reason that Government practically means their rivals, the Civilians of British race.

But supposing the best Indian officials to be inferior in efficiency to the average British official, which is not a fact, even that should not stand in the way of Indians obtaining office, provided they possessed

sufficient ability at present to carry on the work of the administration of the country. For not only do men improve as opportunity is given them to show their mettle, but the inhabitants of a country have a natural right to manage its affairs, even if they cannot do it as well as some other people. Britishers claim that they are more efficient than, e.g., the Spaniards or the Portuguese. Nevertheless, the public services of Spain and Portugal are manned by their natives. It is said that Americans are better engineers than Englishmen, and in some branches of knowledge, Germans are better professors than Englishmen. But for that reason American engineers and German professors have not been allowed in England to oust English engineers and German professors.

"But you are talking as if India were an independent country; it is a subject country, and as such its affairs cannot be managed in the way the affairs of independent countries are managed." True, India is looked upon as a subject country. But we have been discussing things on the assumption that England's work in India is different from and higher than that of the manager of a cattle-farm, on the not baseless assumption that Lord Morley spoke the truth when he declared Indians to be the "equal subjects of the King" with Britons, on the not unjustifiable assumption that the declaration of the Court of Directors of the East India Company that there was to be no governing caste in India was sincere, and in the not indefensible belief that Queen Victoria's Proclamation and its corroboration by her son and grandson were not meant to deceive us.

Nor are we expecting a policy in dealing with a dependent country which is too generous for any governing nation in the present stage of human development. The American conquest of the Philippines is not even two decades old, and the Filipinos cannot be said to be a more civilised or capable people than ourselves. Nor are they equal or nearly equal to the Americans in efficiency. And yet they have got more power of self-government than ourselves and a far greater proportion of the higher posts in their country than we have got in ours, and they are promised independence at an early date.

It has been said again and again in our columns and in Indian journals generally, that, though every people, even if not possessed of the highest degree of efficiency, have a natural right to serve the state in their country, it is not on that ground alone that we claim to fill the higher offices in our country. We want to prove our fitness according to any *open and public and well-defined* physical, intellectual, and moral test by which the fitness of British candidates may be ascertained. We do not believe in any mysterious properties of the British blood. Let there be a competitive test, however stiff and of whatever character. Competition is not a perfect means of selection; but it is the best that has yet been devised. The unwillingness to enter into an open and fair competition cannot but rouse the suspicion in our minds that the British candidates are not so superior after all and are therefore afraid lest they be beaten in the competition.

In some respects we are, through no merit of our own, in a better position to do the work of administration. We know the country and its people, we know some of its languages as our mother-tongues, we know its manners and customs, and we think we love it and are more concerned in its welfare than British officials in general. And, in spite of the caste system and different creeds, we believe that on the whole we can love and sympathise with our people and can enter into their feelings more than the ordinary run of foreign employees of the Government. This is no extravagant claim; it is put forward in all modesty, and is not in the least meant to disparage officers of the British race.

British methods, British blood and British training and experience.

It has been said that as India is a part of the British empire, it should be governed according to British methods, and for this men of British race and British training and experience are required.

We do not believe in question-begging epithets.

Christians love to speak of Christian virtues. But it may be asked whether there is a single virtue which is or has ever been the monopoly of Christians. The phrase "Christian charity" is in common use. But

is not charity to be found all over the world, and are not uncharitable men to be found among even very orthodox Christians?

Many Hindus use the phrases "Hindu spirituality" and "Western materialism" in such a way as to imply that spirituality is the peculiar characteristic of Hindus, that materialism is not to be found among them to a considerable extent, and that spirituality is non-existent in the West. But all these are baseless assumptions. Similarly Musalmans speak of themselves as "the faithful" and stigmatise as infidels many communities who have not been wanting in faith in God.

We may be allowed to ask what are the peculiar qualities which make administrative methods British? Purity, absence of corruption, impartial justice, absence of oppression, not torturing under-trial prisoners, Government of the people for the people and by the people, the supremacy of law and not of persons or classes, these may be claimed as some of the features which make an administration British. But these features are found in some other countries as well; and in Great Britain itself they are not even a century old. These methods are not in the British blood, they are not inherent in the British character and intellect. Had that been the case they would have characterised the Government of Great Britain even in the eighteenth and earlier centuries. But they grew and developed. The British people had to learn and acquire them, just as some other nations have learned and acquired them. Shall we say, then, both that the British methods are not exclusively British, and that even a century ago Britain was governed according to un-British or, say, Chinese methods? Really we do not exactly know what is meant by British methods, nor when British methods ceased to be Turkish or Chinese and became *British*. Nor can it be said that India is in every respect governed according to British methods, as will be evident from a reference to the constituent elements of these methods enumerated above.

Some of the elements of good rule which are claimed exclusively for British administrative methods, existed in ancient Greece and Rome and ancient India. Let us, therefore, cease to speak of British methods of Government, let us speak of pure, efficient,

progressive and beneficial methods of Government. It will, then, not be so difficult to imagine that good government is impossible of attainment through the instrumentality of non-British officials. For just as if one spoke of Christian virtues, it might seem impossible for non-Christians to have them, so if one speaks of British administrative methods, it may seem impossible for non-British people to adopt them successfully. But plain, simple, epithetless virtues are the common heritage of all earnest-minded men who are bent on cultivating them. Similarly good, progressive methods of government can be learned and followed by men of all races who try to do so.

This is not mere theory. Which feature of the British administrative methods can not be illustrated from the career of some Indian officer or other? If Indians cannot assimilate them, why are there Indians in the Secretary of State's Council and in the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils? Was it an unlucky accident that placed them there? It is unmitigated nonsense to label good administrative methods as exclusively British, and it is worse nonsense to claim that none but men of British race can make them their own.

Instances of pluck, dash and daring, and cool-headedness and resourcefulness in emergencies can be quoted in convincing numbers from the careers of Indian officers of all provinces, not excepting despised Bengal.

We have no desire to make ourselves ridiculous by even seeming to deny the possession by the British race of high qualities of manhood and intelligence in an eminent degree. What we contend is that Indians also possess them, particularly picked men among them.

Much has been said of the value of British training and experience. We do not in the least underestimate it. What we do say is that it is not indispensable in the making of *men* or scholars or statesmen or administrators or captains of industry. Some of the most notable Indian names in modern Indian history are those of men who did not owe their ability and name and fame and usefulness to any British training and experience, though some of them visited England in years of maturity. We should like to know the

names of Britain trained Indians who occupy higher positions in their respective spheres of work than Rammohun Ray, M. G. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dayananda Saraswati, Debendra Nath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Vivekananda, R. G. Bhandarkar, Rajendra Lala Mitra, J. N. Tata, Rash Behary Ghose, Bhudeb Mukherji, Seshadri Iyer, Salar Jung, Syed Ahmed, Mahendra Lal Sircar, T. Madhav Rao, Kristodas Pal, Dinkar Rao, Brajendra Nath Seal and others.

For those who wish to receive the highest education, there are undoubtedly far greater facilities in Great Britain than here. But in the case of ordinary education, it is a mistake to think that the possession of a British pass degree necessarily means intellectual culture superior to that which an Indian degree indicates.

But for various reasons we think it necessary that those who are to occupy posts which are at present usually held by British officers should pass some time in England. In a country like India where differences of caste and creed and theology still mean so much, it is necessary that the ruling men should be such as have cast off to a considerable extent even unconscious caste or creed or theological bias. This is brought about very naturally and easily by a sojourn in Great Britain. Among Indians resident there, there is no perceptible distinction of caste, or gulf of sectarianism. It is also necessary that our ruling men should be of democratic temper. This result may be brought about by experience of Western lands, though unfortunately the opposite result is not unfrequently met with.

There is another important reason why our ruling men should have spent some time in the West. As at present men of white complexion form the governing caste in India, and owing to some peculiarities of Indian criminal law and its administration, the white complexion excites instinctive fear, and a white man who may not possess any claim to respect is paid much deference merely on account of the colour of his skin. This ought not to be. Our ruling men should be able to mix with their British colleagues on terms of perfect equality, if they mix or are allowed to mix

with them at all. Now, an Indian is likely to mix with his British colleagues as social equals quite naturally if he has spent some time with British young men as his fellow students, if he has had his boots blacked by English boot-blacks, has had his dishes washed and rooms swept by English maid-servants, and been served by English coachmen, scullions, scavengers and sweepers in various ways.

British experience is therefore necessary for our Indian magistrates, judges, commissioners, &c. And if the civil service examination be held in India, the selected candidates can be easily given this experience by making them spend a probationary period of two years in England.

Representation of classes and communities in the Public Services.

Mr. P. Theagaroya Chetty, a Madras witness, said before the Royal Public Services Commission that "he thought all classes should be represented adequately" in the public services. Mr. Chaubal asked him: "In selecting men for your business, do you care for efficiency in business, or representation of classes?" He replied, "efficiency." So this gentleman knows how to make the best use of his money by employing the fittest men, but expects that Government should be so unbusiness-like as not to follow the same principle, that Government should not care so much for efficiency as the representation of all classes among its servants! Mr. Chetty further observed that "one class which did not pay as much tax as others was employed in the Government service in very large numbers." He implied that the number of Government servants belonging to a class should bear a fair ratio to the amount of tax it paid. This argument sounds very plausible; but let us examine it a little closely from the point of view of business. Do merchants choose their assistants for the most part from the class to which their best customers belong? Obviously not; they employ the men who are the fittest for the work to be done. Government should also follow the same principle.

Hindu and Musalman landholders and men of business do not care for the representation of all classes among their servants, but employ the fittest men.

This idea of representation of classes in the public services has not arisen in Great Britain, though the clashing interests of classes and the fanaticism of sects exist there, too; because the people there feel that an Englishman is above all and first of all a citizen of England and then a baptist or a miner or a commoner or a peer. When we shall have attained similar national solidarity, nobody will raise the cry of class representation.

Covenanted civilians of the British race who serve in India do not belong to all the various classes of people inhabiting Great Britain. For instance, we do not think there are many among them who are sons of colliers, butchers, costermongers, scavengers, or cobblers. If there be many such, they should come forward and say so. For then their advocacy of the representation of all Indian communities in the Indian public services would be very effective because of its consistency. The British covenanted civilians in India belong for the most part, we think, to middle class families. Therefore their advocacy of class representation in India sounds so hollow in our ears.

Government cannot in India consistently follow the policy of class representation in its public services. There are the army services and there are the civil services. If a Bengali Brahmin, a Gujarati Bania or a Behari Kayastha applies for enrollment in the army, one and all will be told, "you can't be taken in, you are unfit." We need not discuss here the question of their fitness or unfitness. We only wish to point out that Government does lay stress on fitness. Now, if a man cannot be enlisted as a sepoy because of his unfitness, evidently consistency requires that in the civil services, too, unfit men should not be appointed. It cannot be contended that though every one cannot be a soldier, every one can be a Magistrate, a Judge, a professor, and so forth. If there is to be representation of classes in the civil services, evidently there should be such representation in the military services, too.

There is another reason why Government should not go in for the policy of class representation. For how are the people going to be classified? According to religion, sect, sub-sect, race, tribe, caste,

language, or province, or a medley of all the possible diversities that exist? Class representation in the Councils has sown the seeds of great discontent and jealousies in the country, and Government has given special representation only to Musalmans. It is to be hoped the mistake will not be repeated as regards the public services. Taking creeds, sects, castes, tribes, etc., there are hundreds of divisions and subdivisions in the country. Government cannot satisfy the claims of one and all of them.

Do we then desire that particular classes should for ever remain practically excluded from the services? Certainly not. We want them all to get in, but get in by becoming fit. That would be the best thing for them and best for the country, too, in the long run. What Government should do is to make special efforts to educate the backward classes of all communities, the aborigines first of all, and then Hindus and Musalmans and Buddhists and Christians and others. A chain is not stronger than its weakest link. We do not want any weak links in our chain of nationality. We want all communities to come up to the same high level, and enter the public services through the open door of proved fitness, not through the demoralising door of special favours.

Poor men and heredity.

A Madras witness boasting of the Anglo-Madrasi name of William Laughton Vencataramiah said that it was undesirable that the very poor should get into the *corps d'elite* of the Indian Public Service, because their heredity was against their proving successful officers. We do not know how any man having any claim to education could utter such rubbish. Is it a general rule that the sons of wealthy parents are abler than those of poor parents? Is it not rather the case that the sons of poor parents more frequently, or at least as frequently, show great ability? In republican countries the sons of "the very poor" have become Presidents, e.g., Abraham Lincoln, Garfield, &c. Napoleon Bonaparte could not boast of titled or wealthy parents. Hyder Ali was not reared in the lap of luxury or even comfort. There have been Emperors who were slaves or sons of slaves. But why multiply instances?

We have not named poets, philosophers, inventors, scientists, scholars, historians, etc., who were sons of "the very poor"; we have named only a *very few* men who had to rule vast bodies or masses of men. We are very sorry that a countryman of ours should have said so very foolish and unhistorical a thing.

Cramming.

An objection that has been urged by some Anglo-Indian witnesses against the holding of the Civil Service examination in India is that it would encourage cramming and lead to the establishment of cramming institutions like that of Wren's in London. The shedding of prospective crocodile tears by these men is excruciatingly funny. Our plain opinion is that if they do not want us to consider them canting hypocrites they should first agitate for the suppression of Wren's in England, and having succeeded therein they should then speak against the introduction of cramming here. We do not believe that they can be more concerned for the welfare of our motherland than of theirs.

"Swamping."

Another objection urged by them is that if the Examination be held here, the Indian candidates would swamp the service. Let us say once for all that in course of time we do want all the posts for ourselves. That is the only natural thing. And do what Anglo-Indian witnesses will or can, they cannot prevent the *inhabitants* of India from getting all the posts in the long run. But in the mean-time let them not be afraid. It has sometimes been seen that very brilliant graduates of Indian Universities have either not succeeded in the competition or have occupied a low place. So for years to come, only the ablest graduates would compete, and their number is not large.

But suppose the just demand of Indians that the examination should be held here is successfully resisted, and suppose Indians in the last resort made a desperate effort and by raising ample funds sent hundreds of candidates to London for undergoing the examination. What would these Anglo-Indian witnesses do? They would certainly try to devise other means of reducing

statutes and royal proclamations and declarations to a nullity. But would that be the best means for securing the *orderly* development of India? For development there would be, no human power or brains can prevent it; we are speaking only of *orderly* development and progress, in securing which we are so greatly interested.

Are promises sacred or not?

That a certain class of men do not attach any importance to the promises contained in statutes and royal proclamations, is quite clear. Everybody who reads newspapers knows what Lord Lytton wrote on the subject, and the efforts of Fitz James Stephen and Curzon to explain away the Queen's Proclamation are well-known. Before the Public Service Commission of 1886, Mr. John Beames, I.C.S., was asked:—

"836. Are you aware that a statute was passed in 1833, that no one by reason of his birth or descent was to be held incapable of any office or employment if otherwise fit. Your views would be in direct contravention of that policy?"

He replied:—

"Yes. Let it be so."

Before the present Commission Mr. Cardew was examined by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as follows:—

Q.—In so far as your objections to simultaneous examinations are summed up, it really means this, that you are opposed to simultaneous examinations because you want obstacles to be put in the way of Indians getting into the Civil Service. Therefore you make them go to England? Is it not a fact that the only safeguard which the present system holds against the opening of these services is to make the candidates go to England?

A.—It is so.

The Reverend A. Andrew of Chingleput was examined as follows by Mr. Gokhale:—

Q.—Supposing at any time a question arose to decide a point as between expediency and what is right, what would you prefer?—I don't know that that question arises now.

Q.—You are against simultaneous examinations?

Yes.

Q.—What is your reason for holding that view?—The service would be swamped by Indians.

Q.—Supposing attempts are made to send our Indian youths to compete with Europeans. Will you close the English door?—I would in the present state of the country. There must be British supremacy maintained. Indians might be sent to pass the C. S. examination if a statutory minimum is fixed.

Q.—But is that not inconsistent with the promises made to the people of India?—If the promises were going to interfere with the stability of British rule then we must close the English doors.

This *reverend* gentleman may rest assured that he does not shed lustre on the annals of missionary work. Does he know that if the policy advocated by him and Mr. Beames, Mr. Cardew, and others were adopted by the Government, every Englishman from the highest to the lowest would be held, though not quite logically, to be liars? And does he know how that changed frame of mind of Indians would affect the permanence of British rule?

The Absence of proper Educational Institutions.

It has been urged that the examination should not be held in India as there are no good educational institutions here. If there be not, it is the clear duty of Government to establish them. The plea of want of funds would not hold water. There is never any want of funds whenever Government sets its heart on any project or measure.

Controlling Wild Tribes.

Rev. A. Andrew said before the Commission at Madras:—

There are not only the different Provinces throughout the Indian Empire to look after, but the vast frontier line with its numerous wild tribes and states to keep in order. Diplomacy of the highest kind is essential to maintain a pacific control all round these outskirts.

Some other witnesses also have said that a British officer has the prestige of the British name and race, things which are required for dealing properly with the wild frontier tribes.

If the civil service examination be held in India, the British element in the service will not disappear at once tomorrow or in the next decade or in the next generation. So that there would not be a lack of British officers to post at the frontiers. And by the time the service becomes a purely Indian one, the Indians will have recovered their lost prestige, which, by the bye, depends to a great extent on the backing of the Government. If the Government back Indian officers through thick and thin as it does its British officers, the former also can gain in prestige.

Among the frontier tribes the most turbulent are the Pathans of the North-west frontier. Now, it is a historical fact that Raja Man Singh was the governor of Kabul.

It is also a historical fact that Pathan mothers used to hush their crying babes by frightening them with the name of Hari Singh Nalua, as English mothers used the name of Napoleon Bonaparte and Saracen mothers that of Malik Rik (Richard the Lion-hearted). If Indians have entirely lost the capacity of being successful rulers and commanders, which we deny, is it wholly their fault? Atrophy is the result of disuse.

It will be urged that "Bengali Baboos" will swamp the service. In the first place the Bengali Babu does possess executive and governing capacity. In the second place, successful Indian candidates do not any longer belong wholly to Bengal. If the prejudice against the Bengali be undying, Civilians from other provinces may be posted at the frontiers, Civilians belonging to the "warlike" races of India. But perhaps as soon as a province, race or caste, makes remarkable advance in education, it ceases to be held as warlike; though in Europe no such antagonism is recognised between progress in education and fighting capacity.

Evidence given before the Public Service Commission.

The evidence given before the Commission at Madras deserved to be commented upon in detail, but this could not be attempted in our Review, as it is a monthly publication with a very limited space at its disposal. We have therefore discussed only some of the general principles and questions arising out of the evidence. Calcutta evidence we are unable in this number to deal with even in this indirect way. We may attempt the task in our next number. We may only say this much in this number that the lists of official and non-official Bengal witnesses are both unsatisfactory. The Chief Justice is not there, no vakil Judge is there, no leading High Court vakil is there, and while the Provincial executive service is represented by six witnesses, the Provincial Judicial service, properly speaking, has not a single member to represent it. Perhaps the Commission has not aroused any hopes or enthusiasm in Bengal or perhaps there has been some sort of manipulation. But from the people's point of view it would have been well

to place all the possible progressive views before the Commission.

In this connection we may be allowed to offer our tribute of respect and admiration to Mr. Gokhale for the ability, industry and alertness with which he is doing his duty as a member.

How Civilians can be taught law.

In the evidence which he gave before the Public Services Commission at Madras Justice Benson said:

Under the Civil Service Regulations the young Civilian is entitled to two years furlough at the end of his first eight years service in India and nearly all men then take leave if not for two years at least for a year or more. I would offer men inducements to go on with legal study during this period. Those who before going to India have begun "eating their dinners" at one of the Inns of Court would then naturally continue the course and get called to the Bar. If the examination is even now not very difficult it is certainly much more of a reality than it was formerly. It is at least sufficient to direct a willing worker in the way he should go and give him an inducement to accomplish a certain amount of work by a given date. But the "Call" and the preparation for it cost money and that is just what the young Civilian rarely has on furlough. The cost of "getting called" in my time used to be about £200 in all. I would give this sum as an honorarium to any young Civilian who should get called to the Bar, just as Government encourage the study of certain languages by the grant of leave to study for them and the grant of an honorarium on passing. I believe that the grant of such an honorarium would have a powerful influence in inducing the young Civilian to lay himself out for a "call" from the beginning of his career and thus lead him to the study of the civil law on each successive opportunity.

Is it an eternal law of nature or a fundamental principle of the British constitution that Covenanted Civilians must be appointed judges? There are plenty of able munsifs and sub-judges, pleaders, vakils and barristers whose knowledge of law is better than that generally possessed by Civilians and who would gladly accept the post of judges. And these men have learned law at their own expense. Why then should the poor ryots' money be spent to teach Civilians law?

It is rumoured that there is another official suggestion to teach Civilians law. It is that they should work for some time as munsifs and sub-judges. This proposal is open to many objections. In the first place, working as munsifs and sub-judges for a brief period can never be a substitute for a regular legal education and some years' practice at the bar. Secondly, why

should large salaries be paid to Civilians to do the work which munsifs and sub-judges do more efficiently for much smaller salaries? Thirdly, why should litigants get indifferent justice for giving this training to Civilians? Or in other words, why should Civilians acquire knowledge and experience at the cost of the litigants? And lastly if Civilians are appointed to these judicial posts, they are sure to monopolise the healthiest and most comfortable stations, thus adding to the grievances of a very hard-worked and very miserably paid service.

What Mr. Knapp said.

In reply to Lord Ronaldshay, Mr. Knapp, I.C.S., said at Madras that he was not altogether satisfied with the present system. "Indians who entered the Service had sufficient education, but lacked other qualifications. Activity was one of them. He had come across Indians who had passed the Civil Service who were deficient in manners. It would be an undesirable thing to get such men into the Service in any numbers."

Perhaps these Indian Civilians showed less pliancy of the backbone than Europeans expect to find in Indians. And, of course, British Civilians, are, one and all, the very paragons of good manners.

As for activity, let us see what Mr. John Beames said before the Commission of 1886, bearing in mind that he was the most anti-Indian witness, having said: "My opinion is that no Native should be appointed to the covenanted civil service." He observed: "I have been surprised occasionally in times of famine to see the way in which Native Deputy Magistrates would display activity and go about." Further, when asked, "Are they (Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal) deficient in any respects?" He replied, "Certainly not."

As regards the general capacity displayed by Indian civilians the Public Service Commission of 1886 observed in their Report:

The results generally, when considered in connection with the positions attained by European officers of similar standing in the Service, appear to support the view that although, on the one hand, there may not have been any instances of exceptional success in the official careers of the native gentlemen who have entered the Service through the English competition, on the other hand, they have not fallen short of the

positions which Civil Servants with the same length of service ordinarily attain. The Commission is able to add its own testimony that the majority of these Native Covenanted Civilians, who were examined as witnesses, displayed intelligence and ability in the manner in which they gave their evidence.

That "Native" civilians do not achieve exceptional success, may not be their fault at all. For their promotion is in the hands of their rivals, the British civilians; and it is well-known that they do not receive impartial treatment. Sir (then Mr.) K. G. Gupta might have become a lieutenant-governor, but he was sent out of the way to catch fish!

Moreover, our capacity should not be estimated by the level reached by the "Native" covenanted civilians. For it is a matter of common knowledge that the majority of our ablest young men do not or cannot go to England to compete for the civil service. If the examination be held in India, it is certain that a much larger proportion of the ablest men will compete.

Prof. J. C. Bose on "Plant Autographs."

On Friday the 17th January last Professor J. C. Bose delivered an important and inspiring discourse on "Plant Autographs," illustrating it with experiments performed with the help of extremely delicate apparatus invented by himself and constructed under his directions entirely by Indian mechanicians. Though the discoveries that he spoke of were path-breaking, persons with little or no scientific training, including girls in their teens, could follow his address. Needless to say that all his experiments were successful. The concluding portion of his address has been thus reported:

Indians and Scientific Research.

When the lecturer commenced his investigations, original research in India was regarded as an impossibility. No proper laboratory existed, nor was there any scientific manufactory for the construction of special apparatus. In spite of these difficulties it had been a matter of gratification to the lecturer that the various investigations already carried out at the Presidency College had done something for the advancement of knowledge. The delicate instruments seen in operation at the lecture, which had been regarded with admiration by many distinguished scientific men in the West, were all constructed at the College workshops by Indian mechanicians.

It was also with pride that the lecturer referred

to the co-operation of his pupils and assistants, through whose help extensive works requiring ceaseless labour both by day and night had been accomplished. Doubt had been cast on the capacity of Indian students in the field of Science. From his personal experience Professor Bose bore testimony to their special fitness in this respect. An intellectual hunger had been created by the spread of education. An Indian student demanded something absorbing to think about and to give vent to his latent energies. If this could be done, he would betake himself ardently to research into Nature which could never end. There was room for such toilers who by incessant work would extend the bounds of human knowledge.

Before concluding the lecturer dwelt on the fact that all the varied and complex responses of the animal had been foreshadowed in the plant. The phenomena of life in the plant were thus not so remote as had been hitherto supposed. The plant-world like the animal was athrill and athrob with responsiveness to all the stimuli which fell upon it. Thus community throughout the great ocean of life in all its different forms outweighed apparent dissimilarity. Diversity was swallowed up in unity.

The importance of Prof. Bose's Researches.

The remarks of the *Indian Daily News* are worth quoting in this connection.

"The lecture on plant autographs given by Dr. Bose last evening was of absorbing interest. We are unable to do more than to allude to it now but those present were assisting at a discovery the effects of which will be very far reaching and as important as anything done by Faraday or Darwin. The investigation of the "boncharal" which dilates like the heart and for the same mysterious reason was fascinating and goes to the root of the mystery of life. The illustration of the death of a plant and the reversal of the stimulus at the moment of death was lucid beyond measure, but the ability to measure the growth of a plant and to magnify it by a million was the greatest discovery of Dr. Bose. The effect of this ability to measure the growth of a plant is probably one of the first great events of the 20th Century. It means, to begin with, an entirely new light on agriculture, and a revolution, possibly, in all our ideas on the subject. The plant in fact is father of the man. This is the moral of the lecture and the problem of life will be yet solved first by the teachings of plants."

"We said, on Saturday, that the invention of an apparatus by which the growth of a plant is rendered visible was of enormous agricultural importance. The whole subject of the effect of manures is in great uncertainty, and depends at present entirely on inferences at long intervals from the results and these inferences are extremely conflicting. Prof. Bose's instrument can tell us in a minute how a given salt affects a plant growth and whether it approves of it and whether it is good for it. India is an agricultural country with an empirical and fairly successful agriculture of enormous antiquity from which there is a great deal to learn if we could get at the reasons of it. The farmers of Midlothian may get 28 bushels of wheat an acre, against 9 in India or America, and

are no doubt ahead of the world in that respect, but they do it by the use of manures, and the enormous capital involved in the nitrate, phosphate and potash industries shows that agriculture depends more and more on science and scientific assistance. The use of these is still quite empirical and it is still doubtful if money running into millions sterling is not wasted because it is not wanted by the plant. It is the province of science to assist in determining this matter and it is at present very much unsolved. The subject of plant physiology is in fact at the base of all agricultural improvement. The United States Department of Agriculture is at present far and away the leading institution in the world for the furtherance of agricultural knowledge and its bulletins find ready and willing readers all over the States and it is in the United States that Prof. Bose's researches are most attentively followed. Prof. Bose is probably known better in Washington than in his own country but with prophets we have been told that is usually the case. It is the same with eminent men of science. Probably only when it is found that the Nobel prize has gone to an Indian professor shall we realise that we have men like Prof. Bose and Prof. P. C. Ray in our midst. As an instance of the American interest Prof. Harper of Wisconsin, now one of the first American Universities (the University of Prof. Ross), declared three years ago regarding Dr. Bose's researches that it was certainly of the first importance to agriculture that such investigation as his on the seasonal variations of condition in plants, and rate and factors of growth should be developed in the American departments, etc., and for this purpose Prof. Bose's apparatus for quantitative studies was indispensable."

"Education is supposed to have spoilt India according to all our best globe-trotters and our most candid Candidates. Yet it has produced at least one of the few original thinkers of the day in Dr. Bose. But after all when Lord Kelvin declared himself literally filled with wonder and admiration for Prof. Bose's success in the novel and difficult experimental problems relating to electrical waves we fancy India is justified of her children. The new laboratory which will be opened to-day by Lord Carmichael may in fact be regarded as the fitting embodiment of the suggestion of Lord Kelvin made to the Secretary of State for India sixteen years ago 'that a well equipped Physical Laboratory should be added to the University in connection with the Professorship held by Dr. Bose.' Let us hope Dr. Bose will be allowed to research in it to the credit of India and its Government."

"Lord Carmichael referred in fitting terms to the value of scientific work, which benefits not only the place where it is done, but the whole world. As we have seen, scientific work of the most enduring value has been and is being done in Calcutta, and it is the duty of Government and the public to recognise and advance that work by providing them with adequate facilities for carrying on their research work. There is real enthusiasm for educational advance among Indians, and it only requires sympathetic guidance to turn it to most fruitful account. Happily, the ceremony of yesterday * furnishes notable proof of how this enthusiasm may be guided."

* The opening by Lord Carmichael of the new Physical Laboratories of the Presidency College.

Indian Naval Defence.

"London, January 21st. The Naval correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" in an article on "India and Naval Defence" refers to the discussions in progress between the Admiralty and the India Office on the subject of India's contribution to Naval defence. He points out that while India's seaborne commerce amounted to 250 millions sterling, her naval contribution amounts to a paltry £100,000. The correspondent recites the familiar arguments with regard to the growth of our rivals in the Mediterranean and the vital necessity for keeping the route to India open. He declares that India without British administration would be weaker than China, because she is wealthier and has less cohesion, and even if independent, her navy would cost her at least ten millions sterling, while the burden of taxation which is at present on a very moderate scale would be infinitely higher than under the protection of the British Army and Fleet, which she at present enjoys, and upon which her whole prosperity depends.

"The "Daily Telegraph" publishes a leader in connection with the article in which it says that the existing arrangement cannot continue. Either there should not be a subvention or there should be a subvention which should bear a closer relation to the cost of naval defence of the two Empires. The primary safeguard of the security of India and the Self-governing Dominions, says the journal, is British supremacy. These considerations are familiar to the Malay princes, but while the latter hastened to proffer aid, the Government of India stands unresponsive to the renewed challenge to British sea-power. The journal says this is not a matter for the Princes of India but for the Administration." *Reuter*.

On this *The Empire* observes:—

Just as India's trade is the greatest in volume, so her expenditure upon defence far exceeds that of the other dominions; and so also is the efficiency of her troops much greater. * * * *

India with an oversea trade valued at £260,000,000 spends £18,600,000—including her naval contribution—yearly upon defence; Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, with a seaborne trade reaching £272,489,493 between them have together an annual expenditure upon the defences both land and sea of £3,837,433; with an abnormal expenditure of another million or so each when a "Dreadnought" is presented. It should be added that Canada's £7,000,000 will cut off the £300,000 annually which was voted for the building up of the Canadian Navy as proposed by Sir Wilfred Laurier. In addition the fact must not be forgotten that India's troops are, with the exception of the 30,000 volunteers, professional soldiers and always ready for war, while in the whole of the three portions of the Empire considered there are less than 6,000 fully trained men, the remainder being merely local levies and by no means highly organised. Moreover, India provides the finest training ground in the world for the British soldier and the troops here each a high state of efficiency, while the practice of sending nearly 80,000 men abroad for training is not without its advantage to a small and crowded country like Britain, where manœuvre areas are hard to find. The injustice of the demand that, because the other parts of the Empire are giving presents of

"Dreadnoughts" to the Admiralty, India should add a further burden to her taxation will be fully clear when the facts here set forth are considered. The moral, indeed, is that Canada, Australia, and New Zealand should rather be urged to live up to India's example, instead of being set up before a wondering world as paragons of loyalty.

Our position is this. If the colonies do not do their duty in any respect, that is no reason why India should not do hers. But the limits of this duty should be clearly ascertained and understood. It cannot be said that the Indo-British connection is to the advantage of India alone. Great Britain is what she is largely because of her possession of India. Therefore she should contribute largely to the defence of India. But at present India's land-forces are recruited and maintained solely at her own expense. Before being called upon to contribute to her naval defence on an adequate scale, India can justly claim to have her grievance redressed in this respect.

As regards her overseas import and export trade, it is almost entirely in British hands and benefits mainly people of the British race. Not only this. The import trade of India has affected many of her industries very injuriously. We are therefore of opinion that the naval defence of India should be paid for chiefly from the Imperial exchequer of Great Britain.

Military and naval careers should be opened to Indians, so that they can contribute to the defence of India gladly and with self-respect increased, not on compulsion, as it were.

A rabid and illogical outburst.

At the first meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council a member named Mr. Norman Macleod indulged in the following utterance:

"It is beyond the bounds of belief that the Delhi and similar outrages could take place unnoticed in the midst of a crowd and yet no one has come forward to denounce the miscreant. We hear all round of the sins of the police—a deserving and much-maligned body—but not a word of the sins of the people and I have read and heard of sympathy unveiledly expressed for most cold-blooded murders. As long as this attitude of mind exists, as long as the Indian populace display apathy how can anyone expect a reasonable man to admit the possibility of giving an equal voice to such people in the administration of this country, people who so little understand what their duties and responsibilities are as loyal citizens."

This rabid and illogical outburst is noticed because it found expression in the Council Chamber. If Mr. Macleod has really heard and read what he says he has, why has he not given definite information to the police so that the writers and speakers may be watched and punished, as they ought to be? Bomb-throwing is a crime of Western origin. We have not heard that in the West as soon as a bomb is thrown by a criminal, people are able to rush to the nearest police station to hand over the culprit to the police or give them information leading to his certain arrest. And yet in the west people continue to enjoy self-government. The reason is, bomb-throwers do not take the public into their confidence, and, like other criminals, try to elude observation and escape as quickly as practicable. It is not true that in every case of bomb-throwing in the West, the criminal has been found and punished.

As regards the attempted assassination of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the police should not exemplify Aesop's fable of the one-eyed deer, if they have not done so already. It should not be taken for granted that the criminal *must* belong to this or that particular community, Indian or foreign. The Bengal partition created great excitement in Bengal. And therefore any outrage committed at that time was naturally ascribed to the Bengalis. Against Lord Hardinge there has been no violent feeling or writing among Bengalis, and the rest of India is highly pleased with him. The Calcutta merchants and their organs, no doubt, indulged in violent speech and writing against Lord Hardinge, one of them, *The Statesman*, going so far as to say "that man must go"; but they are known as a non-criminal profit-calculating body of men. There has been great excitement among Musalmans for some time past, on account of Persian and Turkish affairs; but it is not owing to any acts of omission or commission of Lord Hardinge's Government. On the contrary His Excellency and Lady Hardinge have actively sympathised with and taken part in all lawful movements in aid of Turkey. In countries notorious for anarchist or terrorist outrages, unscrupulous members of the secret police, in order to prevent the termination of their employment in times of

quiet, have been known to employ provoking agents or actual perpetrators of such deeds. The C. I. D. no doubt know all these things, and are following all possible clues, irrespective of previous good or ill repute of particular classes or communities.

Rabindranath's "Gitanjali:"

In the London *Times*' Review of the Year, published on December 31, 1912, we find the following appreciation of Rabindranath Tagore's "Gitanjali" englished by himself:—

In the fields of imaginative or "creative" literature, it is needless to say that the "output" has been enormous, and depressing to record that very little of it has reached any high degree of merit. In poetry many will have found the richest of the year's sheaves to be the introduction, through his own translations, of the poems of the Indian mystic, Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Report of the Dacca University Committee.

The Report of the Dacca University Committee has been written with much care and considerable elaboration of detail. We could wish that the Bengal Government had given more time to the public for its consideration. It came out at a time when the country had its attention engrossed with the Congress and the various social and other conferences. There was also the bomb outrage at Delhi to distract public attention. The Public Service Commission must continue to claim the greatest attention. The Simla Conference on the education of the domiciled community has also published its report. Affairs in Turkey, Persia, Tibet and China cannot be lost sight of. So that within the 15th of February next, which is the last date on which all comments and criticism on the Dacca Committee's Report must reach Lord Carmichael's Government, it will not be easy for people to offer any thoroughgoing criticism on it. So far as we are concerned we get practically only the present number in which to discuss the scheme for we did not get the report on its publication, but had to buy it after some delay. It was only natural that the Review which subjected the project, when it was first broached, to the most elaborate criticism should be expected in its enthusiasm for

criticism to buy a copy of the report. As our size does not admit of indefinite expansion, we can not write much on it, though we have read it through and had much to say.

A Teaching and Residential University.

In some previous numbers we have said much on the teaching and residential features of Universities and we need not repeat what we have already said. From the Report we find that the proposed Dacca University will not teach anything, generally speaking, that is not taught at Calcutta, nor will it teach anything to a higher standard than here. So, so far as the teaching feature is concerned, it does not much matter whether you call the place of instruction a college or a University. We shall point out later on that Dacca proposes to do systematically certain things in the way of teaching which Calcutta is utterly lacking or deficient in.

When the project was first announced, the greatest stress was laid on its teaching and residential features, leading people to expect that Dacca would in course of time become another Oxford or Cambridge. Let us see now how far that expectation is likely to be fulfilled so far as the residential feature is concerned.

In a residential University the thing that is laid stress upon is that it is a sort of family in which the tie of relationship is the common pursuit of knowledge. It is a body composed of the discoverers and the learners of truth, of the teachers and the taught, of the trainers and the trained, of disciples and masters. Men of different races, creeds, complexions or castes may be there, but these distinctions are either ignored and lost sight of, or occupy a very subordinate place in men's thought. Thus the atmosphere becomes liberalising, humanising and unifying. What will be the case at Dacca? First let us look at the teachers. The distinction, based on the colour of the teachers' skin, between the Indian and Provincial Educational Services, will be maintained. It is a strange distinction in a place of learning. The students will see constantly before their eyes the concrete fact that however distinguished

for scholarship and original work a countryman of theirs may be, he cannot claim to be in the higher service as a matter of right. They will see that it is not intellectual or other capacity that matters so much as a white skin and a European name. That will undoubtedly be a great incentive to the devoted pursuit of knowledge.

Turning to the senate or convocation, as it is called, we find that Musalmans are given special and separate representation. We have not heard that at Oxford or Cambridge there is separate representation of Roman Catholics, Nonconformists, Unitarians, positivists, Hindus and Musalmans.

As regards the students, we find that Musalmans are to read in a separate College and Hindus in other Colleges of their own. But even this has not satisfied the Committee. The Dacca University is to be the incarnation of the Twentieth Century Brahmā and will create another caste, yclept the "well-to-do," whatever that may mean. In the beginning there was Brahmā, and he willed that there should be four castes. And according to his will, the Brāhman sprang from his head, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaishya from his thighs, and the Sūdra from his feet. The Twentieth Century Brahmā believes in evolution and knows that the process of evolution cannot be arrested. So he wills that there is to be yet another caste, intituled the "well-to-do." It has not yet been revealed in the Twentieth Century Veda from what part of the body of the up-to-date Brahmā this new creature is to be born.

This caste of well-to-do's, again, is to be a mixed caste compounded of Hindus and Musalmans. The Musalmans are a democratic people, but their solidarity will be broken by the Well-to-do's among them living and studying apart from the Ill-to-do's. The question may be incidentally asked here, as to why, if fat Hindus and fat Musalmans can live and study together, lean Hindus and lean Musalmans cannot do so. To be logical and thoroughgoing the Committee ought to have proposed separate Colleges for corpulent Hindus and corpulent Musalmans.

Regarding hostel accommodation, there

will be distinction between Hindu and Musalman, and between Namásudra and other Hindu castes. For the existence of caste distinctions, we do not and cannot in the least blame the Committee. What we have said before and say now is, that on account of the Government's declared policy of religious neutrality and other causes, any residential system under official auspices and control cannot but enforce caste distinctions in a more rigid form than is observable in their present relaxed condition in Hindu society. This setting back of the hand of social reform, liberalism and progress is very undesirable. Therefore the residential system should not be tried under official auspices, or Government should take the risk of giving resident students the option of observing or not observing caste distinctions in messing, as is the case in some private institutions.

Again, Musalman students living on charity need not reside in the College or with their natural guardians, but there is no such exemption for poor Hindu Students who do or may live on charity. There must be such Hindu students at Dacca at present or in future.

Regarding athletic exercises, the Well-to-do's will have ponies to ride as an additional exercise. Probably the Ill-to-do's will not be taught riding lest the world repeat the proverbial joke about Beggars on Horseback. But the state of the domestic finances of some of the Well-to-do's may set waggish tongues loose in the same direction. However, the Lean Men may be permitted to have the satisfaction of grooming the Fat Men's horses.

Regarding Studies, Musalmans will be allowed to obtain degrees of which the *real* value will be three-fourths mediaeval and one-fourth modern, but the *declared* value will be equal to the modern degrees of B.A. and M. A. obtainable by showing proficiency mainly or entirely in modern knowledge. There is to be no such mediaeval door to preferment open for Hindus.

Regarding academic costume, Musalmans will wear a uniform dress: the Hindus will be free to choose what garments they like (excluding motley, we hope.)

Regarding religious instruction and observance, for Musalmans "prayer and religious observance and instruction should be

compulsory for those boys whose parents so wish, under regulations to be made by the governing body of the college." For Hindus and others, there is to be no such rule, for which we do not blame the Committee.

Regarding the Bengali language and literature, in addition to the existing Bengali books, which in the opinion of the Committee are mainly of a Hindu character, there is to be a literature of a Musalman character, written to order as it were.

So it is quite clear that the spirit of a corporate life will have free play on account of the various all-pervading and complex divisions which will exist in the Dacca University. Who does not know that free ventilation is greatly facilitated by dividing a house into many separate rooms by the erection of a good many walls?

The blowing of the breeze of scholastic fraternity through the partitions of race, creed, caste, studies, dress and pecuniary position, in some cases dividing the teachers, and in some cases both teachers and students, does not seem to us possible.

As proposed to be constituted, Dacca will not, in our opinion, be another Oxford or Cambridge. If our fears be falsified, we shall rejoice.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

"The Department of arts will include the subjects ordinarily studied in an Indian University, instruction being given in the lower branches by the colleges and in the higher by the University."

Under these circumstances, the proposals involve some duplication of costly appointments, &c. So many principals need not be appointed.

"The number of languages taught will be much smaller."

Regarding Islamic Studies, the report says:—

"We endorse the opinion of the committee that a student thus trained will have the opportunity of becoming a ripe scholar and a man of culture, who should make a good Government officer or a suitable recruit for a learned profession."

After the words "a ripe scholar and a man of culture" we should like to add the words "of the mediaeval age approximately." Islamic studies and Brahmanic studies may certainly sharpen the intellect and produce some effect on character and the emotions,

but they can not be considered a substitute for modern knowledge and culture. A student pursuing modern studies is unquestionably a better informed and more useful man and is more fit for life under modern conditions than a Bachelor or Master of Islamic Studies is likely to be. Under the circumstances, it is an injustice to Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan B.A.'s and M.A.'s to lay down that B.I.'s M.I.'s would for all purposes be considered equal to them and this injustice is mainly from the pecuniary or worldly point of view. But the harm that will be done to Muhammadans themselves will be of a deeper character. The sooner the people of India leave mediaevalism behind and bring themselves in a line with the rest of humanity the better. But whilst Hindus will have a blessing in the guise of a difficulty in having to pass the B.A. and M.A. for obtaining worldly preferment, Musalmans will be tempted to loiter in the old world of mediaeval days by the artificial equalization of the values of the B. I., and B. A., and M. I. and M. A. degrees.

We certainly think that, whatever drawbacks there may be at Dacca, there should be an Engineering College there. A modern University without an Engineering department would be a very defective institution. For this very reason, we must strongly condemn the proposal to deprive Calcutta of its Civil Engineering College. Paul ought to be paid, but Peter ought not to be robbed for the purpose.

The Committee "debated the question whether a College of Agriculture should form a part of the new University. It appears to us that there is no scope at Dacca for an institution of University grade, but that it might be desirable to found an agricultural school in connection with the Government experimental farm, which is situated a few minutes to the north of the civil station." We are altogether of a different opinion. Situated in a province which is mainly agricultural, in a part of the province which has practically a monopoly of jute production and raises an immense crop of rice, and on the borders of which lies Assam the home of tea and the growing rubber estates, Dacca seems to us eminently fitted to have an agricultural college. But as all our existing Univer-

sities are mainly concerned with literary, speculative and ornamental studies, it is only fitting that the new one should fight shy of instruction which may increase the number of producers of wealth and improve the material condition of the people. It is in harmony with the entire character of the scheme that there is to be no technological department, also. As the improvement of the material condition of the people is of paramount importance in India, so is the fighting of disease a matter of great urgency. But in the Dacca scheme, though there is enough money to throw away on practically useless or retrograde projects, there is no sufficient money for a full-fledged Medical College. There is for the present to be only a section teaching up to the first M.B. standard of Calcutta.

COLLEGES AND STUDENTS.

"All Muhammadan students in residence will join the Muhammadan College, *unless it is found desirable at some future time to attach a hostel for Muhammadans to some other college; but it should be open to a Muhammadan student who lives with his parents or guardians to enter any college on the same terms as other non-resident students.*"

The words we have italicised shed a faint gleam of hope for the lover of human solidarity.

In the college for the well-to-do classes, there is a provision for 100 Hindu and 20 Musalman students. We could wish all the colleges were similarly constituted for all creeds and sects.

ENTRANCE QUALIFICATIONS.

The committee "consider that, for the present at any rate, the matriculation certificate of Calcutta must remain the sole general entrance qualification for the two universities."

When the Dacca project was first broached, its advocates thought they had scored an important point by pointing out that Calcutta Matriculation candidates numbered so many thousands that it was impossible to observe equality of standard in valuing their answers. Whether one could pass the Calcutta Matric or not was a game of chance, said a well-known missionary advocate of the scheme. So it was thought that one of the first things that Dacca would do would be to hold a separate Matric of its own and save some candidates

from being victimised by the Calcutta game of chance. But alas, alas, man proposes, but stubborn fact disposes!

GENERAL COURSES OF STUDY.

"The Dacca university should adopt the length and divisions of the Calcutta courses in arts and science, which are well suited to students who begin their university career at the stage of development reached by a boy who has passed through a Bengal high school. Uniformity in this respect will also be convenient in the case of two universities whose students, drawn from the same area, may sometimes be compelled to transfer from one university to the other."

This is a wise decision. But it also shows that from the point of view of subjects of study, a separate University was not required at Dacca.

We find that some subjects taught at Calcutta have been omitted. We think Pali and Geology should have been included. As for new subjects, Sociology and Anthropology should be made subjects of study. India offers exceptional opportunities for the study and investigation of these subjects at first hand. Political science is sufficiently important to be treated as an independent branch of knowledge, not as subsidiary to economics. As parts of economics, again, statistics and finance should be specially emphasised. In the advanced courses of history epigraphy and numismatics should have been included.

The adoption of the system of "examination by compartments," so far as it goes, is good.

BENGALI.

"The sub-committee express the view that no book should be rejected as a text or a model on account of its containing words conveying ideas and sentiments peculiar to the Muhammadans, Buddhists or other sections of the population, or such words in common use among them as have not an exact equivalent in current Bengali: all indigenous sources should be drawn upon to enrich the vocabulary and to increase the expressive power of the language, so that its growth and expansion should become the common concern of every section of the people.

"Bengali literature is at present permeated mainly by Hindu ideas, and there is a great paucity of literature on subjects derived from authentic Arabic or Persian sources such as will interest Muhammadan students. To remove this defect the sub-committee suggest that the Government or the University should encourage authors to publish Bengali books of a Muhammadan character and that such books should be included in the works prescribed as models of style."

Great Britain and Ireland are inhabited by both Protestants and Roman Catholics and most of the British authors being Pro-

testants, English literature "is permeated mainly by" Protestant ideas. But neither the British Government nor any British University has taken steps to encourage authors to publish English books of a Roman Catholic character, with a view to such books being prescribed as models of English style. We suppose they should take a lesson from the Dacca University.

The Anglo-Indian official world and all who work under their influence and direction seem obsessed with the idea that in India everything human,—legislative and local bodies, the different branches of the administration, University management, studies, language, literature etc.,—should partake of a bipartite character, Hindu and Muhammadan.

If books of a Muhammadan character are to be *encouraged*, why not those of a Christian or Buddhist character to be ordered to be written? Then Bengali literature may be *improved* in all directions.

We do think that books written by Hindu, Musalman, Christian, Buddhist and other authors should be prescribed as textbooks or as models of style when they are sufficiently good. But Bengali literature as literature is neither Hindu nor Musalman, nor Christian; it is simply Bengali. And the idea that models of style can be manufactured to order, is simply ridiculous. Which of the models of English prose style are the creations of a Government or University fiat? Did Milton or Burke or Addison or Goldsmith or Cowper or Carlyle or Landor or Ruskin or Matthew Arnold write to anybody's order? If any man or class of men love literature, have the literary genius, have something to say to their fellowmen and feel an irresistible impulse and a delight in giving literary expression to it, they will create literature. Government or University patronage can help in bringing forth text books, cram-books and catch-rupees, but it is a vain hope to expect the birth of models of style from such encouragement. There may be born books like some of the wretched ones recommended by the Calcutta University as "models of style."

The Committee have shown good sense by recognising that "Bengali is the common vernacular of the Muhammadan student of Eastern Bengal."

Bengali, like every other written language, ought to be studied philologically and historically, but we do not find any provision made for such study.

SANSKRIT.

From the worldly point of view Hindus and Musalmans would have been treated impartially if a separate department of Brahmanic studies had been created and made equal in value to Islamic studies as leading to degrees. But we are grateful to the Committee for not showing this consistent impartiality. For the more modernised citizens we have in the country the better.

But we cannot endorse the reasoning of the Committee which has led them to decide not to recommend the creation of a Department of Brahmanic studies. They "consider that if it be decided to introduce an Anglo-Sanskrit course, the experiment should be made in connection with the Sanskrit College in Calcutta." Why not, then, try the experiment of introducing an Anglo-Arabic course in connection with the Calcutta Madrasah?

"The sub-committee state that the study of Sanskrit has suffered in Indian Universities by the failure to bring it into relationship with other subjects. By their suggestions that a candidate studying the early history of India for the B.A. degree should be permitted to offer the original text of some of the Gupta inscriptions as part of his examination in Sanskrit, and that a candidate taking philosophy should be allowed to include in his Sanskrit course a philosophical text in the original, they indicate how this defect may be removed."

This is good.

ECONOMICS.

The course of economic studies suggested by the sub-committee is designed at the same time to promote the general culture of the student, and to fit him for any career in which he may be called upon to deal with business affairs.

Descriptive, economics is given a prominent place in the B.A. course. The student of a western University is well acquainted with the elementary facts upon which economic theories have been built. For him the reading of a text-book on economics is comparatively easy; in it he finds in an organized form much of his previous knowledge and experience. The disadvantage under which an Indian student labours in this respect can only be removed by introducing him at an early stage to the common facts of industrial processes and organization. Simple descriptions of the materials, conditions and methods of the more important industries, including agriculture, will form the chief portion of this branch of the subject, which will also include the usual matters dealt

with in text-books on commercial geography and Indian economics. Special attention should be paid to local economic conditions and activities, and in dealing with these students should be encouraged to cultivate their powers of observation and to get into touch with practical affairs.

The same principle of scholarship in close contact with the actualities of economic life should govern the scheme of M.A. studies. The course, besides covering the more advanced generalities of the subject, will allow specialization, on the one hand so broad as to give scope to the student's particular abilities, on the other hand so limited as to afford him time to consult original sources of information and to gain a thorough mastery of the conclusions already reached by accepted authorities. A student embarking on such a specialized course of studies need not necessarily follow the beaten track; a problem like the famine problem, an industry like the cotton industry, a period of economic history, the works of a great economist, any of these would furnish him with ample opportunity for study and research, for the materials would be scattered, and their collection and systematic treatment would involve wide reading and careful and original thought. These individual studies will necessarily be guided by the economic interests and trend of research of the seminar.

We are in agreement with the Committee in these views.

We think finance and statistics should be given a very prominent place.

PHILOSOPHY.

The physiology of the brain and the nervous system should form part of the philosophy course.

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION AND STUDY.

We approve of the methods of tutorial instruction and supervised private study and of the arrangement that B. A. lectures (both pass and honours) should be inter-collegiate. Amidst so many separating influences, this will be a welcome unifying feature.

We do not think one hour's instruction a week will be enough for Bengali.

The proposal to establish an archaeological and historical museum is a step in the right direction.

The committee have done well to recognise that

"Indian students, given the requisite opportunity, have shown themselves to be capable of advanced work. An Indian parent can rarely afford to support his son at a University after he has taken the degree of Master; and it will therefore be necessary to grant scholarships to a certain number of students to enable them to remain for research work.... As proposed by the Indian Universities Commission, the 25 years' age-limit for entering Government service should be relaxed in the case of research students. We further

suggest that the University should issue a quarterly journal for the publication or republication of papers giving the results of original research on the part of both professors and students."

STAFF.

We do not hold the committee responsible for the distinction, mainly racial, made in India between Indian educational and Provincial educational service officers; but they ought to have recorded a protest against it, as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose has done in his minute of dissent in the following terms:—

Though I am strongly in favour of the introduction of a large European element, I am bound to say that if the object of a residential University is to foster a corporate life and a feeling of comradeship, I doubt very much whether putting the European and the Indian professors into separate pens is the best way to attain it. As Sir Valentine Chirol points out, before Sir Charles Aitchison's Commission sat, "Indians and Europeans used to work side by side in the superior graded service of the department, and until quite recently they had drawn the same pay. The Commission abolished this equality and put the Europeans and the Indians into separate pens. The European pen was named the Indian Educational Service, and the Native pen was named the Provincial Educational Service. Into the Provincial Service were put Indians holding lower posts than any held by Europeans and with no prospects of ever rising to the maximum salaries hitherto within their reach. To pretend that equality was maintained under the new scheme is idle, and the grievance thus created has caused a bitterness which is not allayed by the fact that the Commission created analogous grievances in other branches of the public service."—(*Indian Unrest*, pages 213-14.)

The Committee doubtless felt themselves bound to follow the existing system; but the scheme formulated by them should be liable to revision after the Islington Commission.

The Committee recognise that "good teachers, even for the higher work, can readily be obtained in the Provincial Service" so far as Sanskrit and Philosophy are concerned. We can at a moment's notice name Provincial Service men who are as good for higher work in other subjects as any Indian Service man.

"It is very desirable that these special professors should have already made names for themselves in Europe. If such is the case, their fame will become associated with the Dacca University, and will inspire confidence in its teaching. They will, alone and in conjunction with the junior members of the staff and the research students, publish memoirs in the various learned and scientific journals of Europe, and will thus secure a recognition for their adopted University which will prove a continual and powerful incentive to further effort. They will serve as a connecting link with Europe, and so assist in keeping the University

in touch with other centres of learning and research. They will put life, energy and high character into all branches of the teaching of their subject. They will, in fact, teach the teachers—the most important branch, perhaps, of the work of a modern professor. They will also establish schools of research, in which investigation will be carried out under their influence and direction. Indeed, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the force which even one man of great ability and enthusiasm for his subject can exercise in a University. He literally inspires both his staff and his pupils, and it is difficult to conceive of a University which rightly fulfils its mission, unless it possesses some men on its teaching staff of this high quality. The value of such men is thoroughly well recognized in Europe, where every effort is made to attract and retain them.

This is a fine passage embodying a fine dream, but one which will not materialise until the racial distinction made between the Indian and Provincial Service is utterly done away with. The distinction is unjust, galling and insulting, and must be resented more than ever in a residential institution.

DISTINCTIVE UNIVERSITY DRESS.

"The wearing of cap and gown or other distinctive University dress is an aid to discipline and an encouragement to corporate feeling. The dress of Hindu students does not lend itself readily to distinctive treatment and it does not appear to be practicable to prescribe any kind of University uniform for undergraduates. The Sub-Committee for the Muhammadan College recommend that a uniform dress should be prescribed for the members of that College; in their case no special obstacle exists, and we think that the suggestion is a good one."

The ordinary everyday dress of Hindu and Musalman Bengalis is the same. Only some of the latter use a cap, which is not always the fez. Some no doubt dress like Behari or Hindustani Musalmans. Hindu and Musalman Bengali pleaders dress in the same way. When Hindu and Musalman students go to Oxford or Cambridge they wear the same academical costume as English students. Taking all these facts into consideration, we do not think it would be beyond the wit of man to devise a common university dress for all classes of students. Had we the power we would insist that this should be done. The Bengal Government should insist upon this being done and call for designs from competent tailoring firms and others.

PHYSICAL TRAINING.

We whole-heartedly support all that the Committee say under this heading, with the addition that riding should be taught to all students who can pay a fee specially.

fixed for the purpose, and not merely to "well-to-do" or engineering students.

COLLEGE FOR THE WELL-TO-DO CLASSES.

We are entirely and absolutely against the establishment of a separate college for the well-to-do classes. If even the Prince of Wales can join an ordinary Oxford College, we do not see why our well-to-do students can not join colleges where "ill-to-do" students pursue their studies. If they are too vain or arrogant to do so, it is no business of Government or a University to pander to that undesirable feeling. The utmost that it is allowable to do for them is to provide good hostel accommodation for them. A class that in any way isolates or allows itself to be isolated, suffers and makes the country a loser. Contact and competition with the larger world is good for all. If the college for the well-to-do classes be really established the young men "educated" there will become arrogant and cut off from the main current of national life. There will not be much cordial feeling between them and other students. A considerable number of the sons of the old landholding classes have benefited by education in our ordinary colleges. As for rich pleaders, they all owe their training to the ordinary colleges.

Social precedence in Hindu society is according to caste, not according to wealth. If there be any social precedence in Musalman society, it is determined by birth, the Saiyid occupying the foremost place. Even this sort of distinction is undesirable, and a distinction based on wealth is still more so. We share Dr. Rash Behary Ghose's views on this subject:

I am sorry I cannot bring myself to accept the recommendation of my colleagues upon this subject. In the first place, the expression "well-to-do classes" is extremely vague. In the next place, the comparative isolation of young men belonging to these classes would deprive them of half the benefits of a residential University. I am also strongly of opinion that if the wealthier classes want a separate college it is their duty to endow it themselves. And this reminds me that it has been suggested that the landlords' fees paid under the Bengal Tenancy Act should be diverted for the purpose of building the proposed college. Now it seems to me that this proposal is based upon the assumption that the whole of these moneys belong to big landlords. This assumption however is not, I venture to think, well-founded. My own impression is that the greater part of these fees is due to tenure-holders or to small land-owners. I should also point

out that the law says that these fees *may be* and not *shall be* forfeited to the Government. It is therefore a mere privilege which, I take it, the Government would be slow to exercise not only in the interest of the landlord who may happen to be a person under disability or a *pardanashin* woman, but also in its own interest, as the three years must be calculated from the date of the service of the notice prescribed in section 12, section 13 or section 15, as the case may be, of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and we all know that such notices are not always duly served.

ENGINEERING.

We think the committee have made out a good case for an Engineering College at Dacca. But in spite of their special pleading we are not convinced that Calcutta should be deprived of the college that it has. The neighbourhood of Calcutta offers great advantages for engineering education. It would be scandalous not to take advantage of them in the most natural and direct way.

In order to show that there should be Law classes at Dacca, and we agree that there should be, the Committee observe that "the Dacca law classes, which have been in existence since 1864, have produced many sound lawyers and successful practitioners; their abolition would occasion great disappointment and discontent. To deprive the new University of legal students, staff and library would limit its scope and restrict its variety in a very important direction, and would render the whole institution less complete and efficient."

We are in sympathy with this line of defence. We would only ask the Committee and Government to bear in mind that exactly the same things may be said with regard to the Sibpur Civil Engineering College and the Calcutta University. What is sauce for the goose, &c.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Out of 140 members of the convocation only 30 are to be elected by the registered graduates, 25 by the general body and 5 Muhammadan graduates by the Muhammadan registered graduates. Ten Muhammadan graduates will be nominated by the Chancellor, and 21 other persons, of whom at least $\frac{2}{3}$ shall be non-officials, shall be similarly nominated. So that the non-officials will be in a hopeless minority. All professors (excluding junior and assistant professors) will be ex-officio members. All Indian Service men will be professors and the majority of Provincial and Subordinate Services men will be junior and assistant professors. So that this will mean that all European instructors will be senators and most

Indian instructors will not be senators. And yet, in spite of such racial distinctions, it is hoped that corporate life and comradeship will grow up at Dacca. Junior and Assistant Professors are to be excluded from the Board of Studies also.

The establishment of an Appointment Board is a good idea.

Regarding the Muhammadan Electorate Dr. Rash Behary Ghose says:—

The proposed separate electorate for Muhammadan graduates may, I fear, lead to a cleavage between them and the Hindu graduates with very undesirable results. I am, however, entirely in favour of reserving a certain number of memberships for Muhammadans to be elected by a mixed electorate.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

One of the main objects of a University is to impart knowledge, train the intellect and enable the mind to seek and discover new truths. Another main object is to produce men of character. In order to develop and strengthen the character, it is necessary to isolate and protect the young from evil influences to a great extent. But complete isolation is not desirable; for the students are in their future careers to become men of the world, not hermits or monks. They are to acquire knowledge of the world, and to *be* good and *do* good in spite of opposing forces. Therefore in a residential university there should be provided, under proper safeguards, points of contact with the life of the town and of the country. The students cannot otherwise be men of robust character; they may have only what Macaulay calls "valetudinarian virtue."

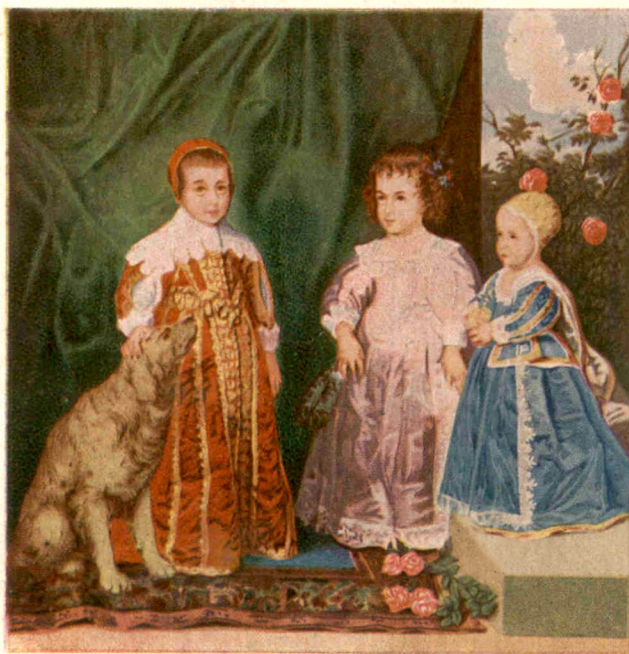
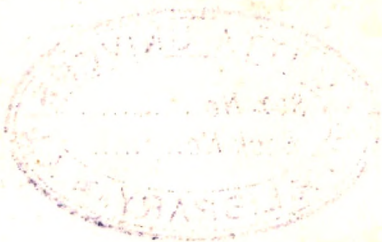
Character has two sides, a negative and a positive one. The negative aspect is that a man should refrain from indulging in vice or in doing harm to others, &c. This ensures the harmlessness of a man. But the world cannot go on with only harmless men. Men must also be doers; they must do good, and combat and destroy evil. Only men who love their fellow-men can develop this positive side of character to the full. This love both finds scope in and springs from social service. We cannot develop this theme in this brief note, nor indicate the possible lines of social service for students. But a residential university should afford opportunities for such service.

Another great object of a University is to produce good and useful citizens. Therefore a University should have points of contact with the administration of the country and its civic life. Our grown-up men have very little direct power to mould the political and civic life of the country and our students, *nil*. But, as the Dacca University Committee's Report has not excluded the word "citizenship" from its pages, we may be allowed to enquire how young men are to have the sense of citizenship developed without any contact with civic or political life? Is it not vain to dream of having an Oxford in Bengal without all the features and rights and privileges of Oxford? Cannot the graduates, instructors and senators of Dacca have the franchise for the municipal and the provincial legislative council?

On the points touched upon in this note, the Report is entirely silent.

Indian Civilians and Riots.

Mr. Cardew, officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, said in his evidence before the Royal Public Services Commission that "Indian" Collectors had generally failed to rise to emergencies like riots. This seems to us something like a revelation, for as far as we know in all riots that took place recently, the Magistrates concerned in every case were Europeans. It is generally believed that a little more tact on the part of the Magistrates could have averted these riots. But the ordinary run of European Magistrates and Collectors are unable or do not care to enter into the feelings of the people. Were not the Magistrates at Mymensingh, Fyzabad, Chunar, Tuticorin, Calcutta and Bombay, Europeans when serious riots occurred in those places, and is it not a fact that the failure of the Magistrates who were in charge of the places mentioned above to rise equal to the occasion, caused these serious riots? Indeed Mr. Cardew himself did not give facts and figures, for in that case he would have contradicted himself. Indian Collectors can better manage the people, for they are of the people and know where to conciliate or to hit. It is crass ignorance of facts to say that riots are more frequent under Indian Collectors than Europeans and if facts indicate anything they do to the contrary.



DAUGHTERS OF CHARLES I.
By Van Dyck.

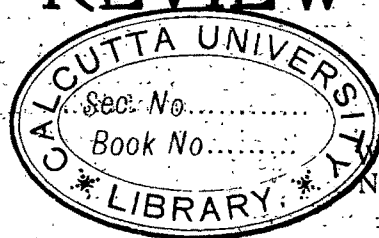
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STAGES AND EPOCHS OF CIVILIZATION*

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B. Sc., (LONDON.)

PHYSICALLY man is closely related to the animal kingdom. The elements of the human organism are exactly like those of the animal. Muscle for muscle, artery for artery, bone for bone, the body of man is built on the same plan as that of the higher apes. In fact, from an anatomical point of view, he is more nearly related to the higher order of apes than these are to the lower. On his emotional side also he strongly resembles some of the higher animals. He is affectionate or spiteful, is jealous, cowardly or courageous much as some animals are.

There are some important points, however, in which man differs from animals:—

First:—Naturalists are now agreed that man and animals reason and think in virtue of a faculty which is common to both. But from the earliest times of which we have any definite information, the intellect is found incomparably more developed in man than in animals. In intellectual capacity there is a wide gulf between them, and no transitional forms have as yet been found to bridge it. So far as cranial capacity is an index of intellectual power, the palæolithic man was not only very far ahead of the highest brutes, but would appear to have had as large a share of it as his descendants at the present day, whether savage or civilised.†

* From the forthcoming work of the writer on "Epochs of Civilisation" now in the press.

† The cranial capacity of the skull from La Chapelle-aux-Saintes is 1600 c. c., and that of the

Secondly:—There are two characteristics which, in the opinion of anthropologists like A. de Quatrefages, differentiate man altogether from animals, and are not met with in the latter even in rudimentary forms.—(1) the spiritual faculty which inspires him with a belief in supernatural beings and in a future state; and (2) the moral faculty which enables him to perceive moral good and evil independently of any consideration of utility, or physical welfare or suffering. We have evidence of the existence of these two faculties in primeval man and in savages of the present day who are but little distinguished from him. Some of the palæolithic skeletons found in France had been buried with the weapons of the deceased, and, in one case at least, with the leg of a bison in addition, evidently to provide food for the departed spirit. The Neolithic man used to raise megalithic monuments over the graves of the dead, and, as accompanying gifts, used to put in them various kinds of arms, vases, and ornaments.

Not a single savage tribe has as yet been

Neanderthall skull is about 1700 c. c. The capacity of the Cro-Magnon skulls varies from 1590 to 1715 cubic centimeters. The mean cranial capacity of modern Parisians as given by Topinard is 1558, of the Chinese 1518, of the Negroes of West Africa 1430, and of the Tasmanians 1452. Prof. Sollas observes, in his anniversary address to the Geological Society in 1910: "They [the skulls] indicate that the primitive inhabitants of France were distinguished from the highest civilised races not by a smaller, but by a larger cranial capacity."

found in any part of the globe who can be said to be devoid of religion. Indeed, the religious ideas of some of the savages are so elevated as to bear comparison with those of peoples at a much higher stage of culture. The Tahitians had a clear conception of a Supreme God, whom they regarded as a pure Spirit, above a number of minor divinities. One of their songs begins thus: "He was: Taaroa was his name; he existed in space; no earth, no heaven, no men." Another begins with the declaration: "Taaroa, the great orderer, is the origin of the earth. Taaroa is toivi; he has no father, no posterity." The religious beliefs of the Algonquin and Mingwe Redskins are also of a superior order.* The Proto-Aryans (ancestors of the Aryans) while still in a condition similar to that of some of the savage tribes of the present day worshipped the "Dyaus Pitar" (Zeus, Jupiter) the 'Sky-Father' as their chief God. The Rigveda, the oldest work extant of the Aryan race, speaks of Dyaus as the first God of whom the other Gods are the sons.

That the savage is not wanting in moral sense is now admitted by all well-informed anthropologists. Even the most inferior races are now credited with the idea of property, of respect for human life, and of self-respect. There is not a single savage tribe known who does not regard theft and murder as wrong, and who has not some sense of honour. The languages of some of the civilised nations testify that their ancestors, while still in a savage state, had some idea of property and of justice and uprightness. In the Chinese language, for instance, the character which signifies "uprightness" is composed of two parts, "my" and "sheep"; the character *cho* "right" is made up of two parts, "one's own," and the word *tseang* which means "to examine and judge clearly" is formed of two words, *yen* "to talk of" and *yang* "sheep." From these words it would appear that the Chinese had ideas of property, uprightness and justice while they were still in a pastoral condition.

Man thus presents three states:

First;—The *animal* state in which he is physically and emotionally indistinguishable from animals.

* A de Quatrefages, "The Human Species" (London, 1881), p. 493.

Second:—The *intermediate* state in which the intensity of his intellectual development separates him from animals.

Third:—The distinctly *human* state in which his spiritual and moral faculties isolate him from animals; and, in the opinion of some Naturalists, the isolation is so complete that it entitles him to form a distinct kingdom, called the Human Kingdom.

No forms linking the Human and Animal Kingdoms have been discovered as yet. If they ever be, they will in all probability be found endowed with cranial capacity intermediate between that of man and the highest brute, and with rudiments of the moral and spiritual faculties less open to question than those with which Darwin in his *Descent of Man** credits some animals. Just as the development of the human foetus is a recapitulation of the different stages in the evolution of man from lower to higher vertebrate forms, so the unfolding of his life probably exemplifies the different stages in his subsequent growth. His animal propensities and emotional faculties have their fullest play in boyhood and adolescence, when his mind is not "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." The unfolding of his intellectual life takes place in manhood, and that of his moral and spiritual life in old age.

These are also the successive stages through which a savage community passes for the attainment of complete development. It would be as unreasonable to expect the ethical and spiritual development of a mature civilisation in a young and vigorous one, as it would be to expect the wisdom and otherworldliness of an aged individual in a spirited, pleasure-seeking young man.

In the first stage of civilisation the social organism is still chiefly occupied with its animal existence and is, therefore, strongly characterised by the predatory spirit. Matter dominates the mind at this stage, and civilisation is essentially material. Industries which minister to the comforts, conveniences and luxuries of life are gradually developed. Culture, at this stage, being related to the gratification of the senses, and the animal necessities of life, or to the expression of the emotions, takes the form of the Fine Arts,—poetry, music, sculpture, painting and architecture; and

first stage of civilisation may, on this account, be appropriately called the stage of the Fine Arts. As might be expected, however, these arts remain throughout this stage more or less realistic. Philosophy is altogether absent; and the only sciences which make any progress are astronomy and mechanics. The former is studied chiefly for the influence which the heavenly bodies are supposed to have on our mundane existence, and the latter for its intimate connection with the development of the arts and industries. Religion is almost entirely objective, being chiefly confined to the worship of the powers of nature and of heroes distinguished for military prowess. There may be much of it, but, nevertheless, there is little of spiritual development. Belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft is widely prevalent. Not much ethical development could be expected in a community which is immersed in ignorance, and in which brute force is held in the highest esteem, and in which the average man has no conception of any pleasures except those of the senses.

The second or intermediate stage may be called that of intellectual development. Matter now ceases to dominate the mind. The sovereignty of Reason is now established, and the empire of law is gradually extended. Man is no longer absorbed by the struggle for mere animal existence. His outlook on life is widened. He investigates physical as well as psychical phenomena and attempts to elucidate the laws by which they are governed. Thus spring up Science and Philosophy. The industrial advancement effected during the first stage remains, and may even be furthered. But the intellect instead of being absorbed by it, pursues objects which have no reference whatever to present utility and the animal requirements of man. Art passed from the imitative and the naturalistic stage to what has been called the "Classic" stage, in which "beauty is sought as the union of spirit and matter." The Muses instead of celebrating the sanguinary exploits and erotic adventures of semi-savage heroes and gods, begin to produce dramas, epics, and lyrics more in consonance with the cultured intellect and improved morals of the age. Militarism and the predatory spirit are on the wane. As the stage advances,

wisdom and knowledge begin to occupy a higher place than brute strength in the estimation of the community. There is greater humanity and greater self-restraint than in the preceding stage. The rationalistic spirit of the age does not harmonise with the anthropocentric idea of divinity prevalent during the first stage. The cultured classes lean towards scepticism, agnosticism or monotheism in some form or other. Their views tend to leaven the more ignorant classes, and belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft ceases to exert any very great influence upon them, if it does not die out altogether.

During the third stage far more attention is paid to the spiritual than to the animal, to the inner than to the outer life of man. Happiness is sought for from within, rather than from without, by self-denial rather than by self-indulgence. Arts and industries which promote bodily comforts and luxuries have hardly any share of the attention of the thoughtful. Painting and sculpture are idealised. Religion becomes altogether subjective among the enlightened, and partly so among the ignorant. Suppression of egoism and cultivation of altruism tend to become the rule of life with the former. Such virtues as self-sacrifice and benevolence become more widely diffused than ever before. The decadent militarism of the second stage becomes altogether extinct among those who have made the greatest progress in the path of spiritual advancement. There is a tendency towards the establishment of equilibrium between the various forces of progress, material, intellectual and ethical; and society is characterised more by harmony than by mobility.

The three stages we have mentioned above constitute an Epoch of human progress. The history of that progress may be conveniently divided into three epochs. The first epoch began about the sixth millenium B. C. and ended about 2000 B.C. It comprises the history of the earlier civilisations of Egypt, Babylonia and China. The second epoch (about 2000 B.C.—700 A.D.) comprises the later civilisations of Egypt and China and the civilisations of India, Greece, Rome, Assyria, Phoenicia and Persia. We are living in the third

epoch which commenced about 700 A.D. The most important fact of this epoch is the rise and progress of the modern civilisation of Europe or Western civilisation as it has been called. Each of these epochs was ushered in by important racial and political movements. The first epoch was inaugurated by the subjugation of the indigenous peoples of Egypt, Chaldæa and China by intrusive immigrants. It was mainly the period of Semitic ascendancy. The influence of the Semites or mixed Semites prevailed all over the civilised world of the first epoch (except China). During the earlier centuries of the second Epoch Babylonian was still the language of intercourse among the civilised peoples of the time with the single exception of the Chinese. A new race, the Aryan, now comes into view, destined to carry civilisation to a much higher degree of development than ever before. The site of the original home of the Aryans is still a subject of dispute among philologists and archæologists. There are some reasons to conclude that a section of that race was settled in Bactrea and Eastern Iran about the time of Khamurabi of Babylonia (circ. 2300 B.C.). A branch of the Aryan race migrated into India about 2000 B.C. and gradually established its supremacy over the aboriginal tribes there.* Another branch, the Mitanis, rose into importance in Asia Minor about the 15th Century B.C.† A third group, the Hellenes, migrated to Greece and there displaced the Pelasgians; and a fourth, the Romans, overcame the more civilised Etruscans. Egypt was invaded by a horde of barbarians, the Hyksos, who overthrew the native dynasty, and founded one of their own (about 2000 B.C.). The ancient Babylonian empire which had attained its acme of prosperity under Khamurabi and his successors, was conquered by barbarous tribes, the Kassites from the mountains of Elam (about 1800 B.C.). It was gradually dismembered, and

out of its ruins rose a new empire, that of Assyria. The only civilised country where political revolution was consummated with the least disturbance was China, where a new native dynasty called the Shan took the place of the one founded by Yaou (about 1765 B.C.). The third epoch of human progress was initiated by the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes in the fifth and the sixth centuries A.D., the incursion of the Arabs into Africa, Syria, Persia and India in the seventh and the eighth, the subjugation of the savage tribes of Mexico by the Toltecs about the middle of the sixth century and the establishment of the supremacy of the Yncas in Peru in the 9th or 10th.*

It is always perplexingly difficult to unravel the complex skein of sociological phenomena. But the perplexity is considerably enhanced during the second and the third epochs by the fact, that each of them started with a good number of the products of the progress of the previous epoch or epochs. The difficulty would obviously be greatest in the third epoch. Though the civilisations of the preceding epochs had become extinct or been reduced to a moribund state, the results attained by them were preserved to no inconsiderable extent. Though the trees had died or ceased to bear any fruit, a good many of their fruits remained with seed ready to germinate in congenial soil. There is thus caused an embarrassing intermixture of indigenous and exotic, of low and high forms in varying degrees of intricacy, which it is often exceedingly difficult to discriminate and distinguish. The Arabs, while still in the militant and material stage, are forcibly converted to a religion which is not of native growth, but which is originated by a highly gifted man of transcendent capacity, under the influence of another religion of foreign origin which itself was, in all probability, influenced by a third evolved in a distant country; the noblest spiritual and ethical product of the last stage of the second

* This is the generally accepted date of the Indo-Aryan immigration. Prof. Jacobi and some other scholars would carry it much further back, 4000 B.C. or even earlier.

† In an inscription found at Boghazkioi in Asia Minor, the date of which is about 1400 B.C., the Vedic Gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nasatyas are involved. *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1909, p. 846, and July 1910, p. 1096.

* In regard to the pre-Toltec and pre-Ynca civilisations of America the data as yet available are very uncertain. They probably belong to the second epoch. The Yncas and the Toltecs and their successors Texcucans and the Aztecs made considerable progress in the first stage which was nearly coeval with the first stage of the modern civilisation of Europe.

epoch of human progress. We have thus the incongruous conjunction of an advanced religion and a social state exhibiting but little of intellectual or spiritual advancement. Again, the Arabs coming into contact with the products of the old civilisations, soon imbibed their spirit to a certain extent and developed a taste for intellectual pursuits, just as the Negroes under the influence of Western civilisation may develop a similar taste at the present day. But neither the one nor the other, as a community, could, on that account, be said to have progressed in the intellectual stage. Within a century of the death of the prophet, not a few of the bigoted, illiterate, and fanatic Saracens, were transformed into votaries of literature science and philosophy. They translated a large number of the Sanskrit and Greek works on philosophy, mathematics and medicine. In the tenth century, the Abasside dynasty in Bagdad, the Fatimite in Egypt, and the Ommaide in Spain vied with each other in promoting science and letters; and Bagdad, Cairo and Andalusia became the centres of the civilization of the time. But the Mahomedans as a body were still in the first stage though they appeared to have advanced into the second. Their culture was mainly confined to the fine arts. They originated but little except in poetry and architecture. In philosophy and science, they were mainly transmitters. They gathered many of the valuable results of the civilizations of Greece and India and transmitted them to posterity.

The Mongolians while still in the lowest stage were converted to Buddhism, but could not on that account be said to have been translated to the stage of civilization of which that religion is one of the noblest products. The "Barbarians" of Europe accepted Christianity, one of the grandest results of the last stage of oriental culture in the second epoch, but as might be expected, they could not assimilate it. It remained a thing apart from their lives, and notwithstanding its nominal adoption, they long continued to remain in the first stage. Christian altruism was not compatible with the stage of progress which they had attained at the time of its adoption. The doctrine of relentless, eternal punishment by fire, the fiendish delight

which theologians like Tertullian, took in contemplating the hideous scenes of endless torture in hell, and the systematic, deliberate barbarity with which the Christian Church persecuted the Jews and other heretics harmonised with the nature of nations whose favourite pastimes, even amongst refined classes, were bull-baiting and bear-baiting.

There is some analogy between epochs of civilisation and geological epochs, which are invariably ushered in by important terrestrial and biological changes. The analogy becomes closer when we compare the stages in the history of the development of man with those in the evolution of the flora and fauna peopling the earth. Just as the strata containing fauna of a particular facies in one part of the globe are correlated to those containing fauna of the same facies in another, so the deposits in which the remains of palæolithic men are entombed, or, in later times, the monuments, and records which reveal similar culture whether artistic, intellectual, or ethical, may be referred to the same age, provided they are not transported, and provided the caution presently to be mentioned be exercised in such reference. Thus the megalithic monuments (dolmens, cromlechs &c.) which consist of huge blocks of stone, little or not at all hewn, set up in the form of a hut with a flat roof, whether in Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Syria, Northern Africa or India, are of the same type and referable to the same age (the neolithic).

During the first epoch, Babylonian culture presents numerous striking points of coincidence with the Egyptian and the Chinese. The proximity of Egypt to Babylonia renders an explanation of these coincidences on the hypothesis of the transplantation of the ideas and institutions of one country to another possible. But the remoteness of China from Babylonia, and the physical barriers intervening between the two countries, which must have been so different to surmount in the first epoch as to be almost insuperable, hardly justifies such an explanation of the coincidences* between

* The very dawn of history finds the Chinese and the Chaldeans in possession of similar astronomical knowledge. There is agreement even in its anomalies. "In one of the earliest chapters of the *Shoo King* [the Chinese Book of History]," says Prof. R. K. Douglas,

Chinese and Babylonian culture in the same epoch.

As we shall see in some detail hereafter, Greek thought, during the second stage of the second epoch, presents many points of contact with Indian thought of the same stage; and intercourse between the two countries at the time was not sufficiently close to account for such coincidences. There are many striking points in which the ethical culture of India during the third stage of the second epoch resembles that of China during the same epoch. In fact the system of Laoutsze, the greatest philosopher China has produced, corresponds so closely to Vedantism that he is supposed by some to have drawn inspiration from India.* He rose up to the Indian level of moral elevation and preached the sublime doctrine: "Recompense evil with good." "As for me," said he, "I have three precious things which I hold fast and prize; namely, compassion, economy, and humility." "Judge not your fellow-man. Be content to know yourself..... A truly good man loves all men and rejects none."

"astronomical indications are given which imply the shifting of the cardinal points towards the west. That is to say, that the orientation described represents the north as being in reality the north-west and the south the south-east, and so on. The only explanations of this displacement which, until lately have been offered have cast reflections on the astronomical knowledge of the intelligent and accomplished Emperor Yaou (2356 B.C.). But as Dr. De Lacouperie has pointed out, the cuneiform tablets have revealed the fact, that precisely the same shifting of the points of the compass existed among the Akkadians. It is remarkable also to find, in confirmation of this discovery, that according to the same scholar, all the Chaldean monuments, with the exception of the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, are oriented with the same inclination towards the west." (Confucianism pp. 9-10).

* "We know so little of Laoutsze's history," says Dr. Douglas, "that it is impossible to say whether or no he drew his inspiration directly from India. It is possible that he did, but whether this is so or not, the resemblance between the leading characteristics of Hindoo mysticism and those of Taoism are sufficiently striking. When we are told that Hindoo mysticism 'lays claim to disinterested love as opposed to a mercenary religion; that it reacts against the ceremonial prescriptions and pedantic literature of the Vedas; that it identifies, in its Pantheism, subject and object, worshipper and worshipped; that it aims at ultimate absorption into the infinite; that it inculcates, as the way to this dissolution, absolute passivity, withdrawal into the inmost self, and cessation of all the powers; that it believes that eternity may thus be realised in time, that it has its mythical miraculous pretensions; i.e., its theurgic department (Vaughn's

Some caution is necessary in reasoning upon the analogy between culture and geological epochs and in correlating the different stages of cultural. It may be transported from one age to another as Greek and Hindu culture of the second epoch was by the Saracens in the third. Again the culture of one age in a country may survive there in a subsequent age in a more or less stationary condition. Palæolithic culture survived, even into the present epoch, in various parts of the globe—in New Zealand, the Andaman island and Central Africa. Deposits in which palæolithic implements are met with in these places could not obviously be correlated to the deposits of the palæolithic period. One can never be sure of the supersession of a certain stage of culture in a particular locality by a higher one unless there is clear evidence of the latter.

As the flora and fauna referable to a particular geological age in one part of the globe are never exactly contemporaneous with the flora and fauna referable to the same age in another, so in the same way the products of civilization belonging to a particular stage in a particular epoch in one locality are not exactly synchronous with the products of the civilisation of the same stage in the same epoch in another. Thus, for instance, the second or intellectual stage of the second epoch of civilization was initiated in Greece in the seventh century B.C. by Thales of Miletus, the father of the Ionic school. But in India, there are reasons for believing that it began two or three centuries earlier. The third or the ethical stage of the same epoch began in India with Gautama Buddha, in China with Laoutsze and Confucius, in Persia with the propagation of Zoroastrianism during the reign of Darius, and in Palestine with reformed Judaism in the sixth century B.C. But in Greece, it

"Hours with the Mystics") we see reflected as in a glass the various stages through which Taoism has passed from the time it was first conceived in the mind of Laoutsze down to its latest superstitious development." ("Confucianism and Taoism" pp. 218-219.)

The date of Laoutsze's birth is generally given to be B.C. 664, so he was much older than Buddha, and could not have been influenced by his teachings even if we suppose that the intercourse between China and India was close enough at the time to make such influence possible.

commenced with Socrates nearly a century later. The duration and intensity of the ethical upheaval varied in different countries. It lasted longest and produced the most striking results in India.

The distribution of civilised man is subject to the same law as that which governs the distribution of all organisms—namely, the higher the organisation the more restricted is the habit. The palæolithic man was distributed all over the globe. The neolithic man, with his knowledge of agriculture and the breeding of domestic animals, his improved tools and his settled life, was a long way in advance of the palæolithic, who had to depend on hunting and fishing for his living; and his distribution has been found to be far more limited than that of his palæolithic forebear. The range of civilized man is still more restricted. The civilization of antiquity was confined within a few degrees of latitude in the northern hemisphere, and there to three races only, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Mongolian. Among them again there were some who did not rise much above the first or the second stage. The Assyrians, for instance, had made considerable material progress. They were as skilled in handicrafts as in agriculture. Cloths of brilliant colours, exquisitely finished carpets, profusely embroidered garments, rich and handsomely decorated furniture, gilded and carved work in ivory, glass and various kinds of enamel, metal work, saddlery and chariots are some of the manufactures in which the Assyrians attained a high degree of excellence. The Assyrians during the second epoch were a highly luxurious people. Most of the useful arts were cultivated to the highest pitch, and in dress, furniture, jewellery &c, they were not much behind the moderns. But, with all this splendid material development, there is but little indication of intellectual or ethical progress. In their inscriptions the Assyrian kings boast unceasingly of their cruelties, as though they were exploits worthy of renown. "I passed," says one conqueror, "two hundred and sixty fighting men under my arms; I cut off their heads and built pyramids of them." "I killed one out of every two," says another; "I built a wall before the great gate of the town. I flayed the chiefs of the rebellion, and I

covered this wall with their skins. Some were crucified or impaled along the wall." The history of Assyria is a monotonous record of the plundering expeditions of her kings carried on with the most savage cruelty.

Sociological data are generally so very complicated, the records wherein they are preserved are so very imperfect, and the interpretation of these records is beset with so many difficulties, that it is, as a rule, extremely difficult to judge when a social aggregate has advanced from one stage of civilization to another. Even in a society which is immersed in barbarism, or has at least made some progress in the first stage, there may arise exceptionally endowed individuals, intellectual or moral geniuses, who being far in advance of their age, fail to make any impression upon the community in which they live. There were here and there gifted artists in the palæolithic period who turned out artistic work, which would not suffer by comparison with similar work of the present day. But it is so rare, that the community in which they lived cannot well be said to have advanced to the first stage of civilisation of which Fine Arts is the most important cultural development. Among the Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic period, while they were still in the lowest stage, there were several seers who to some extent anticipated the intellectual and ethical movements of subsequent stages. But the Indo-Aryan community could not on that account be reasonably considered to have been lifted up to either of those stages.

These are comparatively simple cases. But cases of much greater complexity present themselves to sociological students. We have stated above that the third or the ethical stage was initiated by Gautama Buddha in India and by Socrates in Greece. This statement, however, may be objected to on two opposite grounds. It may be said, on the one hand, that Buddha and Socrates had been preceded by men like Pythagoras, and the authors of the Upanishads, who not only preached lofty ethical doctrines but did their best to reduce them to practice; and, on the other hand, it may be said with equal reason, that the seed sown by Buddha and Socrates did not germinate and bear fruit until sometime after their death. One line of argument would push back,

and the other push forward the date we have fixed for the commencement of the third stage of the second epoch. There are individuals in the western world at the present day who have certainly advanced far into the ethical stage; and the question may arise whether the community to which they belong has entered that stage or not. It may be stated as a general rule, that a nation cannot be said to have reached a higher stage of civilisation unless the class referable to that stage exerts sufficient influence to make it felt in its life and activities. We have endeavoured to follow this principle in judging whether a society has advanced to a higher stage or not. But even in a community which has moved to the highest stage there is numerical preponderance of the representatives of the lowest stage; among whom are found men but little removed from the savage level, who make their influence felt in a direction the reverse of that to which the individuals belonging to the higher stages would lead their community. A civilised society is thus always acted upon by opposing forces and the bewildering diversity, and complexity of sociological phenomena render the determination of the direction of the resultant force a task of extreme difficulty.

It is often as difficult to decide when a stage has terminated as to settle when it has commenced. The momentum of the forces, whether making for material, intellectual or moral progress, propels a society forward even after the forces have ceased to exist. The first stage is thus often projected into the second or even into the third, and the second is usually projected into the third.

The above considerations hold in the case of epochs as in that of stages. In fact the stages or epochs overlap each other, and the dates of the commencement and of the termination of a stage or epoch are neces-

sarily of a conjectural character and must be taken as altogether approximate, especially as the records whence they are gathered are often very obscure, imperfect, and unreliable.

It will be inferred from what has been said above, that the progress of man has not been continuous. As the third stage is characterised by harmony rather than by mobility, civilizations which attain that stage* remain in a more or less stationary condition during succeeding epochs, and the younger civilizations while in the earlier stages of these epochs are necessarily at a lower level. But the culture of a particular stage during any epoch is of a higher order and embraces a larger number of peoples than that of the same stage in the preceding epoch. This must necessarily be the case as the culture of the later periods is to a great extent based upon that of the earlier. Thus the cultural development of the various stages of the second epoch covered a larger area and, as regards quality, was superior to that of the corresponding stages in the first epoch, including as it did India, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome, and embracing the artistic, intellectual and ethical culture of the Greeks and Hindus. The civilization of the current epoch covers a much larger area than that of the preceding epoch, and its artistic and intellectual achievements have been on a much grander scale. Our ethical ideals still remain the same as those attained during the third stage of the last epoch. In fact an earnest endeavour to realise them is not as yet noticeable on the part of the younger and more vigorous civilisations of the present day. When they actually attain the third stage, however, not only will such an endeavour be made, but it is possible, that these ideals will be superseded by loftier ones of which he can have no clear conception now.

THE ACT OF THE POLISH NATION AND OF THE POLISH PILGRIMS

BY ADAM MICKIEWICZ.

XVI.

YOU are in a land of unbelievers, and outside the law, like certain travellers in an unknown land who had fallen into a trap.

—Some travellers fell into a trench for wolves. Among them were masters, servants and a guide.

And as soon as they found themselves at the bottom of the ditch, they measured

it with their eyes and though they said not a word, they foresaw what was to be done.

The strongest and biggest of them stood upright at the bottom of the ditch, the second mounted on his shoulders, the third on the shoulders of the second, and the guide on the shoulders of the last.

And in mounting thus upon one another's shoulders, they made no distinction of master and servant, but arranged themselves according to their size and the width of their shoulders.

They decided that the guide should be placed highest, and be the first to escape from the ditch; for, knowing the country and the roads he would soonest be able to find succour.

And when the guide was out, they watched in silence, refreshing themselves with the food they had in their wallets, and distributing it to each according to his hunger.

Some feared lest the guide should leave them there; but they said nothing, so as not to discourage their comrades, and merely said to themselves: "When he betrays us, we shall have time to complain."

After some time, the guide brought some men, extricated the travellers and conducted them to the village.

They separated in silence, and whispered among themselves: "The guide is only an idiot; but as he has sinned through ignorance and not evil intention, and as he himself received a sufficient fright, let him depart in peace; and next time let us choose a better guide."

And the guide thought: "I have made a mistake; and I nearly caused the death of these worthy men; another time I shall not undertake to guide anyone."

And there reigned a solemn silence among these men from the moment of their fall to that of their escape.

The following year other travellers fell into the same ditch with another guide and thought they could extricate themselves by the same means.

But a discussion ensued as to who should remain at the bottom; for the masters did not wish to lend a shoulder to their servants, and the latter feared that once their masters were saved they would abandon them to their fate.

And all were afraid to let the guide go; for in punishment of his error they beat and injured him; he was, therefore, forced to swear by his great gods that he would return.

As soon as he got out, he thought: "These are bad men, and they are plotting something against me; for they have shown me very little confidence. Let us leave them in the ditch." So he took the road to his house.

And the travellers were dying of hunger for some days, when by chance some men found them and pulled them out of the ditch.

Hardly had they been set free, when some wished to go their own way, and others wished to look for and punish the faithless guide. So they quarrelled and separated.

The more hot-headed went along cursing and threatening their guide, and it happened that no one wished to serve them as guide, despite their entreaties and their money.

And the faithless guide swore and cried that he was not guilty, that these men had gone astray by their own fault; and to show his knowledge of the country and the roads, he undertook to become a guide to some other travellers. And thanks to him the same thing happened to them as to the first.

And from the moment of their fall to that of their deliverance, there was a continual dispute.

You are in your pilgrimage in a land of unbelievers as were the people of God in the desert.

During your pilgrimage, refrain from complaining, murmuring or doubting; for these are sins.

You know that when the people of God returned to the land of their forefathers, to the Holy Land, they were on a pilgrimage in the desert. And among the people of God there were many pilgrims who sighed for Egypt and said: "Let us return to the land of bondage; there we shall be captives, but we shall have onions and meat."

And Scripture teaches us that the Lord in His wrath lengthened the pilgrimage of the nation until all those who had hankered after Egypt were dead; for not one of them deserved to see the Holy Land.

You know that there were others among the people of God who did not believe in their prophets and who said: "And how can we reconquer the land of our fathers, when we have against us powerful Kings, and peoples who seem to be like a race of giants?"

And Scripture adds that the Lord, wroth with this want of faith, prolonged afresh the pilgrimage of the nation until all those who had doubted died in the desert; for not one of them deserved to see the Holy Land.

And not only those who had murmured aloud and lost faith, but those also who had murmured and doubted in their hearts, died in the desert; for God reads in our hearts as in a book that is open to him though sealed to others.

Therefore must you guard yourselves against the sin of murmuring and doubting, so as not to prolong the days of your pilgrimage.

And just as in the camp of the chosen people there were diseased men tainted with leprosy and scab, so also among you are to be found the diseased and the scrofulous, that is to say, wicked and unworthy Poles. Flee from them, for their disease is more contagious than leprosy.

In truth, I say unto you, a soldier who fights without having faith in the justice of his cause, is nothing more than a wild beast, and the general who leads him to the combat without this faith is no more than a brigand.

The diseased man fights on the field of battle and slays two of his enemies, and when he returns to his tent he corrupts the hearts of the soldiers and slays the souls of ten of his own men.

He resembles a man who goes to Church and kneels down in prayer, and who on returning to his house, mocks God and Faith in the presence of his children.

Let him not excuse himself by saying:—"Conduct or action is one thing; thought or word is another;" for one may sin against the Motherland as grievously in word as in thought, and not one of those sins shall escape punishment.

Such are the precautions to be taken during the Polish pilgrimage against diseased men.

Just as Christ and His law appeared in the midst of the Jews and their capital; so

also will your new law bring its rule of devotion and love into the capitals even of the liberals of Europe.

For England and France are like Israel and Juda. If, therefore, you hear the liberals disputing over one or two chambers, for a hereditary or an elective chamber, if you hear them argue about the mode of election, about the civil list, about the freedom of the press,—do not be enamoured of their wisdom, for their wisdom is that of the ancient law.

It is the Pharisees and the Saducees that dispute over the pure and the impure, and who do not understand what it is to love the truth and to die for the truth.

And when they hear you, children of the North, talking of God and of Liberty, they inveigh against you, they exclaim as the doctors did against the Infant Jesus: "And whence has he acquired so much wisdom, this son of a carpenter? And could a prophet be born in Nazareth? And dares he to teach us who are old doctors?"

And when they speak of the war you have undertaken for the safety of the nations, they do not deny that you have acted well. But they say that it was ill-timed; just as the doctors reproached Christ with having dared to heal on Sabbath day and cried out: "Is it permissible to heal on Sabbath day? Is it permissible to make war against the Russians during a European peace?"

And if they give alms to the widows and the orphans of Liberty, to the widows and the orphans of Spain, of Portugal, of Italy and of Poland, they do so with great noise in their assemblies, as did the Pharisees.

And if they give to their country, they discuss how much, according to the law or the constitution, they ought to give.

Your law, however, is different; for you say: "All that is ours belongs to the Motherland; all that belongs to our Motherland belongs to all free peoples."

The English who love liberty according to the ancient law say: "Let us take back the Ocean from France, as Israel took back the cities from Juda." And the French of the ancient law say: "Let us take back the Rhenish provinces from the Germans." And the Germans say: "Let us take back from France the duchy of Alsace." And

others speak similarly. Therefore do I say unto you that they are fools.

For ports, seas and continents are the inheritance of free peoples. Does the Pole quarrel with the Lithuanian for the banks of the Niemen, for Grodno and Bialystok? So also I say unto you that the Frenchman, the German and the Russian ought to be as the Lithuanian and the Pole.

—One day a savage took possession of an abandoned house with his wife and children. And, counting the windows, he said "My wife shall look out of this window, my son out of this one, and I out of this." So they looked out of their respective windows and whenever they left them they stopped them up, so that the light belonging to one should not be made use of by another. And the rest of the family had no windows.

And the savage said: "I alone shall have the right to warm myself at my stove (there was only one stove); let the others make stoves for themselves." And then he said: "Let us open a separate door for each one in each house." So they left the house and often fought among themselves for light, for heat and for different portions of the dwelling.

This is how the nations of Europe behave—they envy each other the commerce in books and the commerce in wines and the commerce in cotton, forgetting that science and riches belong to the same house, to the association of free peoples.

XIX

Some of you discuss about aristocracy and democracy and other points of the ancient law. These brethren are mistaken, like the early Christians who dissented on circumcision and on ablution of hands.

For the peoples shall not be saved by the ancient law, but by the merits of the martyred people; and they will be baptised in the name of God and of Liberty, and he who receives this baptism is your brother.

Be perfect like the Apostles, and the peoples will take your word; and that which you shall establish will have the force of law not only for your own but for all free peoples.

Do not argue too much about the form of Government to be given to Poland. It is

not those who talk the most that will make the best laws, but those who love the most and have the greatest devotion.

—Certain orphans were looking for a guardian to administer their estates and take charge of their education. They cast their eyes on a neighbour who was a good administrator, but an avaricious man who had accumulated immense sums of money and who passed generally for an industrious but unruly man. The orphans said: "We shall have nothing to do with him, for he will grow rich at our expense."

They cast their eyes on another neighbour who had written a book on agriculture, but who had never cultivated fields. They said therefore: "We shall not have him, for he will try experiments in agronomy at our expense." But they heard of a third man who had once enjoyed a large fortune but who had lost it in the protection of the widow and the orphan. So they said: "Let us take him."

The form of the Government to be is like the form of a speech delivered by an orator.

An industrious man in going to the National Council reflects over what he ought to put in the exordium of his speech, what in the middle, and what in the peroration, for it was thus he was told to do at school. But as he only faintly feels the national cause, his speech will be arranged with skill but will be empty; and will pass without leaving any memory.

And the man of devotion on going to the National Council, with his heart full of love for his Motherland, and imbued with the truth of what he has to say, speaks without thinking of the arrangement of his phrases, but his speech will be well-ordered, and the stenographers will capture it in its flight so as to serve as a model for others; and the orator himself will be astonished at having spoken so wisely.

It is thus that legislators of fervent patriotism will establish in the country an order conformable to its needs; and the country will be wisely constituted, and its neighbours will copy its constitution and imitate it.

The republic that you are to found resembles a forest sown by a planter.

If the planter sows good seed upon good ground, he can be sure that the trees will

grow of themselves without his needing to think as to their form, and without his fearing lest needles should grow on the oaks or leaves on the pines.

Sow, therefore, love of the Motherland and the spirit of devotion, and be assured that of these will be born a republic great and beautiful.

XX

— A widowed woman had fallen into a trance, and her son called in some medical men.

All the medical men said: "Choose from among us only one to attend her."

One of them said: "I shall treat her after the method of Brown." But the others replied: "It is a bad system, that. It is better that she should remain in a trance and that she should die, than be treated after Brown."

Another said: "I shall treat her after Hahnemann." The others replied: "That is a bad method; let her die rather than be treated by homeopathy."

Then the widow's son said: "Treat her by what method you please, provided that you cure her." But the doctors could not agree. They did not wish to give in to one another.

It was then that the son exclaimed in despair: "O my mother!" And the widow was roused by this cry and was restored to health. And the doctors were driven away.

Some of you say: "It is better that Poland should remain in subjection than that she should revive through an aristocracy." And others say: "It is better that she should remain buried in slavery than that she should revive through democracy." Others again say: "It is better that she should remain as she is than that she should have such and such frontiers." All these are only quacks, and not sons, and they do not love their mother, their country.

Verily I say unto you: "Do not enquire what shall be the form of Government in Poland; suffice it to know that it will be better than any that can be imagined by you. Do not trouble yourself about her frontiers, for they will be greater than they have ever been.

"And each one of you has within his soul the seed of the future laws and the measure of the future frontiers.

"The more you improve and enlarge your own souls, the more will you correct your laws and enlarge your frontiers."

XXI.

—There was in former times a queen who called a simple soldier to the command of her armies, and who said: "Gain victories over all my enemies and I shall give you half of my kingdom, and I shall be your bride."

This soldier entered on the campaign followed by the armies which he commanded in the name of the queen, and day by day he defeated his enemies and became renowned and powerful.

So he said to the queen: "It is now time, my sovereign, that I should wed you, and that we should reign in peace." And the queen said: "It is not yet time, for you have not conquered all my enemies."

So the commander became angry and said: "Now I am growing old and rich; rather than fight for this woman, I shall retire to my estates and take rest." He therefore withdrew to his lands and left the frontiers unprotected; and the enemy repaired its losses and came right up to his lands, ravaging the country.

Then the general roused himself, and showing himself to the people, exclaimed: "To arms! follow me to defend my property, as you followed me formerly when we won great victories."

But the men said: "And who pray are you, foolish man, that we should follow you to defend your property? Formerly we obeyed you, for you summoned us in the name of the queen, but you are now no longer her general, you are no more than an ordinary man like us." And they sent him away.

For the queen had already chosen another simple soldier, and this man became general, and was obeyed and gained the victory.

This queen is Liberty; this soldier is France.

XXII.

When during your pilgrimage you enter a city, bless it by saying: "May our liberty be with you!" If the inhabitants receive you and listen to you, they will be free; if they despise you and do not listen to you

and banish you, your benediction will return upon you.

In leaving an ungodly city and country, enslaved or independent, shake the dust off your sandals. I say to you truly that Toulon, Nantes and Lyons were better treated in the days of the Convention than such a city will be in the days of the European Confederation.

For when Liberty shall come to take her seat in the capital of the world, she will judge the nations.

And she will say to one nation:—"I was assailed by brigands and I asked thee for some iron for my defence, and a handful of powder, O nation! and thou gavest me an article in a gazette." And the nation will reply: "When, indeed, O Liberty! did you call me?" And Liberty will answer: "I called thee through the mouth of these pilgrims and thou heardest me not! Go then into slavery where there will be the whistling of the knout and the grinding of ukases."

And Liberty will say to another nation: "I suffered poverty and affliction, and I asked of thee, O nation! some bread and the protection of thy laws, and thou didst merely throw me some ordinances." And the nation will reply: "When, O Liberty, didst thou come to seek me?" And Liberty will answer:—"I came under the cloaks of these pilgrims, and thou drovest me away. Go then into slavery where there will be the whistling of the knout and the grinding of ukases."

Verily I say unto you, your pilgrimage will become a stumbling-block to the powers.

The powers have rejected the stone you offer for the edifice of the peoples, but the stone will become the corner-stone and key of the edifice to come. And he on whom it shall fall shall be crushed, and he who shall come up against it shall fall and never rise again.

XXIII.

Governors of France and doctors of France, you who speak of liberty and serve despotism, you will be cast between the despotism of the foreigner and your own people; like a bar of cold iron between the anvil and the hammer.

And you will be beaten, and your dross will fly out in sparks to the frontiers of the

world; and the peoples will say to themselves: "To be sure, there must be a great hammering there as in an infernal forge."

And you will cry to the hammer, to your own people: "People, pardon and cease to strike, for we have spoken of liberty." And the hammer will say: "Thou hast spoken in one way and acted in another." And it will fall again upon the bar with a new force.

And you will cry to the foreign despotism as to an inexorable anvil: "O despotism! we have served thee, relent and become hollow so that we may hide ourselves from the hammer." And the despotism will say: "Thou hast acted in one way and spoken in another." And it will present to you its hard and icy surface, and the bar will be beaten and flattened out, and no one will recognize it.

XXIV.

Such are the acts of the Polish nation and of the Polish pilgrims; not imaginary, but culled from the histories of Poland, and from the writings, the traditions and the teachings of Poles who were pious and devoted to their country; martyrs, confessors, and pilgrims; and here and there certain things by the grace of God.

Read them again and again, brothers-in-arms and believers, and let your leaders—those among you whom you call lieutenants or sergeants—enlighten you and explain them to you.

For your leaders are like fathers of very large families, occupied at the same time with their children, their homes and their business.

But the lieutenants are like the guides and nurses of their young brothers-in-arms, and are ever at their side to watch over them.

THE PRAYER OF THE PILGRIM.

All-powerful Lord our God! The children of a warrior-nation lift their hands to thee from every quarter of the world. They cry to thee from the depths of the mines of Siberia, from the snows of Kamtschatka, from the steppes of Algeria, and from France, a foreign land. But in their own Motherland which has remained faithful unto thee, they may not cry to thee! Our aged men, our women and our children can only pray to thee in secret, with their thoughts and

with their tears! God of Jagellon! God of Sobieski! God of Kosciuszko! have pity on our Motherland, have pity on us. Grant unto our families to pray to Thee in the churches of our towns and our hamlets, and grant unto our children to pray upon our graves. But let thy will, not ours, be done in heaven as on earth, Amen.

THE LITANY OF THE PILGRIM.

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison. Our Father who didst save the chosen people from their captivity in Egypt and who broughtest them back to the Holy Land,

TAKE US BACK TO OUR COUNTRY.

Son of God, Saviour of the world, who hast suffered martyrdom and the cross, who hast risen again and who reignest in celestial glory,

RAISE AGAIN OUR COUNTRY.

Virgin Mary, whom our fathers called queen of Poland and of Lithuania,

SAVE POLAND AND LITHUANIA.

Saint Stanislas, patron of Poland,

PRAY FOR US.

Saint Kasimir, patron of Lithuania,

PRAY FOR US.

Saint Josaphat, patron of Russian Poland,

PRAY FOR US.

All the saints and martyrs of our republic,

PRAY FOR US.

From slavery to the Muscovite, the Austrian and the Prussian,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

By the martyrdom of the thirty thousand warriors of Bar, who died for Faith and Liberty,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

By the martyrdom of twenty thousand inhabitants of Praga, massacred for Faith and Liberty,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

By the martyrdom of the young Lithuanians killed under the baton, who died in the mines or in exile,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

By the martyrdom of the inhabitants of Oszmiana,* butchered in their homes and their churches,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

By the martyrdom of the soldiers massacred at Fischan† by the Prussians,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

By the martyrdom of the soldiers killed by the strokes of the knout in Constadt by the Muscovites,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

By the wounds, the tears and the sufferings of all the Polish prisoners, exiles and pilgrims,

O LORD, DELIVER US.

Grant us a tomb for our bones in our native land,

WE PRAY THEE O LORD.

The End.

* 17th April, 1831.

† 1832.

THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY OF ENGLAND

II.

ITS WEAKNESS AND ITS NEED.

CAN it be said that the English nation is satisfied with its industrial policy? Or can it be said that it ought to be? These are simple questions; but root questions usually are simple. To reconnoitre round a subject, turn it this way and that

and ask a thousand questions about it, as is done on Commissions and by a certain type of publicist, is often a sign of insincerity, even of levity, a proof that the day of reform is as yet afar off. But to ask one simple, direct and fundamental question about a thing is an indication that somebody has begun to be serious. One of the most significant facts of the present time is

the tendency for all questions relating to labour and industry to merge into one simple, primary and ultimate question, *viz.*: Is industrial individualism any longer defensible?

As regards the questions with which the present article opened I think there can be no denying that in each case the answer is in the negative. The active and widespread sympathy shown towards the railway workers and the miners in their recent efforts to improve their condition, together with the almost universal acquiescence of the nation in the active part taken by the Government in recent industrial crises, make any other conclusion impossible. But it is possible to go even further and to say that, on the whole, the English people are coming to believe that our industrial policy is decidedly iniquitous, inhuman and unjust, and is in urgent need of some sort of drastic reform either from within or without. The general feeling is that if industrial individualism is to survive its policy must be seriously modified, even checked and controlled by the instrument of legislation.

Such being the case, and frankly acknowledging that our industrial policy is, at fault, iniquitous and unjust, how comes it that policy continues from year to year without being in some way modified? To this question we fear there is but one answer, *viz.*, that those who are responsible for its perpetuation have degenerated into rank materialists, and have either lost the power to appreciate spiritual values or are too content with their position to consider the position and claims of others. The fact is our industrial leaders do not think, and they do not think for the very reason that the fever of commerce, of profit-making, has literally consumed their minds, burnt up their spirits. For the most part they are incapable of enthusiasm for anything spiritual; and because they are materialists they are afraid to think lest reason should call upon them to make a sacrifice. Thus we are confronted with this important situation: that while, owing to foolish and suicidal persistency in an inhuman and unjust industrial system, our nation is approaching nearer and nearer to a crisis, probably to revolution, the men who have it in their power by a wise modification of prevailing methods, the introduction into

business of new principles and motives, etc., to establish an industrial system in keeping with the grander social idealism that is certainly coming into being, to avert such a crisis, and thus to open up new possibilities of personal and social development, are just the men who will not, or dare not, face the issues, search for the causes of the mighty upheavals which are threatening modern society. It is because of this fear, this lamentable neglect of a plain and paramount duty, that the Government is finding itself compelled, as the only means of averting a social revolution, repeatedly to interfere in trade disputes, and even to legislate, confessedly in the interests of the workers.

That one of two things, revolution or socialism, the former involving disorder, confiscation, the letting loose of the wild beast passions, the terrible passion for self-aggrandisement, etc., the latter involving a system of rigorous State control, the rule of an official class, and thus a tremendous sacrifice of personal liberty, is bound to result from the unreasonable, stiff-necked policy of our present industrial leaders, these latter seem not to understand. Why they do not understand, in view of the strong feeling against their attitude and policy which is everywhere to be encountered, can only be explained by the fact of materialism, of spiritual decay as the outcome of two or three generations of persistent searching after wealth, position, luxury and power. Without doubt, as is proved by happenings in almost every department of our life, not least by the unrest that is so obvious in our religious life, a new and grander social idealism is being developed; but the great pity and calamity is that the men who possess the wealth and control the industrial policy of our country are the only men who are outside this social and spiritual movement. But be that as it may, this one fact we must recognise, *viz.*, that unless our industrial policy is seriously and radically reformed from within, by the men who control it, drastic changes will have to be effected from without, that is, if a social upheaval is to be avoided. The question of the reasonable distribution of wealth, of the rights of labour in regard to the fruits of industry, is the fundamental problem of this age, and the sooner this fact is realized by the captains of our industry the better it

will be for the future well-being of our nation.

It is generally believed, and very often taught, especially by the learned, that a revolution must of necessity have a subtle and mysterious cause. But a greater fallacy could scarcely be imagined. As a matter of fact, the issues of a revolution are always simple and apparent. When Europe begins to realize this there will be some hope for Western civilization. During the past six or seven years there has scarcely been a moment when in the landscape of the nations the lurid spectacle of revolution has not been exposed to view. Not only in the West, among modern nations, but in the East, among ancient nations revolution has been rife; and in every instance the real as well as the avowed cause has been a desire for liberty, for increased opportunity of self-expression. New visions of life have dawned upon the modern world, and everywhere men and women are yearning for the liberty to live in accordance with that vision. It was the same with the French nation at the time of the great Revolution. The cause of that Revolution, in spite of the numberless disquisitions of cultured historians and philosophers, was the simplest of all causes—the demand of the people for justice and liberty. It would appear to be natural to men trained in metaphysical reasoning to assume that extraordinary events must have hidden and mysterious causes—causes so subtle that only a philosopher could by any possibility discover them. But the precise opposite is the truth. A small quarrel may have, and indeed often has a subtle, almost unascertainable cause; but a big quarrel, such as a revolution, for instance, never has. It might require a specialist, a Man of Affairs to explain a political squabble or to account for a Parliamentary Dissolution; but the cause of a revolution would be known by the humblest peasant in the land. In fact we might almost lay it down as a general law of human association, that in cases of dispute, the bigger the quarrel the more fundamental and apparent will be the cause. And what is fundamental is almost always simple, clear and unmistakable,—that is, to an unsophisticated mind.

Few blunders could be more disastrous than that which learned men make when

they try to account for great issues by secret and subtle causes. It was such an error which made possible the French Revolution; it is precisely the same error which we in England are making to-day. In the story of the French Revolution there are many chapters of tragedy, but it may reasonably be doubted if any one of them can compare with that which describes the utter inability of the so-called rulers of France, the noblesse, etc., in the year immediately preceding the out-break of revolution, to understand the French people; to take them seriously; to realize the significance of grim, terrible, but apparent facts. If ever the French people were truly national, possessed of one clear thought, swayed by a single powerful feeling, it was during those momentous years; yet throughout all that time absolutely nothing was done; the whole reform movement being grossly misunderstood and ignored, even treated with levity, by the very men who alone had it in their power to effect reform. In other words, the rulers of France, the men who held the reins of Government, possessed the great bulk of that nation's wealth, were the only men who did not understand the French nation. And because the men who did understand France, the journalists, publicists and agitators, were powerless to effect any real reform, the crisis came.

Without making the analogy too close, I think that the relationships existing between the capitalist and working classes of this country to-day are not greatly unlike those which existed between the noblesse and the bourgeoisie of France at the time of the Revolution. It is true that the Middle and Upper classes of our society contain many members who are strongly in favour of social reform; but so did the aristocratic classes of France; but the fact nevertheless remains that these classes, as a whole, do not understand, not to say sympathise with, the modern social-reform movement; the current agitation for a saner and humaner industrial policy; the changes in thought and ideas, in the general conception of and attitude towards life that are everywhere taking place.

Now in regard to the prevailing social unrest, the first thing I should like to say is that it is essentially national. If it is not national then nothing ever was or can be.

There is not a hamlet in the land that does not feel it; not a Limited Liability Company that does not fear it; not a church that is not affected by it. It is occupying the mind and directing the energy of the great majority of the publicists, journalists, economists, preachers and reformers of our time. Every newspaper and journal, and every conference, political, religious or industrial, discusses it. Learned men explain it, and upon it the righteous pour their contempt. If it had not been national the recent Railway and Coal strikes would not have been possible. The unanimity of feeling and of action among men working in different parts of the country and under widely contrasted conditions, and manifested, moreover, in face of poverty and the threat of persecution, is in itself an abundant proof that the existing social unrest is widespread, national.

Another cardinal fact concerning this social unrest is that it is of steady growth. There is nothing spasmodic or of the hot-house nature about it. For twenty years or more it has been growing, and growing at a steady though accelerated rate. And it is still spreading, still deepening. That this is so we need only consider the progress of the Socialist movement during recent years. Ten years ago the Socialist was discredited, was anathema in most respectable circles, while Socialists were everywhere ridiculed. But so completely has the general feeling and social outlook changed, that the reformer to-day who is not a Socialist stands in danger of being taken for a fossil. The belief in Socialism is spreading in England to-day as quickly as the belief in Equality spread in France in the decade preceding the Revolution and for similar reasons.

Considering, then, that the existing social unrest is essentially national, is of steady growth, and still continues to spread, is it not folly to disregard it, to look upon it as a temporary ebullition without a reasonable cause? To refuse to take the present situation seriously is to evince a total incapacity to see a clear issue, to respond to a grave moral and spiritual appeal. Whether the people are reasonable or unreasonable in their attitude, right or wrong in their demands, they believe desperately in their cause, are intensely dissatisfied with existing social conditions, and are bent on giv-

ing effect to drastic changes of one sort or another. We are probably nearer to a revolution than most people imagine; and a revolution with a feeling such as now exists in this country would be a terrible affair. On two occasions during the last twelve months we have been within an ace of revolution, and only a wise intervention on the part of the Government has saved our nation from such a calamity. Indeed, so far from it being the case that the Liberal Government by its social legislation has produced or fostered a spirit of discontent and revolution, it would be nearer the truth to say that but for such legislation, etc., we should ere this have been in the throes of a terrible civil war. And it is a question demanding serious consideration whether the return of a reactionary Government to power at the present time would not be the most disastrous event that could happen in England. Yet, and this fact we must not lose sight of, the staggering truth is that in spite of much social legislation, of Government intervention in the case of the Railway and Coal strikes, not to mention minor disturbances, very little has really been done to improve the social condition of the workers; to remove the gross injustice which is everywhere so dreadfully apparent. In fact, except that it has postponed the crisis, given the capitalists of this country a little more time in which to come to their senses, and thus, by the introduction of a more humane and national industrial policy, to save the situation, Government intervention has achieved scarcely anything.

One thing the majority of our political leaders, as well as of our Middle and Upper classes generally, have yet to learn is that we are living in an age when democracy has indeed become something of a reality; when the common run of men are becoming truly enlightened, fully cognisant of the why and wherefore of things—of the source of wealth and the cause of social injustice; the meaning of life; the laws and conditions of the highest human well-being; the inalienable spiritual rights of every human being. During the past ten or twenty years the working men of this country have come to grasp several fundamental facts. They know, for instance, that prevailing social conditions are absolutely and grossly unjust; that commercial methods are inhu-

man and iniquitous; that the life they have been wont to live is not the life man ought to live. They also know that wealth and leisure are necessary to the true enjoyment of life, and realize that life, this earthly life, that is, the life of every human being, can, and ought to be enjoyable. We need not wonder therefore that working men have come to believe that the wealth necessary for the full and complete enjoyment of life is actually earned by them, is theirs by right, by reason of the deepest spiritual necessity, and is literally and wrongfully withheld from them by reason of an artificial and immoral commercial system, and often ruthlessly squandered by an undeserving few on the follies of a superficial existence.

Thus, looked at intelligently, the social unrest of our time is not the product of clandestine reforming societies, nor of the hoarse shoutings of a few political tub-thumpers; neither is it the outcome of a desire to establish mere economic equality, or to possess the wealth which the idle squander. Rather is it, as I have so often insisted, an indication of a profound spiritual awakening, a sign that the people are longing for a deeper social and spiritual existence, for the fuller life of art and of social communion. But because this claim on the part of the people for the opportunity to live spiritually is meeting with severe opposition, it may be said that the prevailing social unrest is the protest of an enlightened community against the evils of a barbaric industrial policy. In spite of materialism and of a strong tendency to strain after pleasure, there is abundant evidence that a new social idealism is developing in our midst, and that a deep longing for a more vital, spiritual and many-sided existence is manifesting itself. It is true that the people at large seem to be indifferent to religion; but there is some reason to believe that this indifference is only manifested towards Church religion, with its played-out Nineteenth Century dogmatism and its narrow conception of spiritual life, and that it will disappear so soon as satisfaction has been got for other and more urgent demands. For the time being the working men of this country are engrossed in an effort to secure the means to live the larger life; and they are neglecting religion and standing aloof from the Church because

they have, unhappily, a too-well founded suspicion that that institution, on the whole, is not in sympathy either with their objects or demands. But the plain fact is, and recognise it we sooner or later must, the root cause of the prevailing industrial discontent and social unrest is a desire to live a more ideal life; a feeling on the part of working men that they are being converted little by little into machines, into tools in the hands of a few heartless materialists. Working men have of late years been reading widely and thinking deeply, and have had a vision of a more ideal and spiritual life. Against this growing idealism the sordidness of modern commercialism stands out in weird contrast; and the fact the contrast is beginning to be recognised is the surest sign of the approach of war. A conflict is inevitable; and when freedom is at stake, and the issue of war is whether the lust for power on the part of the few, or the desire for the liberty and opportunity whereby to live the fuller spiritual life which all the greatest art reveals, on the part of the many, shall conquer, there can be no disputing on which side victory will ultimately lay.

Confronted, therefore, with these important facts: the imminence of revolution; the undoubted existence of social injustice; the widespread recognition by working men that such injustice is artificially caused, and is not inevitable; the growing intelligence of the working classes and their awakening to the deeper facts, realities and possibilities of life; the gradual development of a new social idealism, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that something ought to be done—something substantial and far-reaching—and that immediately, by the men who control our industrial policy. For who are more likely to do what is necessary to be done than the captains of our industry, the men who possess the means and the power to do all that is needed? And certainly something will ere long have to be done if Socialism or civil war is to be avoided. The attitude of English capitalists towards the industrial problem during the next few years will determine the course of events, our social and industrial policy, for generations to come. If the opportunity be seized and a sane policy be pursued the situation may be saved; but if it be allow-

ed. to slip; disaster of one sort or another will be sure to follow. For the time being the situation is in their control; but let them longer cease to act or to ignore the cry for justice, and power will be taken out of their hands for ever. Because industrial individualism has been allowed to develop unrestrained, unchecked by religion or by common-sense morality, it has become the instrument of a deep-seated and devitalizing materialism, and thus the cause of the conditions against which the nation is now revelling. This fact cannot be too well pondered, as without doubt the future welfare of our country depends upon the willingness of our capitalists to modify and humanize their industrial policy, and thus to lessen and mitigate the evils their own selfishness and shortsightedness have produced.

The way we are at present going, industrially speaking, is undoubtedly the way of madness: materialism is our only guide, physical force our only rule. It would appear that morality and industry had irrevocably parted asunder. The conception that evil, including commercial evil, has a personal cause and must, in the last resort, be overcome by some sort of personal salvation, a process of moral and spiritual elevation, is one that the present generation seems wholly to have lost sight of. What in a healthy age would be regarded as moral and personal questions are in these days of materialism regarded as political and impersonal questions. Hence the constant appeal to force; the frequency of the strike and the lock-out; the clamour for restrictive legislation in these days. And so cruel and destructive has the instrument of the strike become that the Government has found it necessary to intervene in order to prevent revolution. But the cost of such intervention is Socialism: and Socialism, as is proved by the recent coal strike, means the curtailment of liberty, both of masters and men. Such is the price our nation is paying for the moral impotence (the direct outcome of materialism) that has overtaken its capitalist classes.

Now to an intelligent mind the policy of antagonism, of unabated warfare between the two closely allied and primary factors of production, capital and labour, which has characterized Western industry during

the past half-century, must appear as one of the most revolting and suicidal policies imaginable. A little thinking ought to convince any man that in regard to industry of any kind, the best results can only be secured when there exists perfect harmony, a real spirit of co-operation, between employers and employed. But so very few people, even business men, do really think about common and every-day affairs, that it is not surprising to find that so important a truth is not generally recognised. If more did recognise it we should have less foolish stubbornness in the industrial world than we have to-day; less open defiance; less desire to subdue and crush one's opponents; a more willing and sincere attempt to find out what is reasonable, and thus to manifest the spirit and to produce the conditions which most conduce to happy and willing workmanship.

During the past seventy years great changes have taken place in industrial methods and in social conditions. The introduction of machinery and the establishment of the large workshop have made possible the accumulation of almost unimaginable fortunes. Yet in spite of this fact, and also of the fact that the struggle for existence in large towns tends to increase, and the need for greater concentration on the part of the workman to grow, the undeniable truth is that in almost every case the application of the workers for improved conditions and better wages, has been refused, often bluntly refused, no matter how reasonable the claim made was or how great profits were. Increased efficiency, speed, and concentration, and the gradual substitution of mental or physical effort necessitate a periodic advance in wages. But when the time comes for such advance to be sought, it is generally the case that the employer refuses even to listen, or to do anything except insist on his right to make large, yea unlimited profits, no matter what the social consequences of his action are. Not only that, but if his conduct be exposed, he will declare himself to have been grossly and foully maligned, and, hiding himself behind the fortress of his enormous wealth,—so great is his pride, so complete his subservience to the materialistic spirit,—will even persist in regarding the men who have

pleaded for the wherewithal to live on a plane a little higher than the animals, as malcontents, revolutionists, breeders of discontent, etc.

For over sixty years the relations between masters and men have been governed by physical force, by strikes, etc., where wealth, aided by the soldier and the policeman, on the one hand, has been pitted against poverty, sheer physical endurance and the ravaging ferocity of hunger, on the other. And this in spite of the fact that the wealth reaped and enjoyed by the few is chiefly the product of the many. We need not wonder therefore that a strong class hatred has arisen, or that a spirit of antagonism between Capital and Labour exists which is destroying all that is best in human nature, robbing it of enthusiasm and of that spirit of good will without which nothing good can be accomplished. Thus we are compelled to admit that our commercial policy has for the most part been a policy of ruthless repression, of senseless blood-sucking, of sheer profit-making at the expense of all and sundry, even of those upon whose happiness and well-being their own prosperity ultimately depended.

That being the case need we be greatly astonished at the abundant crop of social evils, at the social chaos and unrest, which the twentieth century has inherited? Indeed we need not. They are the inevitable product of bad, suicidal business methods, of ideas and practices which, when carefully examined, stripped of the deceits of a highly technical terminology, decidedly belong to the age of barbarism. And just think what our industry is suffering from to-day as a direct result of them! A Trade Unionism which often works in a contrary direction to both efficiency and good feeling; a strong tendency towards Socialism; severe antagonism between masters and men, whereby all enthusiasm and all desire for good work is killed; Federationism among employers whereby it has become well nigh impossible for an enlightened employer to do a good thing, to carry out a sensible reform, in his own works, without coming under the censure of his compeers! Perhaps at no period in the history of this country have the ideals of labour been so low as they are to-day; and never were workmen less enthusiastic about their crafts and tasks,

the production of good and beautiful work, than they are to-day. But need we be surprised? Is it to be expected that an intelligent man will put all his enthusiasm and brains into labour, the rich fruit of which will be reaped by a man whose life is already filled to satiation with luxury? The artistic idealism of the Middle Ages, of craftsmen in the days of the Trade Guilds, is almost entirely unknown to-day; but what is more, it is likely to remain such until a saner commercial policy has been established.

Thus, even from the point of view of profits, I believe that our industrial policy has been a wrong one, suicidal; and hold that the high-water mark of profit-making has not yet been reached. Psychologically the old methods are wrong. With happy and contented minds men can not only do better work, but work far harder, and produce more, with the same amount of energy. Consequently, I firmly believe that the wise and successful employer of the future will be the man who makes it his first and supreme effort to secure the happiness of his workmen. For if the profits from begrudged and unwilling labour have been great, what may they not be when labour is willing and the workers are happy and contented?

At the same time, and while believing that the development of industry on more rational and humane lines is inevitable, I candidly confess that I do not think fortunes will be so large, or that exceedingly large fortunes will be so numerous in the future as they are to-day. Profits will rise, undoubtedly; but if the worker is to get his due share of those profits, it is more than likely that the employer will reap less than he now does. But if the employer of the future is likely to receive less wealth from industry than is now the case, I believe he will be the recipient of a good that is far more valuable and satisfying, and that will more than compensate him for any pecuniary sacrifice he may have found it necessary to make. In other words, I believe we are just beginning to discover that there are more assets in business than those which can be subsumed under the heading £. s. d., and that many things are worth working for which the majority

of employers in the past have not even known to exist.

My chief reason for saying that in the future fortunes will probably not be so large, nor large fortunes so numerous, as they have been in the past, are two; *viz.*, first, that owing to the demand that is likely to be made in the near future for the introduction into business of a stronger personal element, the tendency will be for the large business, the Trust, to break up, and for the small concern again to come into vogue; and second, that a division of profits among the workers, some sort of Co-partnership, is inevitable—inevitable, that is, if individualism is to remain.

In regard to the first of these reasons it must be admitted at once that my view is not the popular one, as at present the tendency is undoubtedly in the direction of Socialism. Nevertheless it is a view that an increasing number of thoughtful men, including many front rank business men, are coming to hold. It is a commonly held opinion at the present time that economic cheapness is the sole determinant of the value of an institution, the ultimate test of its right to endure. To such an extent have merely economic and material interests triumphed over moral and spiritual interests during the last half-century! And certainly the apologists of the theory of the Superman in its most flagrantly materialistic forms need go no further than modern commercialism for a vindication, an actual example, of the doctrines they profess. But this view I hold to be quite wrong, and believe that its prevalence is due to the materialism which, unfortunately, has overtaken so many of our ablest men. Indeed did we look deep enough, it is just this materialism that the modern social reform movement is seeking to destroy. There are higher standards than cheapness in judging of the value of any institution: otherwise we should all live in huts and caves and dress in sackcloth; and whatever is found to be in opposition to the highest human well-being must ultimately perish,—that is, if the race itself is to continue. A great social iniquity, like our present industrial system, may exist for a few decades; but it cannot live for ever: and even now the doom of Nineteenth Century commercialism has been sounded. Of democratic govern-

ment it could probably be said that it is the dearest form of government conceivable: far dearer than aristocratic government, and infinitely dearer than monarchic; and yet the fact is that democratic government has come to stay. And why? Simply because participation in the work of government is now regarded as a necessary function in the life of a developed man, a veritable means of self-realization, and thus a right as well as a duty of every adult member of the state. To have Labour men on Town Councils, etc., may not conduce to cheapness, but it is a splendid means of educating the people in the rights and duties of citizenship nevertheless: consequently it is held to be a good thing; and in spite of the expense the people go in for it.

Thus notwithstanding the present tendency to travel in the direction of economic advantage I am of opinion that the future development of industry will be in the direction of the small business, or of the large business conducted on Co-partnership lines, and with the personal element between the management and the workers more highly developed. The new social conscience that is awakening, together with enlightenment that is coming upon the working classes of this country, will effectively check the present tendency towards Socialism and the formation of Trusts. What we are waiting for is the spiritual awakening of our Middle classes, the recognition by them of the spiritual values and the social ideals which, strange and startling as it may seem to many, are at this very moment inspiring the minds and determining the conduct of thousands of English working-men. Such an idealism is precisely what is needed to save these classes from the materialism that is threatening both their own and the nation's life with ruin. Were our capitalist class to become permeated with the spirit of the grander social idealism that is everywhere taking root, a reformation would be effected that would completely transform our society, spiritualize all our social relationships, and finally and completely arrest the present tendency towards the State control of industry. What we need is to get back to the close personal relationships of mediæval times, but to infuse into those rela-

tionships something of the spirit and feeling which modern enlightenment and centuries of development have produced, and which are implied in the word democracy. When that is done work will indeed be a pleasure, a joy; true social service and a variable means of self-realization. Herein lies the only satisfactory solution to those problems of labour which are menacing not only the peace of the Western world but the very existence of Western civilisation.

Then as to my second reason. All things considered I think that Co-partnership is an inevitable development of the immediate future. Justice demands it; the level of intelligence now reached by working-men demands it. As already stated, working-men are no longer under any delusion as to the source of wealth, or as to the respective rights of those who produce it to its possession. The theory that the capitalist has a right to reap enormous, almost illimitable, profits from industry, even while the worker receives a mere pittance for wages, has been totally abandoned. To defend it longer would be madness, sheer incitation to revolution.

The remarkably high level of intelligence reached by working-men to-day makes it imperative that they be given a real interest in, even a representative voice in the control of, the businesses with which they are connected. And it is only by turning this intelligence to its proper use that the happiness of the worker and the highest business success can be secured. Nothing can bring out the best workmanship like the true spirit of comradeship, of co-operation, the feeling that one is a co-worker in the production of good, useful and beautiful things; and with an intelligent working class this feeling is capable of becoming very strong. Just as the franchise could no longer be withheld from the working classes, once their intelligence had so far developed as to make the need of participation in the work of government, in the making of laws and the building up of institutions, strongly felt, so at the present time, and for similar reasons, Co-partnership, participation in the controlling, as well as in the profits of industry, is inevitable. When the captains of our industry try to satisfy this great need and demand of our time a new age will

dawn, new and grander possibilities of spiritual attainment come into view, new values and reality spring into existence. Indeed it is scarcely too much to say that as a nation we are on the verge of a great and grand discovery, on the borders of a new life, a glorious spiritual kingdom.

The spiritual aspiration and intelligence of the worker are factors that cannot longer be ignored, that ought not, as is certainly at present the case, to be divorced from labour; it is time they were brought into active co-operation with the directing and controlling forces of industry. Indeed the truth is that after a certain point of development has been reached, the intelligence of the worker, if it be not respected, given adequate recognition and reward, becomes a deterrent rather than a helpful force. It is precisely because the revolt of the workers against modern social conditions and industrial methods has its source in a spiritual craving that I am convinced Socialism cannot be an effective remedy for existing evils, or that anything can be save a sound system of Co-partnership, and a process of gradual industrial decentralisation.

But if the unity between masters and men is to be real, of the nature required by the existing state of society, the motives of employers in introducing a system of Co-partnership must be genuine and sincere, their schemes absolutely bona fide. Any mere device for trapping the workers into a system whereby they do not get a real and adequate share of the profits of industry, of the fruits of their own labour, will be thrown aside, and will only help to aggravate the evil. Nor will the mere raising of wages create the unity, the true spirit of co-operation that are now so much required; for working men are beginning to realize that an all-round rise in wages means an all-round rise in prices, and is really an evil, causing them to be even worse off than before.

But if Co-partnership is to be the rule of the future, and if Co-partnership involves profit-sharing, and thus a reduced monetary return to the chief capitalist or capitalists, what is to induce the modern employer to adopt Co-partnership?

In reply to this question I believe that an adequate answer would be to say that Co-partnership is the only possible basis upon

which the right of private business, industrial individualism, can in the future be retained; for working-men must have more liberty, more personal control over their life and labour. But the answer I prefer to give is of quite another kind. I believe that Co-partnership opens up quite new possibilities of life, of spiritual attainment; reveals and points the way to a wealth that has been too long neglected, a well-being that we as a socially advanced people have been exceedingly slow to recognise. Co-partnership makes possible what I believe the people of this country are longing for: the introduction into business of more heart and soul, more personality; the development in our business life of stronger personal relationships, of a real spirit and feeling of brotherhood, of comradeship, of fellowship. If my reading of current signs and tendencies is the correct one, I should say that a strong feeling is growing that work ought to be a pleasure, a joyful and not a sordid matter, a means of a spiritual elevation rather than of mere physical perpetuation, and ought to afford more scope for the play of the feelings, even of the affections. Beneath the clash and clamour of modern industry, of the fervid pursuit of wealth, new and grander ideals are taking shape, nobler ideas and motives struggling for supremacy. The materialism which is

everywhere so apparent and paramount is becoming more and more hateful even to those who are its completest slaves. Indeed there are many indications that we are approaching a new era in the social and industrial life of our country. What we are wanting is a handful of men who have conviction, imagination and courage; men, that is, who, seeing the signs of the times and themselves longing for a fuller, deeper, more satisfying and spiritual life, will boldly take the lead along the path that reason and the call of the larger life would have us go. But one thing we must not forget. A radical change in our industrial policy is inevitable: it is for our capitalist class to say whether such change shall be effected from without or from within; whether our national liberty shall be sacrificed or preserved. And, let us be quite frank, Co-partnership will not be the last word in the development of our industrial policy, nor will any thing, save the complete decentralisation of industry and the coming of the time when every family in the state can have its little plot of land, with its barn or outhouse attached, containing its one or two machines, etc., and the family can thus live in freedom and determine its life according to the ideas and ideals of its members.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA

IN India the whole of life is regarded as religious, no part as profane. In this conception of all life as a sacrament, the product of the idealism of the Hindus and of their religion, the opportunity for art and industry is very great. The first essential of art and industry is imagination. To the idealistic mind of the Hindu, art and industry are the representation of one aspect of the Divinity which pervades every department of life. They therefore transcend the limitations of beauty and form in nature, and attempt to represent the ideal as the only true beauty. Beauty has

an absolute existence in the ideal plane, and is revealed in the mind of the Hindu artist by God. The Hindu artist thus relies more upon the inward inspiration than upon any discipline in reproducing the external form. The God who is the source of all beauty, rhythm, proportion and idea is Viswakarmā and to him all the homage and reverence of the Hindu artisan are due, for all art and industry are revealed by him to the artisan. In the Mahābhārata he is described as Lord of the arts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, who made the

celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist and whom, a great and immortal God, they continually worship. Viswakarmā is not only worshipped by the craftsmen with offerings and ritual at the beginning of their work, but there are also numerous charms and songs with which he is invoked to ward off disasters and assist them in their work. In the *dasaharā* day every year Viswakarmā is invoked by the Brahmin of the industrial caste.

“विश्वकर्मेन्निर्वाहं च तुलावन्मूलं कुरु । शिल्पाचार्याय देवाय नमस्ते विश्वकर्मेणे स्वाहा ॥”

He will not only bestow riches, but also skill and dexterity to the artisans.

शिल्पेण पुण्यादि ब्रह्मपूर्वकं श्रीविश्वकर्मे प्रीतिकामो गणपत्यादि देवता पूजापूर्वकं विश्वकर्मे पूजामहं करिष्ये ।

In meditation he is, दशपालं महावीरं सुचित्रकर्माकारकं । विश्वकर्तुं विश्वधृक् च तत् रसनो मानदण्डधृक् ॥,” in *pranām*, शिल्पाचार्या महाभाग देवानां कार्यसाधक । विश्वकर्मेन ससुखं सर्वामीष्टप्रदायक ॥ In the *Rūpavalia*, his form and attributes are thus described :

“Salutation I give to Viswakarma, the fair and great who is renowned and free, who has five *tilak*-marked faces, ten arms, holding a book and writing style, a sword, an adze, a citron, a cup, a waterpot, a rosary, a cobra about his neck, a noose, hands betokening sternness and beneficence and wearing a golden sacred thread.”

The tools and implements are also worshipped by besmearing them with *chandan* or sandal paste. They are considered to be the gifts of Viswakarmā, whom they are meant to interpret. Art thus becomes the interpretation of the Absolute or Love, not an abstraction but a person, God, and God aids the artisan in the revelation of His beauty. The artisan's work is also sacred. As is said in *Manu*,—

“The hand of the artisan is always pure. So is (every vendible commodity) exposed for sale in the market and food obtained by begging which a student holds (in his hand) is always fit for use : that is a settled rule.”

Another doctrine that exercises a most beneficial influence on craftsmanship is that of *karma*. A man's deeds follow him in his next birth. Thus one who knows amiss his craft will fall into hell and suffer after his death. Builders and painters taking money falsely from other men thereby grow poor. Builders and painters who know their business well will become *rajas* lacking naught, so also cunning painters

are meet to become nobles. Builders and painters both, who know naught of their craft, when here are given according to the work accomplished, take that money and (leaving their work) rush home therewith, though they get thousands, there is nothing even for a meal, they have not so much as a piece of cloth to wear, that is the reward of past births, as you know ; dying they fall into hell and suffer pain a hundred lacs of years ; if they escape they will possess a deformed body and live in great distress ; when born as a man it will be as a needy builder ; the painter's eyes will squint,—look ye, what livelihood can there be for him ? (The *Maya matya*).

Again, the holiness of nature in its infinite variety and beauty is the fundamental thought of the Hindu, and is not only fixed and ritualised in the series of the Hindu year's fasts and feasts but finds an expression in arts and crafts. Thus the Hindu craftsman decorates his handiwork with the forms of wellknown plants and flowers, birds and beasts. He worships God with grass, leaves and flowers, and loves the birds and beasts associated with His life. These therefore he represents in his handiwork. Perhaps the most significant of the designs is the lotus pattern which to the Hindu is the symbol of life, the water in which it floats being the eternity of existence. This beautiful conception is crystallised into the arts of India and appears again and again not only in Hindu but also in Muhammadan decoration. Among the Hindus the most familiar copper or brass vessel used in home, *viz.*, the *lotā*, has derived its shape from the partially expanded flowers of the sacred lotus. Among other frequent flowers may be mentioned the iris, the imperial pendant lily, the rose and the polyanthus with its gracefully nodding head of flower and revolute leaf margins, and many fruits of the plains such as the mango, brinjal, etc., are also represented. In the textiles flowers are very common. *Buti* is a single flower or figure not connected by a *brellies*, or *jali*, or *buta* when the flowers are large. The various flowers depicted are denoted by further appellations. Such as *chameli buti* (jasmine flowered) *gul dandi buti* (chrysanthemum flowered) and *genda buti* (marigold flowered). When circular the *buti*

would be described as *chanda* and *turinj* is the name of the so called cone-pattern of the Kashmir shawls. A *pan-buti* would be heart-shaped like the betel leaf. When the floral ornamentations form a net work that covers completely the field, the textile is called *jalar*. At other times the poetic name of *panna-hazara* or thousand emeralds is given when the sprays of flowers are connected together like the settings of a jewel; so also the expression *phellwar* is used when a running floral pattern covers the entire field.

With the Muhammadans the *lota* has been given a spout because the Koran ordains that a man shall perform his ablutions in running water, and the water when poured out of the vessel is considered to be running water. The shapes of the Hindu and the Muhammadan vessels and their respective uses have given birth to two widely different forms of both domestic and decorative metal works characteristic of our country.

Among birds the most frequent are the peacock and the parrot represented in wood carving as well as in the textiles. In the textiles the birds are placed usually head and tail in the vertical bands and in the transverse ones with each alternate bird looking over its shoulder. Another bird often depicted resembles the swan or goose—the vehicle of the great creator Brāhma—at other times it is the Garuda. The lion, the elephant, the horse and the ox are also frequently represented in the arts. The representation of these birds and animal forms in life and vigour depends upon the guiding and controlling power of a living religion. When religious life becomes dull, a decorative and high art becomes a mere reproduction of conventional forms. The Hindu craftsman moulds, paints, or carves these patterns out of his own head, not from any visible model before him. His patterns are deeply rooted in the national life, full of symbolical associations that have no meaning to the foreigner, but enhance their significance a thousandfold to the pious Hindu. For the reproduction of these patterns which thus form a characteristic language of the art of the people, the craftsman depends upon his race-memory and his own imagination worked up by a profound devo-

tion. When he will begin his work, the craftsman according to the injunctions of the *shastras* will proceed to a solitary place, after purificatory ablutions and wearing newly washed garments. Then he is enjoined by the *shastras* to compose individual consciousness. Thus the mental image becomes clearly defined. When the artist vividly sees his picture, he draws it from his own mind. The craftsman is also instructed to rely upon knowledge obtained in sleep or dreams. On the night before beginning his work the imager, after ceremonial obligations, is asked to pray 'O thou lord of all the Gods, teach me in dreams how to carry out all the work I have in my mind.'

It should be observed in this connection that there is an immense variety of the patterns and of ornamentation in details in different parts of our country. Each centre of art develops its own peculiar variety of patterns and conventions. Thus in Ahmedabad, the phenomenon not unfamiliar to the Indian traveller, of a *banyan* tree growing out of and around a palm until in its snake-like entanglements of root and branch, the banyan strangles its foster plant, is very common in arts and handicrafts. It is repeated time after time in the carved stone, wood, sandal and ivory, in the carved hide-shields, in the *kinkhabs* and other textiles and in the gold and silver plate and jewellery, until it has become the characteristic feature of Ahmedabad art. This peculiarity is absent in the work of all other art-centres in the country.

Mythological scenes are also represented very frequently in the arts. Incidents in the life of the youthful Krishna are depicted with exquisite skill and delicacy in woodwork. The moonlight dance of Krishna and the milk-maids, while flowers are being showered upon them from the clouds, or the passionate longing of Krishna for Radha and the joy of their union are depicted with great feeling and charming idealism. Nature seems to rejoice with the advent of God on earth; every bough of the tree, every bird and animal as also the fish in the waters sing His praise, while the contentment of the trooping homeward cattle that is also depicted is admirable. There are also in carved woodwork the

figures of Chāmunda slaying the demons Chanda and Munda, Lakshmi with her two attendant elephants, Saraswati playing on the *vina*. While in the ivory work especially in Bengal, the figure of Durga thrusting her spear into the demon Mahishasur and attended by Lakshmi, Saraswati and Ganesh is very popular and meets a large local demand. The potters in almost every village of India, after making the domestic vessels, make toy gods and goddesses, prototypes of those represented in the higher arts.

Thus the arts and crafts of the Hindu are essentially idealistic and religious. The arts and crafts of India are applied to the ends of religion and mythology. Religion has not only been the motive force and inspiration to the Hindu artist and craftsman, but ceremonial worship has also its influence on art.

The implements that are used in temples for worship have greatly stimulated art conception. Throughout the country, the *Kosa* or *panch patra* as well as the *Kusi* or *achamani*, the dhupdāni, the *arati* lamp and the bells are often extremely beautiful objects largely drawn upon in decorative art. Again the *sinhasana* of the pattern of the lotus leaf, a beautiful symbol, has originated some of the most beautiful products of Indian art. Thus the religion of the people has contributed to keep alive a high degree of mechanical skill and artistic feeling by

creating a demand for the ceremonial implements in temples as well as in the household throughout the country.

The religious festivals of the industrial castes are not many in number. The worship of Viswakarmā comes off on the Bhādra Sankrānti day. The carpenter, the black smith, the barber, the potter, the *Sankharī* and the *Kansari* do not do any work on the day and worship their respective implements, washing them in oil, *ghee*, and Ganges water and besmearing them with sandal-paste and vermillion. But the Hindustani artisans in Bengal do not observe this ceremony. Another day in which the Hindu artisans of Bengal abstain from any work is the Bijayā-dasami day. The weaver particularly do not work on Bijayādasami in *ekadasi* and *dvadasi* days, and worship the loom, the shuttle and the weights and measures with flowers, vermillion, and sandal paste. On the *trayodasi* day they begin work anew. The *telis*, the *tamlis* and the *gandha banyas* who deal in spices worship Gārdheswari on the Baisākhi Purnimā day. A image of Durga is made and the Goddess invoked to aid trade, वाणिज्यवृद्धिपूर्वक श्रीदुर्गे प्रीतिकामो श्रीदुर्गापूजाहं करिष्ये। Among the traders the first of Baisākh and the Rāmnavaṃs days are observed as days of *sāth* in which they begin their accounting anew in new account-books.

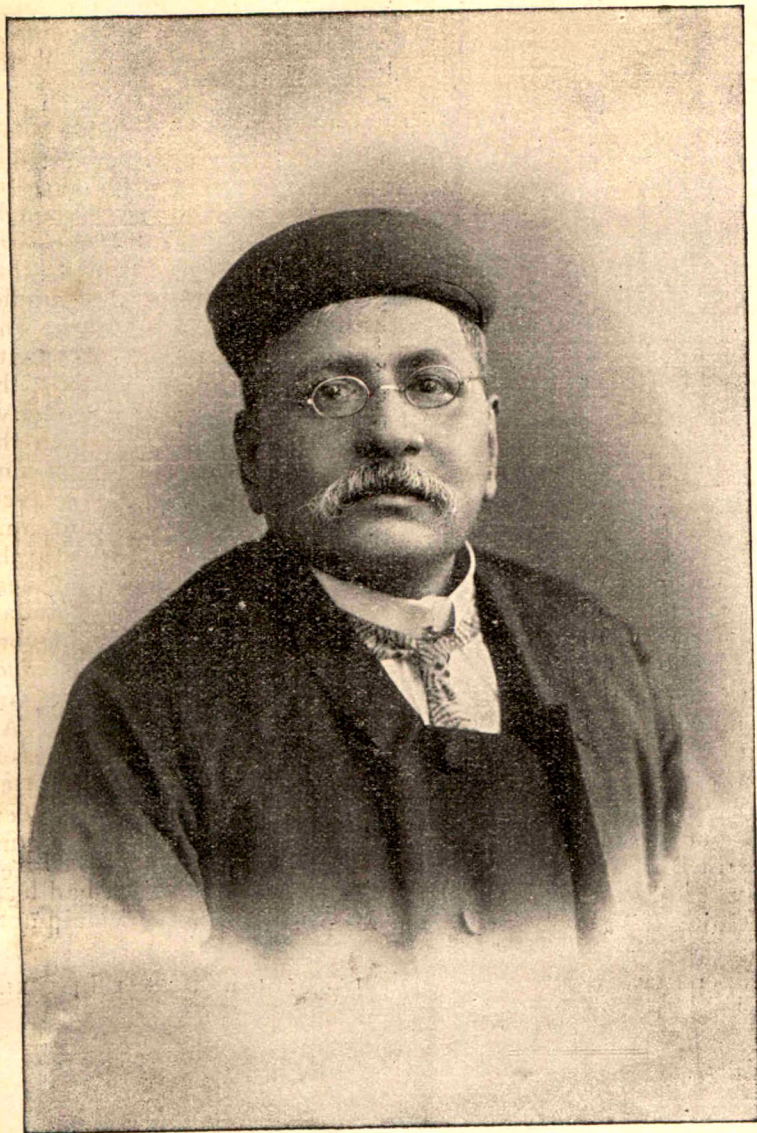
RADHAKAMAL MUKERJI.

ICHCHHARAM SURYARAM DESAI: AN APPRECIATION

GUJARAT mourns the loss of one of its premier journalists, Ichchharam Suryaram Desai, the Editor of the weekly "Gujarati," who died in December 1912, rather suddenly in Bombay at the age of fifty-five. Self-made in every sense of the term, many events and adventures have crowded into his life. A native of Surat, he came to Bombay in the early eighties with just thirty-five rupees in his pocket and during the course of thirty years he managed to build up a Journal, which is a power in the land, a first-class Printing

Press, worth many times thirty-five rupees and an extensive type-foundry which has set the model for bodies of Gujarati and Nagari types.

He came of a poor and distinguished parentage, the Desais of Surat, and his ancestors, though Banias, were rewarded by the Mogul Emperors Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzib for their martial qualities by a Watan (hereditary emolument of Rs. 1100). His schooling was of rudimentary character, but he improved upon it so much later on that some of the



ICHCHHARAM SURYARAM DESAI.

best written works published from the Gujarati press are attributed to his pen. Early in life he had taken a fancy to printing presses and the collection of old manuscripts. Intrepid and independent in nature, on the threshold of his career he found himself entangled in the meshes of a serious riot, called the License Tax Riot, at Surat in 1828. The police and the machinations of certain interested persons were successful in landing him into jail, but by the successful advocacy of Sir Phirozshah Mehta he was able to prove an *alibi*, and get

acquitted. From that period dates a friendship between the successful politician-advocate and the successful Journalist, which continued uninterrupted for nearly thirty years.

He served as an apprentice in two or three presses and journalistic offices, but the greatest event in his life was the founding of the weekly Gujarati paper, "The Gujarati", in 1880, with the financial help and advice of the late Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai. After some years, owing to a difference of views, the support was withdrawn, but undaunted by the misfortune, single-handed, he carried on the enterprise and to-day he has left it in a position of the utmost desirability. A Londoner do not expect his morning paper on his breakfast table with greater longing than the townsman or villageman of Gujarat expects his weekly issue of "The Gujarati". In fact, what the "Kesari" is to the Deccanis, the "Bengalee" of the Bengalis, the "Gujarati" is to the inhabitants of Gujarat. Wherever a Gujarati has gone, to Burma, South Africa, Paris or London, there "The

Gujarati" has followed him. Surely there must be something out of the ordinary run in the personality of an individual to accomplish so much.

But his memory would be cherished by the Gujaratis, even more, for the unusual impetus he has given to the literature of the province. His collection of the works of all the old Gujarati poets in eight large volumes is itself a monument of patience, labour and research. Besides that the numerous works on all branches of learning, History, Philosophy, Fiction, Religion,

Poetry and Drama, published from the Gujarati Press, testify to his deep love and affection for his language, specially as he has had to spend considerably to gratify that love and affection.

The policy of "The Gujarati" in political matters has been outspoken and at times the local Government thought it verging perilously on the border-land of sedition in its vernacular columns (the paper possesses English columns too). The first fruits of the New Press Act of 1910 were that the paper was called upon to deposit a substantial security. The same was done but as a corollary to the action the expression of its views has to be most rigorously watched by Government. A staunch supporter of radical views, the split in the National Congress found him throwing the full force of his weight on the side of the Convention as he felt that if anything practical was to be accomplished it would be done not by Extremist but by Moderate measures. In matters of social reform he lent his support to the orthodox or conservative or the *Sanatan Dharma* party, but it must be said that he was not an opponent of slow and steady progress in the reform of several caste restrictions. He disliked the interference of the Legislature in our social matters and the Age of Consent Bill, the Basu Bill and like measures were condemned in the columns of "The Gujarati" as whole-heartedly as widow-remarriage and indiscriminate inter-dining. He naturally

was therefore a great favourite of the majority of his countrymen, whose views still run in the old grooves.

Having seen both the shadows and the sunshine of life, his heart always bled for the poor and the magnificent amounts he collected for the last two severe famines in the Presidency by appealing to his subscribers and opening a fund for the purpose serve to show the high regard in which he was held by his readers both in and out of India.

Time alone will show whether he has left an abiding influence behind him, whether his paper has been able to educate and mould public opinion, political and social, to any good purpose, but this much is certain, that the large number of useful books and publications that he has been instrumental in giving to Gujarat, has given a tone to that literature, stiffened the rather limp state in which it was before, and by encouraging several Shastris and struggling young men with a taste for letters, has brightened up the dark future which at one time some people thought was looming large before the province.

It is difficult to touch cursorily in a short magazine article on the manifold activities of the deceased, but if from the above lines it could be gathered that Gujarat had lost the Nestor of its Journalism, they would not have failed of their purpose.

KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI.

MOHAMED AND THE QUR'AN

By S. KHUDA BUKHSH, M.A., B.C.L. (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW, LECTURER, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

AFTER the conquest of Mekka, which took place in the Ramadhan of the 8th year of the Hejirah, the new laws of war were promulgated and the second expedition against the Byzantines undertaken.*

Some Mekkans by taking part in a night attack on the Khuzaites, the allies of Mohamed, violated the peace which ex-

* This expedition resulted in the battle of Tabuk.

tended not only to the Muslims and the Mekkans but also to their respective allies. This incident was most opportune for Mohamed who had his eyes fixed upon Mekka and who now felt sufficiently strong to conquer the holy town. He accordingly decided to avenge this violation of the peace, although Abu Sufyan himself came to Medina to offer apology and seek pardon on behalf of the entire community.

Abu Sufyan was dismissed with a non-committing answer. But the preparation for war was conducted with such zeal and secrecy that even before the announcement of a formal declaration of war Mohamed with ten thousand men had pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Mekka. The town could offer no resistance, and thus no alternative was left to the chiefs but to surrender and to acknowledge Mohamed not only as their temporal ruler but also as a prophet of God. Mohamed was satisfied with the result and prohibited bloodshed where no opposition was offered. Only at one of the gates of the town a small body of fanatics were repelled by the sword. A general amnesty was proclaimed—only some fifteen men were excluded from it. Of these several were pardoned at the intercession of Mohamed's friends and several took safety in flight. Only four persons were executed.

When order was restored in the town Mohamed repaired to the temple, performed the circuit round it according to the old heathen customs, and cleansed it of the idols there.

Then, on one of the hills of the town he received the oath of allegiance, as also the vow to follow him in all wars against the infidels. At the same time he again declared Mekka a holy town in which only by way of exception did God permit him to shed blood but which henceforward was to remain inviolable. He pacified the Medinites who feared that he might make Mekka, his birth place, the seat of his future residence.

During his stay at Mekka several generals were sent to the neighbouring tribes to reduce them to submission, to destroy idols and to demolish heathen places of worship.

He himself advanced at the head of 12,000 men against the Hawazin tribes and the inhabitants of Taif, who under the leadership of Malik Ibn Auf had taken up their post between Mekka and Taif.

When the Muslims came to the valley of Honain they were suddenly attacked by a Beduin ambuscade. A panic took possession of the Mohamedans which was deliberately increased by many Arabs who were hardly genuine converts, and thus the troops took to a wild flight. Abbas the uncle of

the prophet brought the flying army to a place of safety; then they fought afresh until the enemy fled, leaving a rich booty and numerous captives to the victors. After this the town of Taif was besieged, where a portion of the defeated army had taken refuge, but the Muslims were as powerless against it as formerly the Mekkans had been against the entrenchment at Medina. After a siege of several weeks Mohamed had to leave without effecting his purpose. After the lapse of a year the town voluntarily surrendered. According to some reports Mohamed was willing to grant many concessions to them, such as freedom from the poor tax, immunity from participating in the holy war and permission to retain for a year their idol Al Lat. When the treaty however was being drawn up Omar stepped forward and prevailed upon Mohamed to accept nothing but unconditional submission.

The submission of Taif was a herald for the submission of the inhabitants of the valleys.

From the most outlying provinces came messengers bringing homage to the victorious prophet. After the conquest of Mekka and the announcement of the new laws of war, no other choice lay to the Arabs except the choice between the Qur'an and the sword.

It did not press heavily on the Beduins, indifferent as they were to matters of faith, to confess belief in one God, in Mohamed as the prophet of God, and in the Day of Judgment.

Nothing more was required of the converts than ablution and prayer, a fixed poor tax, pilgrimage once in life to Mekka. Of the prohibitions the most important was not murder, theft, adultery and similar offences common alike to all religious societies; but the prohibition to seek tribal aid in disputes, as had been the case hitherto, instead of the help of law and constituted authority. Nor was this unreasonable, for without it no fusion of the tribes into one compact whole was possible, nor any ordered government practicable.

Mohamed was now the *de facto* master of the whole of Arabia. Even the unfaithful (numerous as they were, and as their rapid apostacy after his death shows) found themselves constrained to acknowledge

Mohamed as the prophet of God, with their tongue if not with their heart. The next pilgrimage (632 A. D.) was suffered to be celebrated by none save Muslims at Mekka cleansed of idols. In their midst did Mohamed repair to teach and instruct them in the various laws of Islam. In one of the discourses that he delivered he introduced the pure lunar year for all times, and laid down rules and regulations regarding the pilgrimage—rules and regulations calculated to inspire in the pilgrim sentiments of worship and devotion. They were these:—he had to cover himself with a single piece of cloth; he was to avoid all quarrels and disputes; he was not to go about hunting; he was to renounce all sensual pleasures; he was to visit first the temple in Mekka and then the other holy places in the neighbourhood. Finally he was to slay the animal which he had brought with him for sacrifice. It was to be used partly for his own and partly for the benefit of his people and partly for the purposes of charity.

As regards the poor, Mohamed emphasized the duties which the rich and the powerful owed to them. Even the helpless wife he recommended to the compassion of her husband, and secured a share for her in his property. Finally he forbade games of chance, use of animals not properly slain, the blood and flesh of swine; but indispensable as was camel's flesh to the Arabs he did not think it fit to import into Islam further dietary restrictions drawn from Judaism.

A few months after his return from this pilgrimage Mohamed made preparations for a third expedition against the Byzantines, but this did not set out till after his death. After a fortnight's fever he died on the 8th of June 632 A. D. at the age of 63 according to the lunar and 61 according to the solar year.

Mohamed's biographers ascribe his death to a poisoned piece of mutton which the sister of a slain Jew is said to have given him on the occasion of the Khaibar expedition. This campaign took place four years before his death and even if the fact of the attempted poison was proved the connexion between the two can scarcely be established.

As happened later in the case of the Caliph Abu Bakr, very probably such a

fable was invented—(for they could not make him ascend into heaven like Christ) to glorify him with the death of a martyr.* And what indeed was not invented in the first century of the Hejirah to glorify the prophet. He was created before every other thing in the world. On his birth a shining light appeared in the east; the fire of Magians went out; a violent earthquake shook the throne of the Khosroes. He was born calling out: "There is no God but God and I am the prophet of God." Trees protected him and flowers greeted him as he passed through the desert, and even rocks saluted him as the prophet of God. Such an one marked out in such a way could not die of ordinary fever. He should at least die a martyr's death. The personal contributions of Mohamed to these legends it is difficult to assess. One of the oldest authorities report him as having said in his last illness that he felt as if the veins of his heart were bursting in consequence of the morsel that he took at Khaibar and the informant adds that Muslims might infer from this that God made Mohamed die as a martyr after he had glorified him by the seal of prophetship.

However that may be there is no doubt that he had frequent recourse to all sorts of fraud and imposture to secure his purpose; calling into his service the Angel Gabriel to reveal things which he could not himself believe.†

But we must not on this account condemn him as a mere fraud, for unless he wished to undo his whole work nothing else was left to him but to act the part to the end, for which he had originally believed himself to be marked out by God.‡

Justly indeed might he claim to be the benefactor of his country. It was he who united into one nation the scattered tribes, locked in perpetual strife, and bound them together by the ties of faith in one God and the immortality of the soul. It was he who purified Arabia of idolatry and released it from foreign bondage. It was he who substituted an inviolable and inviolate system of law (imperfect it might be) in the place of blood revenge, law of might

* Among the Muslims every one was a martyr whose death was due in any way to a holy war.

† The translator takes exception to this view of the learned author.

and wild caprice. It was he who laid down the law for all times. It was he who softened the hard lot of the slave, and showed a paternal care for the poor, the orphan and the widow. It was he who assigned a share to them in the poor tax and in the booty.

The Qur'an condemns cruelty, pride, arrogance, extravagance, calumny, games of chance, the use of intoxicants, and other vices which debase men and destroy social life. It recommends faith in God and resignation to His will. This was meant as will appear in the sequel, as subversive neither of human activity nor of moral freedom. But in consequence of some passages of the Qur'an the doctrine of divine decree has been misunderstood here and there.

Mohamed set a shining example to his people. Apart from his weakness for the fair sex his character was pure and stainless. His house, his dress, his food—they were characterised by a rare simplicity. So unpretentious was he that he would receive from his companions no special mark of reverence nor would he accept any service from his slave which he could do himself. Often and often indeed was he seen in the market purchasing provisions; often and often was he seen mending his clothes in his room, or milking a goat in his courtyard. He was accessible to all and at all times. He visited the sick and was full of sympathy for all, and whenever politics was not in the way he was generous and forbearing to a degree. Unlimited was his benevolence and generosity, and so was

his anxious care for the welfare of the community. Despite innumerable presents which from all quarters unceasingly poured in for him; despite rich booty which streamed in—he left very little behind, and that indeed he regarded as State property. After his death his property passed to the State and not to Fatimah, his only daughter, the wife of Ali.

Besides Fatimah Mohamed had other children, but tradition is discrepant as to their number. But this much is certain that all save Fatimah predeceased him. Of his issue we will only mention Ruqqaya and Umm Kulthum whom the Caliph Othman married—one after another—both children of his first wife Khadijah, and Ibrahim (son of the Coptic slave, Mary) whose premature death the prophet deeply mourned. He did not weep aloud "for fear of annoying the Lord, and because of his belief that he would get him back". One of his companions finding him bathed in tears asked him whether he had not forbidden lamentation for the dead. He replied 'I have condemned weeping aloud, scratching of the face and tearing of one's clothes. Shedding of tears, said he, on the occasion of a misfortune is a sign of compassion—shouting and shrieking is the work of devil.'

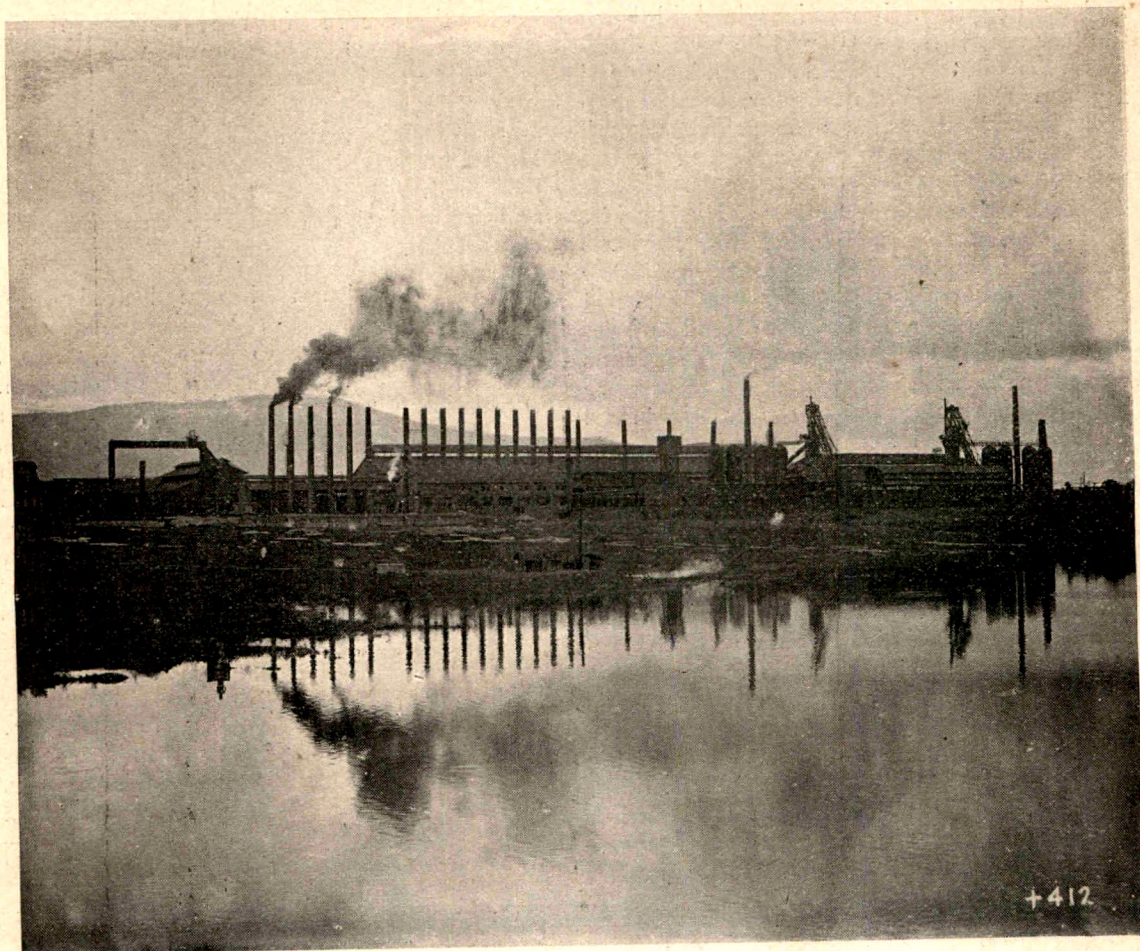
Though in no way free from the prejudices and superstitions of the time, he said to people who were disposed to regard the eclipse of the sun on the day of Ibrahim's death as a sign and a token of grief, that sun and moon care not for the life or death of a mere mortal.

THE TATA IRON AND STEEL WORKS AT SAKCHEE

THE iron trade is one of the main channels through which millions of money are drained away from India to various foreign countries. For a number of years this draining had gone on in full vigour. Scarcely had any Indian put himself forward to stop this continuous heavy draining. Only some sixteen years ago it roused strong opposition in the heart of a renowned Indian

merchant and gifted millionaire of the day, the late Mr. J. N. Tata. He saw plainly that by the iron trade the purses of the foreign countries were becoming heavier and heavier and that of India correspondingly lighter. This appealed strongly to his generous and patriotic heart and he sought for a remedy with energy and vigour

He formed the idea of manufacturing



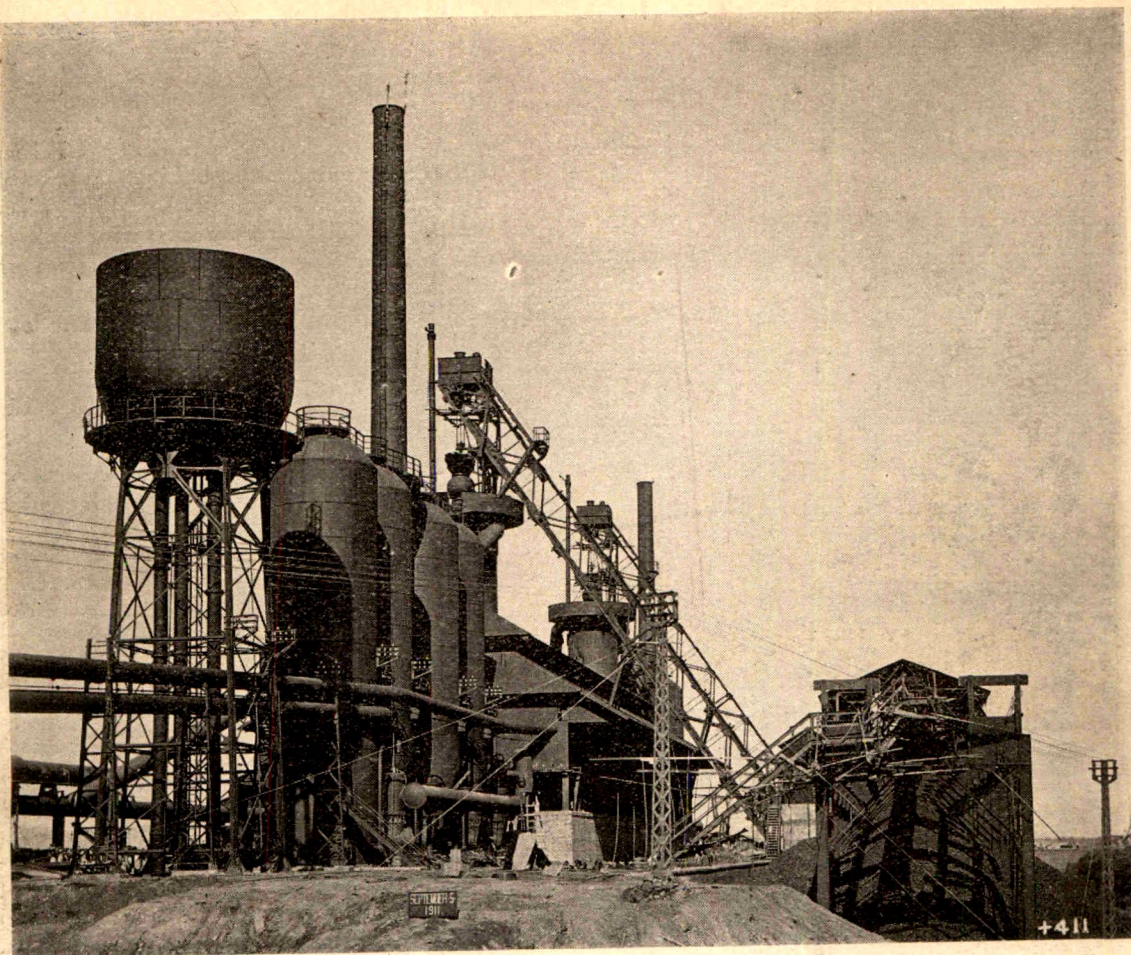
The Tata Iron and Steel Works—the general view.

iron in this country and toured all over India to seek for a suitable place where his project could be realised in practice and he found one in the south-east of Chotanagpur. He also managed to secure vast fields of iron ore, pyrites, in the Mourbhanj State at Gurumahisina at a very low price.

At an advanced old age when people generally retire from all activities and pass their days with their grandchildren at home, he started for England with the enthusiasm of youth to look into the methods employed in big iron works there. He visited many big iron manufactories there and minutely examined how they were conducted. Then he went over to Germany to investigate the processes used in German iron works. Had he lived for a few years more, he would, we can well imagine, have gone to America to see the Carnegie and other iron

works there. But before he could fulfil his scheme he was called away from this world, at a great distance from his native country and among unknown people in Germany. Had his lot been that of most great men whose great works remain unfinished for ever because of their unsympathetic and worthless successors, his idea would have been nipped in the bud. But God be praised, the sons of the late Mr. Tata have inherited the good qualities of their father and have accomplished the monumental work of founding the first Indian iron works on as big a scale as that contemplated by their noble father.

Kalimati is a minor station on the B. N. Ry. 155 miles to the west of Calcutta and there are very few human habitations in the neighbourhood. The station escaped unobserved by most of the passengers till



The Tata Iron and Steel Works—the Blast Furnace.

about four years ago. Since then it has begun to draw the attention of Railway passengers, who do not only see it as a mere station in the heart of a forest but a place whence warmth will spread all over the cold and stark body of India and infuse new spirit into it. Owing to this stimulus, many people imagine, India will be able to stop the foreign drain partially.

I have journeyed many a time this way and passed Kalimati but never thought it necessary to look out of the carriage window at the station or its surroundings; nor did I ever dream that this tiny station would have so much importance in the near future.

Four years have passed since the foundation of the great Indian iron works. During the earlier part of this period I

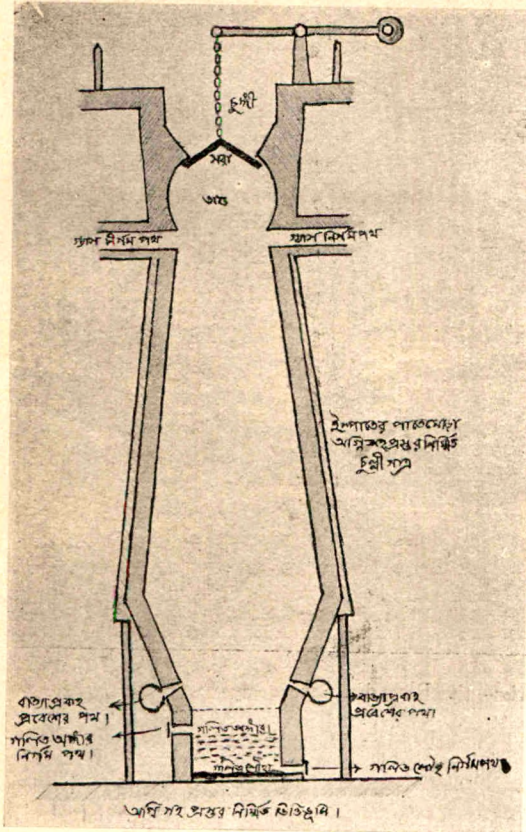
passed the Kalimati station once or twice and noticed only this much of change, that huge pieces of iron were piled up here and there and a number of bright lights were glowing at a distance. Since then I had not seen that place any more. During the last four years the works have been built up and at many places I heard people talking of this workshop highly. Since then, I have had a great mind to visit this iron works.

Recently, last summer, with two friends I visited this much-talked-of iron works of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Four years ago Mr. Renkin, an engineer of Pittsburgh, came here to superintend the installation of the big iron and steel plant. A distinguished mechanical engineer, Mr. Julian Kennedy by name, drew up the plans for it. Twenty or twenty-five thousand labourers

worked daily in the construction of this huge factory. Mr. Renkin had to feed, house and take care of this army of labourers, suddenly brought to the mill district where there was scarcely any human habitation before.

A law has been passed to enable the Company to acquire a freehold title of the five square miles of land on which the

beautifully illuminate the nocturnal depths of the tangled woods. Long before we reached Kalimati station we noticed an extraordinary effulgence like that of sunrise, but ah! it was only midnight! That was the so-much-talked-of iron works of Tata & Co. we anticipated. The plant is about three miles from the station. Four years ago scarcely one or two passengers would alight here in a month but now-a-days a good many people get down here every day.

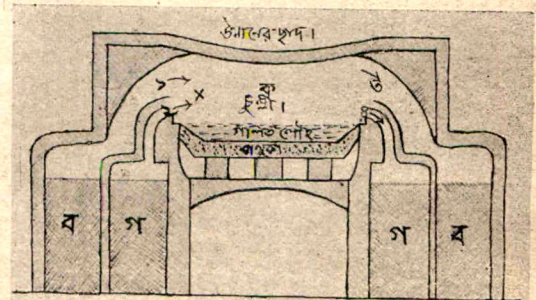


The Tata Iron and Steel Works—a section of the Blast furnace.

works are built. Besides this, the Company has acquired twenty square miles of land on fifty years' lease.

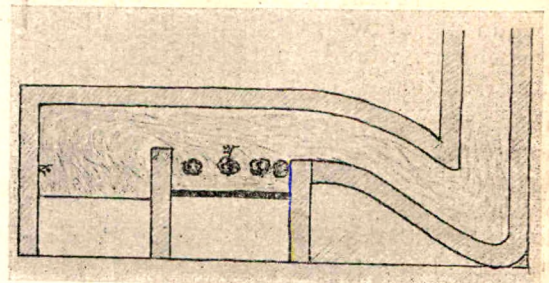
The huge plant consists of ten or twelve big sheds. It consists of blast furnaces, open hearth steel furnaces, blooming mills, rail finishing department, foundry, coke oven, gas producer plant, boiler house, power house, store house, pumping station, cooling tank, etc. The whole works cover two square miles of land.

Series of electric lights of various colours are seen from a great distance, which



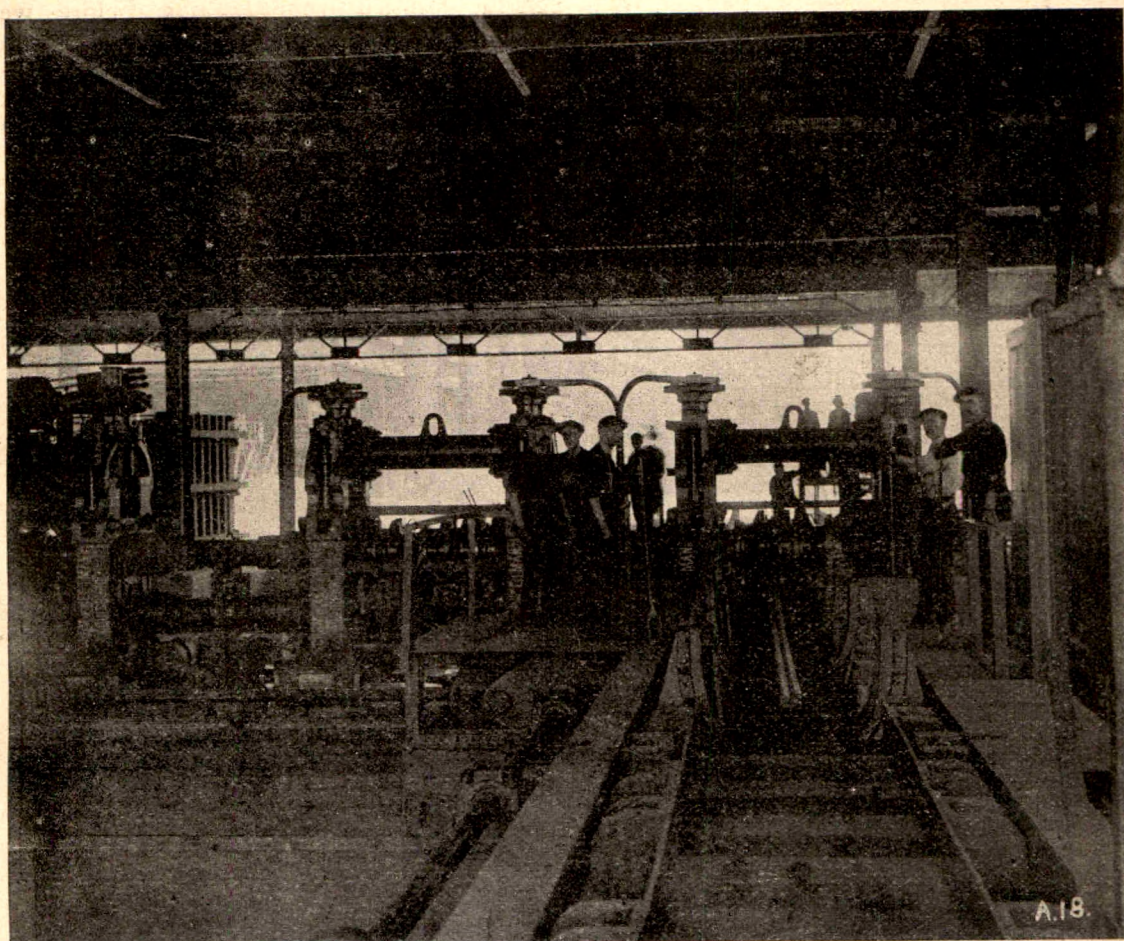
The Tata Iron and Steel Works—a section of Open Hearth Furnace.

To our misfortune we came here without sending any previous information to the medical officer at whose quarters we intended to put up. Consequently he could not arrange for some one to wait at the station to escort us to his place or send a bullock-cart, which is the only vehicle that could be had there for our conveyance.



The Tata Iron and Steel Works—a section of the Wrought Iron Furnace.

The moon set long before dawn. In the darkness we could not make out the medical officer's house in that strange land and consequently we had to bivouac the rest of the night on the post-office veranda close to the workshop.



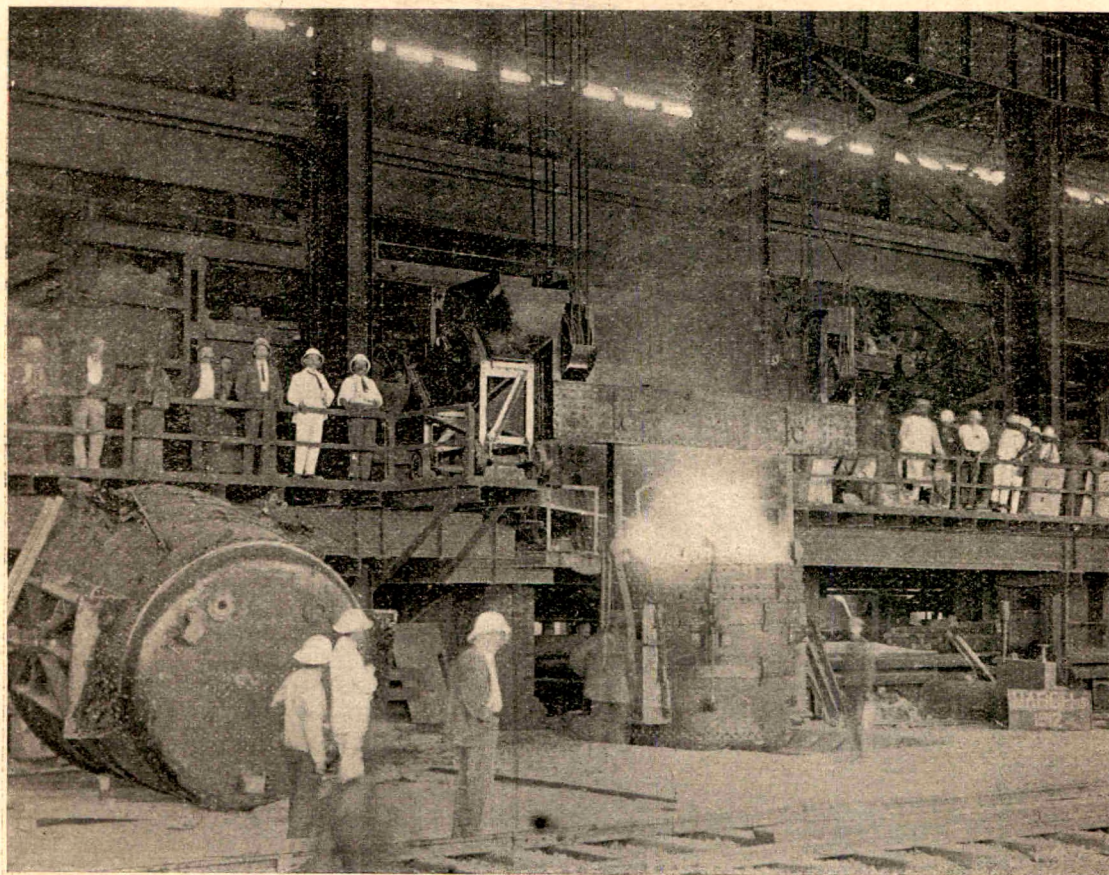
The Tata Iron and Steel Works—the Blooming Mill for turning out rails and beams.

The profound silence of the wild vale in the depth of immense darkness was broken by the rumbling sound, like the roaring of the sea, caused by the semi-concealed monster of machinery that stood before us like an abode of enchantment of some long-told tale of the Arabian Nights. A bright red glow was emanating from inside the plant and spreading to the sky above. From that unpleasant shelter we marked rows of chimneys dark and tall as the genii of the old Arabian Tales revealed by the background of reddish brightness. We passed the night somehow and at day-break we fortunately caught sight of the gentleman at whose quarters we intended to stop. When he entered his house we found that we had passed the night in his veranda without finding his house, for his house was in the same block with the post-office.

With the break of day all the mystery became clear to our eyes. We accompanied our host to see the workshop in the morning after being refreshed from the night's toils, but it is not a thing which can be finished in a single morning.

Tata & Co. obtain iron ores from their fields at Gurumahisina in Mourbhanj State, 90 miles away to the south from the Works. It is estimated that the iron deposited there will last at least for 5000 years.

Pure iron is found from the ore by smelting it. For this operation it has to pass through the blast furnace, which is about 80 feet in height and 25 in diameter and constructed of fire-bricks lined with steel plates. An inclined plane runs in a slanting position from the top of the furnace to the shed where ore is stored and along the plane run two cars by means of



The Tata Iron and Steel Works—Steel Manufactory.

electric power, and these are attached to a common cord which passes through a pulley so that when one rises to the top from the bottom the other comes down from the top to the bottom. These two cars are filled alternately with charges of coke, limestone and ore, to introduce these things into the furnace through the cup and cone arrangement at its top. There are a couple of blast furnaces in this plant having a combined annual output of 120,000 tons of pig-iron.

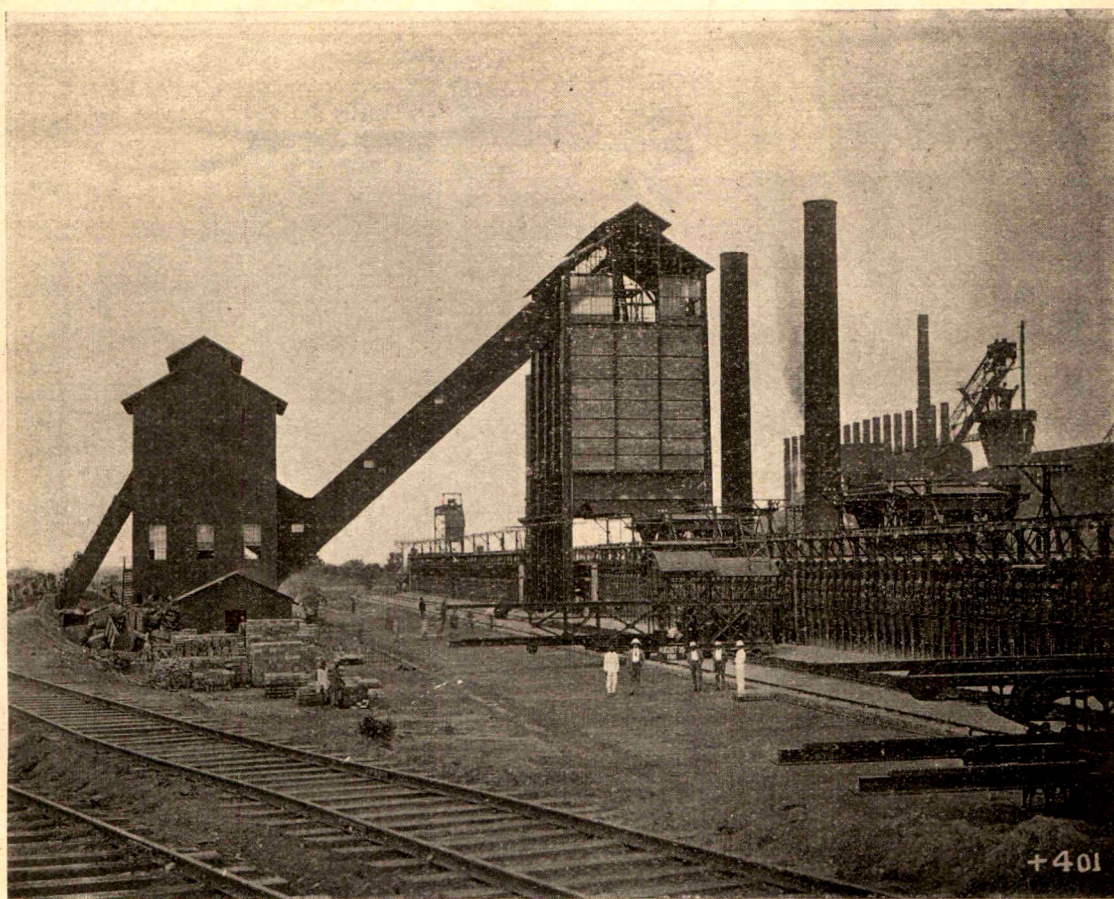
Coal and limestone are at first introduced into the furnace up to the middle or 'bosh' of the furnace and then the whole mass is ignited. When the coal in the furnace is fully ignited, the charge of ore is then introduced up to the very top of the furnace.

From a large pipe running outside the hearth issue at intervals nozzles called

'tuyeres' which penetrate the wall of the hearth and introduce the forced draught.

The hearth has two openings one of which is called the cinder hole, through which slags are drawn off, and the other at a lower level for the tapping of the liquid iron from time to time. The walls of the furnace are made of firebricks enclosed in masonry and covered outside with a stout casing of iron plate. On account of the terrific heat of 3000°F it is necessary to cool the hearth by means of water circulating round it.

Iron smelting has been revolutionized by the introduction of a hot blast driving the blowing machinery. Each blast furnace has four regenerative stoves. By the chemical action inside the furnace a good quantity of carbon dioxide is produced in it which is taken out from the throat of the furnaces by pipes and heats the air in the stoves. This



The Tata Iron and Steel Works—Furnace for making Coke.

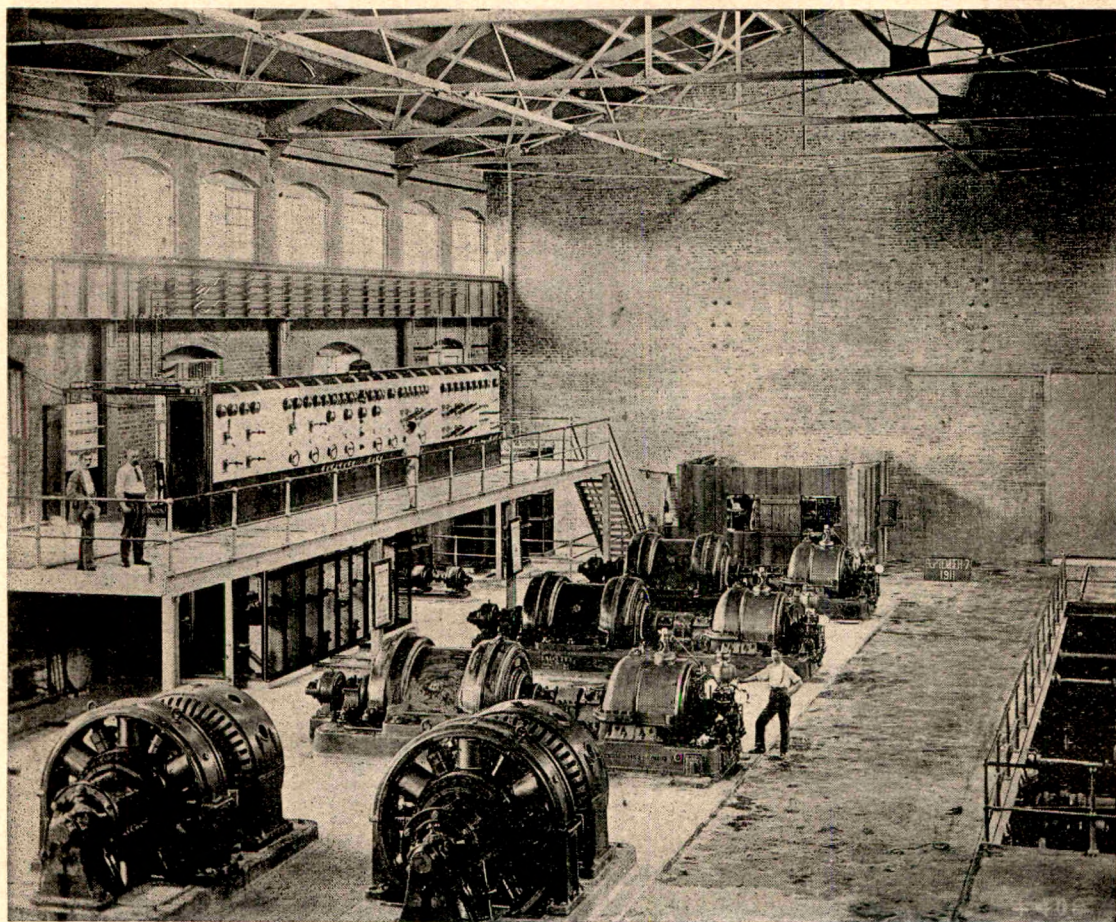
hot air is forced into the furnace by means of tuyeres. In order to maintain a constant blast two or three or four stoves together, as large as the furnace itself, are used and worked in rotation.

The hotter the blast, the hotter are the gases coming off and hotter the stove can be made in turn, so that there is no difficulty in obtaining a blast of 1500°F by regeneration. Another advantage of this process is, that this hot blast economises the fuel. The work obtained by the hot blast is much greater than the work done when simply coal or other fuel is employed; thus expense and time are minimised in the former process.

When in the intense heat of 3000° to 7000°F chemical action takes place, the iron inside the furnace is separated from the ore and collects at the bottom of the furnace free from silica and other impurities, though not entirely. These impurities float upon

the melted liquid mass of iron in the form of slags. The melted ores inside the furnace can be examined from outside by means of spectroscope. When the ores reach the above-mentioned stage the upper hole is opened and slags come out in masses. From the lower hole a long trench is dug which branches out into smaller trenches in the beds of sand. The primary one is called the 'sow' and the secondary ones 'pigs' from the fanciful resemblance to a sow suckling a litter of little pigs.

The lower hole is then opened and the liquid iron from inside the furnace rushes out in a volcanic eruption and flows down the 'sow' trench. This torrent is continued for some half an hour and when the liquid-mass in the furnace is exhausted the hole is closed and the liquid iron is allowed to flow from the 'sow' into the 'pigs'. This crudest form of iron manufactured hereby goes by the name of cast or pig iron.



The Tata Iron and Steel Works—the Power House.

There is a big electric crane where this pig iron is manufactured. This crane moves at some 30 feet above the floor of the shed and settles just above the pig irons. A huge electro-magnet is suspended from it. When the electric current is passed through it and the plate thereby gains a strong magnetic property, it touches the 'pigs,' which cling fast to it in lots. The plate is raised and the crane then moves away to another side of the shed where an inclined plane is arranged. By stopping the electric current the magnetic property of the electro-magnet vanishes and the pigs are released upon the plane and slide down to the wagon ready under the plane for the transportation of the 'pigs'.

The pig-iron is very brittle and no implements can be made of this form of iron.

Of the two blast furnaces one was blown in

on December 2nd, 1911, and has produced up to October 1st, 1912, 61,055 tons of pig iron. The second one has been blown in the September 21st, 1912, and has produced up to October 1st, 1912, 1,055 tons. The total pig iron production up to October 1st, 1912, was 62,131 tons. The pig iron produced here is of uniformly excellent quality.

In order to make it fit for use the pig iron has to undergo some other changes. The process which the cast iron undergoes is termed 'puddling'. This operation is performed in a reverberatory furnace and by this process the cast iron is freed from many impurities which are still in it. This furnace consists of two main parts separated by a low wall fire-bridge, a chimney and enclosed by a thick roof of fire-bricks. When the hearth has been brought to a certain height of temperature a charge of pig iron



The Tata Iron and Steel Works—the Cooling Tank.

and wrought iron scraps is introduced, the door is closed and rendered air-tight with fire-clay. The 'pigs' are placed in the middle of the furnace and flame from the hearth is curved upon the 'pigs' owing to the convexity of the roof and thereby the iron melts. As chemical action takes place some impurities come off in the form of gas and some are separated from the pure iron as slags. The wrought iron assumes a spongy state and is transported to a steam hammer when red hot. The hammer pounds then so vigorously that the slags that had adhered are squeezed out like water from a sponge. Iron thus obtained is reheated in a special furnace and hammered again; then heated, passed through a rolling mill and drawn into long blooms or bars. The iron thereby obtained is comparatively though not absolutely pure and most of

the implements of every-day use are made of this form of iron.

Cast iron is brittle but hard, wrought iron on the other hand is malleable. For this reason strong and hard iron implements can not be made out of any of the two. For the preparation of this sort of articles a medium of these two specimens of iron or steel is the best. Ordinary steel is nothing but iron combined with '3 to 1.5 per cent of carbon. It can be obtained in various ways—(1) Bessemer's process, (2) open-hearth process and (3) acid and basic process. But in Tata's iron works the open-hearth process is made use of. As regards chemical action this process has a great resemblance to Bessemer's process.

The hearth for the preparation of steel has a bowl-shaped bed of refractory substance supported by stout iron plates under

which currents of air are circulated to reduce the temperature. At each end is a regenerative stove divided into two compartments, one for gas and the other for air. Each stove has valves leading to the chimney through which air and gas enters the furnace. Pig iron is first of all exposed and melted in this type of hearth and steel scraps are added gradually and melted to dilute the carbon in the cast iron. The heating is continued and ferric oxide added until the carbon has been nearly all burnt away, the silicon and phosphorous oxidised to slag and the sulphur dissipated. When the decarbonization has reached the desired limit spigel-eisen (a class of pig iron in compound with carbon and manganese) is added, a top hole leading from the bottom of the bed is opened to permit the charge to flow down a channel to a trench in which the moulds are placed. The steel flows into the moulds, and so big ingots of steel are obtained.

The first heat was tapped on 16th February 1912 and 6,620 tons have been produced up to October last. The quality of steel produced here is middling and has not yet come up to expectation. But still it is not of inferior quality to what is generally obtained in the market.

The bloom of iron is reduced by using a number of grooves of gradually diminishing size. Two rollers are often placed above one another. The top one is driven by the lower one which constantly revolves in one direction. A bar is passed between them and so it travels backwards and forwards until drawn out to the required length and shape. Red hot bars were being taken from the hearth to the rollers on big electric cars by the crane and we were struck with the dexterity with which the men siezed the bar as it emerged and tossed it back to the proper groove. In the final stages the glowing rod shot out from the rollers at an astonishing pace and wreathed about like a long fierce snake and then disappeared through the rollers with a wriggling movement! It stops at the saw machine where the rail or beam, as it may be, is cut to the required length. Then it goes to the pressing machine where it is pressed and made straight and its roughness is finished there.

For the conveyance of these red hot bars

sets of rollers are arranged in long rows which being mechanically revolved the bar also moves through them in the direction they are revolving.

In fact, within five or six minutes a cumbrous red hot iron bar is metamorphosed into a fine beam or a rail, as the case may be. The production of rolled steel in Tata's Iron Works up to September 1st, 1912 is as follows—

Rail	...	...	730 tons.
Beams	...	...	2540 "
Channels	...	...	420 "
Angles	...	...	360 "

The rails and beams produced here are by no means inferior to German or British-made ones and the price is also the same.

In the foundry house large articles are being cast. Big wheels, pots, etc., are made here for use in the works.

In the power house, situated in the east corner of the works, there are two dynamos. Here the electric current necessary for the whole works is generated. The power house is the lamp of Aladin at the command of which like that of the owner of the lamp the workshop as the genie of the Arabian Nights' tale will do an amount of work more easily and more swiftly than can be believed. If the supply of electric current stops suddenly the monstrous machinery will stop too, like a vanquished genie and all and every wheel from the smallest wheels as small as that of a watch to the biggest one will instantly cease to revolve.

The gas which is produced by the action of the mills is condensed and steam is produced by which the action of the power house goes on.

In this big workshop coke is the thing which is needed at every moment. In the blast furnaces, in open hearths for steel, and in fact at every step coke is used in large quantities and in almost every work it is the first thing required. If the large amount of coke has to be purchased the cost becomes excessive. For this reason Tata & Co. have bought a vast coalfield at Jherria and they import raw coal from there, which is coked in the works. The coke oven is a long one consisting of 180 chambers in which coal is coked for their own use.

For the purpose of cooling the outer wall of the blast furnaces a huge reservoir of water has been made by damming a

deep valley. One of the dams which has been built across a creek is 3,500 feet long and 57 feet in height. Water is pumped into it from the river Subarnarekha, three miles off. The company has formed another scheme to make a valley between two hills situated about six miles from the workshop as a reservoir of their water. Negotiation is going on for acquiring this part of the Dalma hills.

We had a mind to visit the hills and the valley which the Company wishes to turn into their reservoir of water. We started for the hills about seven in the morning, crossed the Subarnarekha and reached almost the foot of the hills when it was about twelve o'clock. The scorching rays of the sun above and the sandy ground, hot as fire, beneath our feet prevented us from advancing any further or climbing up the hills, and all our spirit and energy sank low. To our great misfortune we foolishly left our shoes behind at home when we started for the hills in the cool morning considering that it would be an advantage to climb the hills barefooted. Our difficulty in returning home was indescribable; we reached home hardly alive.

In the afternoon we went out to see the town. Bungalows of Ruheegunge tiles have been provided for the entire staff. The northern quarter close to the plant is meant for the Europeans, and the southern quarter for the Indians. The town, though not yet well-organised, is neat and clean and quite picturesque. The long chain of the Dalma hills forms the background of the town and the river Subarnarekha and another river encircle the town, which is surrounded by thin forests of teak.

The residence of the Manager of the Tata Steel and Iron Works is in the northern quarter, and a beautiful one. By the side of it stands another bungalow as nice as the former one where visitors of distinction and the Directors of the Iron and Steel Company reside when they come.

There is a good foot-ball ground where foot-ball is regularly played. There are two hotels, one English and the other American, organised by the English and American labourers and officers. The German labourers of the works, though they are a good many in number, have not got their own hotel.

The Company supplies filtered water for general use in the town and will soon arrange for electric light as well as fans in the houses there. It is not of course compulsory for every householder to have electric lights and fans which will cost them an amount monthly or yearly, as the case may be. The amount which the householders have to pay in addition to the monthly rent of the houses is but small and the fitting of electric fans or lights depends upon their free will.

There are posts of electric lights at short intervals in the town, which is beautifully illuminated all over at night.

Formerly the Company had a scheme of laying tram lines from Sakchee to the Kalimati station but when all sorts of arrangements had been made for it, their scheme was altered and the tram was replaced by the railroad. But the road through which tram lines were intended to run still retains the name of Tram Road.

The market place falls on the way to the Station in the southern quarter. There is only one shop which supplies all sorts of miscellaneous things of everyday use for the whole town. The supply of necessary things is very poor. It would be a great boon at this time to the townsmen if a dozen shops of various necessary things are established here immediately; the dealers too can profit themselves by this.

The post office and the Tata Charitable Hospital is situated in the northern quarter side by side. The hospital is well organised and has a complete staff. It is now in charge of a Bengali gentleman, who is an L. M. S. of the Calcutta Medical College and an experienced physician and surgeon. A corps of trained nurses from the Albert Edward Hospital of Poona has been brought here. There are two compounders in the hospital who work untiringly and work very well. Both of them are Bengali gentlemen. In the present hospital there is not sufficient room for a good many indoor patients. For this reason the Company has sanctioned Rs. 50,000 for a new hospital building on a beautiful spot, open on all sides, near the present one. There is another sanitary officer, also a Bengali gentleman, who has passed from the Cuttack Campbell School.

A school has been established for the

children of officers residing here. The number of students is now over fifty.

A police force is of course necessary for the maintenance of peace in so big a town. A corps of private guards has been organised for the Tata Company. All of these men are ex-soldiers. They are polite and always at service for helping others in difficulties. Their uniform of khaki and their violet turban around the tall red conical hat looks quite imposing. There are many things which the Bengal Police can learn from them.

The modern system of drainage has been initiated here and a sanitary corporation of five hundred members has been formed. This sanitary staff is not content merely to get their pay and sit idly quite happy at home but works vigorously to improve the sanitation of the town.

Joists manufactured in Tata's Iron Works have been out in the market. The sale of pig iron of Tata and Co. is much greater than the sale of steel or joists. 40,000 tons of pig iron were sold up to 30th June, 1912; the total tonnage sold up to 1st October was 1,00,030 tons exclusive of 6,120 tons of pig consumed jointly by the Company's Steel Works and Iron Foundry.

The sale of structural steel up to the 1st October was 2,300 tons. Varying quantities have been sold in Japan, Burma, China, the United States, Australia, Manchuria, New Zealand, etc., of which Japan is the biggest customer.

The works are mainly conducted by American, German, English and Chinese labourers; and there are also Punjabis, Parsees and Marhattas, but they are employed in minor works. Though the Indian labourers are at present far inferior to the European and American labourers and not well trained, the Company, I think, does not take proper care to try to conduct the works ultimately wholly by Indian labour, in which case the Company as well as the people of this country would be greatly benefited. The bulk of the labourers in the works are foreigners and the amount of money drawn by them in the form of pay is large. If that amount be spent in such a poor country as India instead of enriching the rich then it would be a great blessing to us no doubt.

Though the iron works is situated in

Bengal (we are speaking of the natural province, not the political one), not a single Bengali could be found in the iron works. Of course the less laborious work of the hospital is thoroughly conducted by the Bengalis, I mean the people of Bengal proper. Lots of Bengali youth are seeking for any sort of services everywhere and there is not a single merchant office, not to speak of Government offices, or house of a gentleman who needs a private tutor for his sons, which is not besieged by an army of applicants cringing for a petty post of Rs. 15 or 20.

The numbers of graduates and undergraduates is swelling so rapidly that there will soon be scarcely any office I fear unknocked-at by them. Sometime ago one of the contemporary great men of Bengal was forbidding some one to graduate here in Calcutta or other Indian Universities, for, he said, one becomes as inebriated and imbecile as an opium-eater after graduating here, and hankers after a petty clerkship or at most a Deputy Magistrateship. He gave many examples of great men in the country most of whom are not graduates or even undergraduates of any university of India or Europe and said that in fact undergraduates could do greater work than graduates. Though he said this in a half joking mood still there is much truth in it.

Our Calcutta University will turn out at least fifty thousand graduates, undergraduates and matriculates within ten years and what will they do? By that time so many lucrative posts will not be created certainly! What will be their fate if the tendency still remains the same as it is?

We can dare to cope with Europe if we can ever improve in mechanics. That is the vulnerable point of Europe. If our youths can forsake the foolish craze for prosecuting the general course of studies here and can free themselves from the snare and go to foreign countries to learn Mechanical Engineering and take service at Tata's Iron Works or at some other place, they can do some useful work for their country.

In fact, we feel shame today to do any work which requires bodily labour, but to us apprenticeship for a clerk's post of low grade in a wine shop is a quite honourable one! At this early stage of our im-

provement we must not consider any bodily labour a disgrace. To do so will only diminish our speed of improvement. We must not despise bodily labour. The failure to appreciate the dignity of labour is a drawback on the part of a nation on the way to improvement. Not a single nation or a country shall we find which has planted its banner of glory firm and fixed upon the earth by disregarding bodily labour. The prejudice is prevalent only in Bengal and among the Bengalis in the most epidemic form and is one of the fundamental causes of our weakness as a nation.

At the Tata Steel and Iron Works we

shall find a good field for developing our weak side and I believe that if we can fairly master that side as well as mechanical engineering we shall not lag far behind any European nation of today. Youths from this country go to England, America, Japan and Germany every year and the majority of them go there to learn dyeing and bleaching and for such other purposes; but I think it is the most necessary thing now-a-days that a major portion of them should learn Mechanical Engineering by which Europe, America and Japan have become the wonder of the rest of the world.

KSHIROD KUMAR RAY.

THE PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN INDIA*

By N. C. MEHTA, B.A. (CANTAB.)

Says Mr. Henry Wolff—

"Of all countries, in the old world and the new, there seems none so specially marked out for the practice of co-operative credit as our great Asiatic dependency of India. The two postulates for successful co-operative credit are: poverty and opportunities for production. And of both India has enough and to spare. In all its economy the want of money is what stares one obtrusively in the face. Industry is backward. In rural districts need is great, rising from time to time to the point of famine. The poorer population are hopelessly under the yoke of the mahajan and the sowcar, who rule despotically over these hundreds of millions of rayats that, sunk in debt up to the neck, bestow their toil only for the payment of outrageous interest. Agriculture—the great industry of the country—though bristling with opportunities, is undeveloped. There is soil in India which in its unmanured state equals our British acres in its yield of wheat. But it wants to be irrigated. Irrigate social economy with a stream of gold, and you are likely to produce corresponding results. For in economic opportunities India is fully as rich as it is in natural. * * * And, like the water for purposes of irrigation, the gold for economic improvements is there too. It is not stored up in the form of snow in the Himalayas, but scattered all over the country in displayed ornaments or hidden hoards, the value of which, really not ascertainable has been estimated at £300,000,000, more or less, but which it is the lament of economists that no lure has thus far been discovered potent enough to tempt out of its unprofitable storing

places into fructifying employment—in arid territory thirsting for it since decades, if not for centuries.

Money, then, in a readily available form, is what above all things is needed."

Various efforts had been made towards the close of the nineteenth century to mitigate the misfortunes of the heavily encumbered peasantry of India and to relieve the soil of the deadweight that was a bar to all future progress in agricultural production. The Government tried the scheme of takkavi advances which made available at any one time a sum of about £1,700,000 for the farmers of the whole of India, which was a mere drop in the ocean, grossly inadequate to meet the needs of the millions of indebted cultivators. The scheme failed. Since 1883 co-operation has been in the official programme; but it was not till 1904 that the movement took any definite shape and was started on a firm basis. Before that attempts to start rural banks had been made in Mysore and elsewhere, but so far without any cheerful prospects. After a careful investigation into the causes of the poverty of the Indian peasantry and looking at the stupendous mortgage debt of the whole country. Sir Frederic Nicholson

* Read before the Cambridge Section of the Indian Guild of Science and Technology—23rd Nov., 1912.

† See Henry Wolff's *People's Banks*, P. 514-5. Ch. XVII, P. & S. King and Son, 1910.

summarised : edies in the following words :

"Find Raffeisen, find, so I should prefer to put it, the precise form of co-operative credit which will suit every particular locality in which you propose to operate."*

The Indian Government waited long enough for the coming-out of an Indian Raffeisen, but India is a land par excellence of complete reliance on the established authority for initiation or experiment of a new scheme and Indians the most docile of subjects, faithful in following but slow in independent advancement. No people in the world have known better to preserve the past and intrenching its institutions with greater ingenuity than the Indians. They still retain the hierarchy of castes, that their ancestors originated two thousand years ago; they have strengthened it, if at all, by innumerable subdivisions and emphasized the privileges and disabilities of birth. They have not yet emerged from the regime of status which Europe abandoned five centuries ago. They have been the parasites on the glories of an unknown age, delighting in the accomplishments of their forefathers, endowing them even with greater sublimity than ever existed, by means of a fertile imagination. They have always looked up to the state as the fountain of all enterprise, as the prime agency for bettering their condition. In accordance with these traditions it was inevitable that the Government must take independent steps sooner or later if it intended to do anything in the line of ameliorating the state of the peasants, which in other lands had been mainly accomplished by individual efforts and private enterprise. On the 25th of March, 1904, was passed the Co-operative Credit Societies Act to "encourage thrift, self-help and co-operation among agriculturists, artisans and persons of limited means." The pioneer work of introducing the movement to the village agriculturists was done by Government officials and even at present the co-operative societies existing in various parts of India are under the guidance and control of the Registrars appointed for each province by the Government. In more recent years the official endeavours have been considerably re-inforced by the

* H. Wolff's Co-operative Banking, 1907. Quoted p. 292.

help of private individuals and the increasing sympathy of the general public. Though the Registrars are suggesting and working towards the gradual withdrawal of Government assistance, the time has not quite come when the movement can be left without danger in the hands of its ultimate guardians—the people themselves. The real value of the movement started but a few years ago is seen, apart from the numerical progress of the credit societies and the members, in the spontaneous development of the co-operative spirit in the agriculturists and their multiplying applications for starting the rural banks in their villages. Its real hopefulness lies in the fact that the stimulus comes from below and therefore affecting far larger numbers in an infinitely more effective way than any movement taking its rise from the upper ranks of society can ever hope to do. Moreover the gains derived from it are distributed evenly among the population, increasing the productivity of our chief industry, agriculture, and making for an all-round improvement in the condition of the poor.

The progress of co-operation will be readily seen from the following tables. In 1906 the number of the credit societies was 846; now it is 8177. There were 91,343 members of such societies in 1906; now there are 403,000 members.* In 1906 their funds amounted to Rs. 213,1258; in 1910-11 they amounted to over Rs. 202,68,133. The figures speak for themselves. The co-operative movement has taken a firm hold in the Indian soil. At present there is no longer the difficulty of familiarising the people with its principles, but how to check the development of societies without any prospects or financial stability, without at the same time discouraging the growth of really solid societies. The chief difficulty, as one of the Registrars points out, "to the spread of societies is the difficulty of obtaining literate members sufficiently competent to keep accounts. Extension of primary education would not only remove this difficulty but would enable the

* Figures as given by Mr. MacLagan in his speech to the Registrars' Conference at Simla: from a report in the Times of India (Weekly Mail Edition) Nov. 2nd, 1912.

members to take a more intelligent interest in their society's business."*

TABLE I illustrating the progress of the Co-operative Credit Societies in British India; compiled from data in the Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1901-1909-10 (cd. 6017) 1911, and statistics of British India for 1910-11 and preceding years. Commercial Part II. 1912.

Number of Societies.	...	...	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11
Central	...	...	—	14	7	15	31	59
Urban	...	...	—	89	149	210	291	368
Rural	...	...	—	743	3,201	1,738	3,106	4,894
Total	...	...	283	846	1,357	1,963	3,428	5,321
Members	...	...	28,629	91,343	199,160	180,338	224,397	3,05,058
Capital	...	...	Rs.					
			473,219	21,31,258	44,14,086	79,33,218	121,81,027	199,04,502
Increase in amount	...	...	—	16,58,039	22,75,766	35,19,132	42,47,809	77,23,475
Percentage increase	...	...	—	350.38	106.78	79.72	53.54	63.41

Note—For the years 1905-06 to 1907-08 Statistics of Mysore Societies are included.

Table II for Mysore State.

Year.	Number of Societies	Capital Rs.	% increase.
1908-09	45	1,31,893	11
1909-10	70	2,16,655	64.27
1910-11	111	3,63,631	67.84

Abridged from the Commercial Statistics for British India.

II.

In all countries agriculturists have been generally less enlightened, more conservative, poorer and more ignorant than the factory population residing in large towns. It is only recently—since the middle of the nineteenth century, that the peasantry even in most European countries have become free from the cruel bondage of the money-lender and begun to enjoy the fruits of their own labour. Manufacturing industries have advanced by leaps and bounds; large joint-stock banks have arisen in response to the needs of the commercial world and by competition brought down the rate of interest to its lowest limit. But in agriculture the case has been different. In spite of

the advances in agricultural science the agriculturists could not utilise all the varied resources and facilities for production that scientific progress has been continuously putting at their disposal, for want of capital. Agriculture by its nature can never be centralised to the same extent as the manufacturing industries, nor could its credit market be organised on the same basis as the large joint-stock establishments of our times. The cultivator of land, being a small man without any considerable reserve and with an imperfect knowledge of the money-market is the ideal customer of the money-lender. Large banking houses cannot give him any help because he has no collateral to offer, his security is merely of a personal nature, his needs small and for a longer time; nor is it profitable for the large banks to deal in such small transactions. The security that the farmer offers, though generally solid, is intangible and cannot be realised in the open market. Again, to appraise its proper value requires intimate personal knowledge and familiarity with local conditions. Consequently there must be small local organisations to render effective aid and provide cheap credit to the agriculturists. This question was first solved in Germany by Raiffeisen in Flammersfeld in 1848, and the many thousands of village banks of every variety in different parts of the world

* See Report on the working of co-operative credit societies in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year 1908-09, p. 13.

owe their inspiration to the small bank that he first founded as a means of combating the cruelties of usury.

In India where land is mainly cultivated by small farmers,* the peasantry has for centuries been in perpetual bondage to the village Baniya, whose philanthropic spirit has not been outraged by lending the needy peasants at rates exceeding a hundred or two hundred per cent in addition to the customary gifts and services due from the borrower on special occasions which to the serious discomfort of the farmer arise but too frequently. The maximum rate of interest is said to have reached something like 1765 per cent! Once the farmer has got entangled in the meshes of the clever sowkar, he is lost for ever. The Baniya is not very anxious for the repayment of the loan in the first few months or even years and then the illiterate peasant finds to his amazement and expense that he cannot cope with the manipulations of the accounts by the Baniya and that his debt very rarely remains within hopes of possible repayment. Year after year he is only left with the means of bare subsistence and the rest of the product of his hand toil goes to the village sowkar who is ever ready to advance loans and help his ignorant village compatriots. The conditions are not very different in the case of large landed properties, as in Bengal, which are seldom cultivated by the proprietors, who are hardly more intelligent than poor peasants but with more expensive tastes. The relations that subsist between owners and tenants in England do not exist in India. The tenant in India does not receive any help from the landlord in buying manure or introducing improvements. I think it will be hardly denied that the policy of permanent land settlement wherever it prevails has contributed not to the prosperity of the cultivator of the soil, but of the landowner and created an idle aristocracy sunk in the deepest ignorance cherishing the empty pride of illustrious lineage and clinging tenaciously to time-worn customs and old

prejudices. The farmer remains as helpless as before; he derives small comfort from the existence of a prosperous class which is interested in him to the extent of getting from him the highest rent that he can pay.

The bondage to the money lender, misfortunes of frequent famines, hopelessness of improving future prospects, existence of a rigid caste-system which once for all determines one's career in life—all these factors have co-operated to produce a peasantry industrious but ignorant, generally thrifty but extravagant in marriage feasts, lacking in enterprise, devoid of ambition, utterly fatalistic. Regeneration from a slough of helplessness such as this can only begin with, and come from the rank and file of the masses. Our educated classes have always been enthusiastic, rather than active for the industrial renaissance of India; they have shown its necessity, but not taken any measures to realise it. Agricultural colleges have been mainly instrumental in turning out students who never intend to become practical agriculturists themselves, but merely to employ their knowledge in obtaining government posts. Agricultural training has been almost entirely confined to the non-agricultural classes, and hence unproductive of any benefit to the community.

With the extension of railways and opening up of the distant village markets and their linking up with the world-markets competition has been brought to our very doors and become a factor of vital importance. To survive in the contest with progressive and well-organised nations the necessity of abrogating the archaic methods of cultivation—so wasteful and expensive, has become paramount. It raised grave apprehensions even so early as the time when the late Mr. Justice Ranade wrote about the economic conditions of this country. His fears were enhanced by the grave fact that agriculture, besides sharing the disadvantages of dependence on seasonal and climatic variations is subject to the law of diminishing returns.

Thanks to the introduction of co-operation and the alacrity with which our traditionally stolid and impervious peasantry has adopted it and the enthusiasm and the practical instinct these none too well educated farmers have displayed in conduct-

* The number of small holdings' cultivators is calculated by Sir Theodore Morison to be about 26,000,000. See T. Morison's *Industrial Organisation of an Indian Province*, p. 13. For a good account of the needs of agriculturists and the necessity of co-operation, see Ch. v-vii, 2nd edition, 1911.

ing the newly started credit societies, the danger of indefinite postponement of India's awakening in matters of industries has been at least minimised. The progress that India has made in this direction during the last seven years has been simply unsurpassed by any other country. The spirit of co-operation has under the unselfish and vigilant guidance of the Registrars permeated thoroughly wherever the message has been carried, even in the most backward parts of India such as the United Provinces and the Punjab. Some of the advanced native states like Mysore and Baroda have also taken steps in promoting the growth of credit societies.

The Co-operative Credit Societies Act makes a two-fold division into 'urban' societies which consist of members of whom not less than four-fifths are non-agriculturist and the 'rural' societies which have the same proportion of agriculturist members. The first type is restricted to comparatively large centres of population and suited to the requirements of small shop-keepers, artisans, wage-earners, carriage-drivers, weavers, leather workers, clerks and others. It is practically an adaptation of the 'Credit Association' of Schulze-Delitzsch to the Indian soil. The characteristics which separate it from the rural type are (1) the more commercial nature of the former (2) the existence of shares (3) and usually limited liability. Here there is no lack of business-ability as in the case of rural societies, nor is it composed of very poor members. They are men of some enlightenment, though of small means and are usually reluctant to disclose the purpose of their borrowings. The delicate question of prestige debars the frank avowal of adverse conditions. Some of the urban societies are conducted so efficiently that their shares are sold above par, which is however dangerous to the development of the true co-operative spirit and is likely to lead to pure commercialism. The primary object of such credit associations is to help the deserving non-capitalist to become a capitalist, to bring out superior ability out of the ranks of artisans and small workers, which would otherwise starve for want of capital. The Schulze-Delitzsch institutions, to use the German equivalent, ought to thrive in our country, which still counts the small worker working

on his own behalf by millions, which abounds in small weavers and leather workers, potters and small retail-sellers, who have been used to the idea of combination or the gilds from ancient times. The development of the Urban banks has not proceeded with the same rapidity as that of the Rural banks or rather is not so numerically striking. This is probably to be accounted for partly by the spirit of greater independence, by the absence of pressing needs prevalent in the higher tier of the working classes, and partly, because of their larger size of the unit.

In spite of the greater resources and better management of the urban societies, the extraordinarily rapid growth of the rural banks is infinitely more important from the standpoint of the community, because they bring deliverance and help to those who are most in need of them, because they lift up the very classes of population that cannot be lifted up in any other way, because they arise amidst poverty and helplessness to transform them into prosperity and self-reliance. A rural credit association is confined to small villages and can be formed in accordance with the law provided there are at least ten persons willing to become members. It is a society of neighbours to render mutual help; it is primarily intended not to make profits or distribute dividends but to provide cheap credit to the members for profitable purposes only. Good character is absolutely essential for the membership of the society. The object of borrowing must be fully disclosed to the society and the society must be satisfied as to its prospects and see that the loan is utilised for the specified purpose. The society is ready to lend to any member, however poor, provided he fulfils all the conditions of the society; it does not demand any security from him except an acceptance, sometimes accompanied by a couple of sureties. The loans are generally for a considerable period and repaid in instalments which must be forthcoming with absolute punctuality. The entire management of the bank is entirely gratuitous, and confined to its own members. It acts chiefly in borrowing money from larger banks on the common security of its members to lend it in the village at a slightly higher rate. It also discharges another important function,

which is likely to be of increasing importance in future, which is that it acts as a saving bank of the particular village. The act of 1904 did not allow the rural societies to accept deposits from non-members except on special permission, which would have debarred them from utilising the resources that were most near and available to them. But the legal difficulty was overcome by the easy expedient of calling the deposits 'loans' and thus the savings of the rich non-members were put to their best use.

"The total number of villages in British territory in India is over $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, while the savings banks (head and sub-banks) number only 7,075; and the total number of depositors is nearly a million, of whom only about fifteen thousand are agriculturists—not even 2 per cent." *

So it would be a great help to the rural classes and meet a *felt* want, if these societies succeeded in attracting the slender savings of the village aristocracy into the fructifying channels of production. Our village banks have not only succeeded in arousing the spirit of active co-operation but also in eliciting ready financial aid from the village inhabitants.

To overcome the danger of their being caught in the meshes of the money-lender and to obtain cheaper money those societies are linked up to the central provincial money market by means of district banks, which are their direct and immediate feeders. They receive loans from the district banks at rates varying from 9 to 12 per cent and lend them out to their members at 12 to 15½ per cent. From this will be gauged the intensity of demand for money which exists in India. The rate of interest which in European countries would be regarded as ruinous, is accepted with perfect willingness and found to be profitable. The purposes for which the members borrow are chiefly three:—(1) for the liquidation of old debts, which is by far the most important thing; (2) for meeting the customary expenses of marriages of children (and grand-children).

From the above sketch of the working of credit societies it will be seen that co-operation is neither charity nor philanthropy. As M. Luzzati says, it capitalises

honesty. It creates credit out of the intangible asset of reputation for industry and thrift of the work-people. Its security is personal, and consequently wherever true co-operation has taken root, the principle of unlimited liability tends to spread—specially in the case of Raffeisen or rural banks. There are three characteristic features which distinguish the latter from all others namely, (1) unlimited liability; (2) inalienable reserve fund, and, (3) the absence of dividends or profits. There are two distinguishing features which separate co-operative societies from ordinary banks, *viz.*, (1) management by members who make use of them, and (2) the credit given is of a personal kind.* The principle of unlimited liability appears to be spreading in India in preference to limited liability, our village folk seem to have a stronger liking to make use of the simpler method and incur correspondingly greater risks. But it must be at once said to their credit that hitherto the money borrowed has been punctually and fully paid by the societies, to the central banks, and loans paid by the members to their societies. Hardly any case of default of any magnitude has hitherto occurred.

That co-operation has succeeded in India that the illiterate Indian peasantry has rapidly and practically learnt its lessons, can no longer be gainsaid. Perhaps it is pertinent to quote here a remark of the Registrar for the United Provinces, who writes that—

"The co-operative societies have hitherto failed to attract the capital of the professional money-lending classes. If anything the village Baniya's hostility is increasing, a tribute perhaps to the growing success of the movement."

III

The causes that have led to the phenomenal progress of co-operation in India are not far to seek. The people have been used to it in some form or other from countless generations; our village communities have been so organised that the interests of different classes in the community have been inextricably interconnected and that the general prosperity of a village really means the prosperity of individuals therein. Our peasantry, though

* See Gokhale's Speeches, p. 328. Speech on the Credit Societies Bill introduced by Sir Denzil Ibbetson on the 23rd March, 1904.

† See C. R. Fay's Co-operation at home and abroad P. S. King & Son, 1908, Ch. 1.

addicted to antiquated methods of production, has not been ignorant of the necessity of proper manuring or of allowing the land to lie fallow for a time, nor unaware of the possibilities of improvements in the old fashioned agricultural tools; but it has been through untold centuries oppressed by usurers and seriously hampered in bettering its conditions by the lack of capital. In recent times the farmer has been rightly sceptical of using machinery exhibited at the model farms, the profitableness of which has not been proved to his satisfaction. Now that borrowing at a reasonable rate from his own brethren has been made possible, to do which he has to account for and explain the profitableness and prospects of his proposed scheme of improving his land, that the co-operative movement has shown unusual vitality everywhere. None can set limits to the growth of rural credit, the expansion of agriculture, the rise of farm industries, the development of distributive societies, nor can any one foretell the rapidity with which the movement will spread, or whether it is capable of advancing at the same quick pace that it has displayed during the last seven years. Yet it is with the regeneration of our agriculturists that the true and real foundations for the industrial renaissance of India, for the increase of the prosperity of her people, are being laid. For a long time to come India must remain predominantly an agricultural country but let us hope that before long agriculture in India will be conducted on radically different lines from those hitherto adopted. If our agriculture progresses at a rapid rate—for which there are hopes—and shows signs of developing in the direction in which the small countries of Europe—Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland—have developed, then there need be no despondency at the length of time that must elapse before the hope of the late Mr. Justice Ranade of seeing India partly an agricultural and partly an industrial country is realised; then there need be no apprehensions that agriculture is subject to the melancholy law of diminishing returns, that the exhausted soil of India will be unable to cope with the pressure of population and the increasing keenness of international competition. It was only in 1864 that the Danes infuriated at the loss

of Schleswig-Holstein determined to win a victory in peace by establishing schools and colleges amidst the agricultural population, by awakening the entire nation to its manhood, by increasing the national prosperity and making Denmark an object of envy to her powerful military neighbours. The whole of modern Denmark bears the impress of those Herculean efforts of a few years ago. It was not until 1882 that the first co-operative dairy was started in Denmark. Now she produces butter worth more than 9 millions sterling for export to other lands. "Denmark, once so poor, is now, except England, the richest country in Europe in proportion to its population."* "In Denmark there is only one big town, the capital and port of Copenhagen. The rest of the country is agricultural. Agriculture is highly developed and, outside the small islands, the soil is largely owned by small farmers cultivating say twenty to seventy acres: from which two facts it follows almost as a corollary that Denmark is a network of co-operation."† The result of this proficiency in the arts of peace is a highly educated and prosperous Denmark.

"It [co-operation] has brought the results of science within the peasant's reach, and he has been quick to avail himself of them; it has transformed a great part of farm work into factory industry, increased the yield of the soil, improved the position of the peasants, and drawn rich and poor together."‡

Here then before the spreading light of science shrinks to insignificant dimensions the gloomy phantom of the law of diminishing returns. The word agriculture is still employed to signify this altered state, but it embraces what were formerly termed 'industries.' The picture of a rich and enlightened Denmark then stands as a practicable ideal to the Indian peasantry to strive for. Already some progress has been made in organising seed-societies and the like; and Co-operative creameries are not far off. The use of artificial manure by the average agriculturist is not a matter of the distant future. Already, in anticipation of the improved conditions of the farmer and the demand for chemical fertilisers a

* Encyclopaedia Brit, 11th edition, Vol. vii, P. 88

† C. R. Fay. P. 92

‡ Encyclopaedia Britannica. vol. vii.; see article on Co-operation P. 88

large factory with English capital has been started in Bombay for manufacturing phosphates. Co-operation elsewhere has wrought wonders, lifted up the peasantry from the hopeless abyss of indebtedness as if by a magic touch, and everything in India also points to effects similar to those produced in other lands.

Once the standard of living of the masses rises, and an effective demand for manufactured goods grows, there emerges an internal market which facilitates the growth of indigenous industries, and strengthens the position of the industries already there by enlarging the home-market. Improved agriculture in India means almost a revolution in the state of the people. The position of the economic fabric is as it were renovated and improved from its foundation. The joyful fountain of credit springs from below dashing its fertilising spray wherever it falls. Gold that was but a short time ago lying either buried in secret places or hidden in iron safes, is continuously flowing into the tiny but secure vaults of the village banks; and thence released to circulate in the productive channels of industry. India has been suffering from want of capital in a two-fold way—firstly, that her people are poor and the scarcity of savings is endemic, and secondly, what little she has, has from lack of adequate facilities for investment in postal banks or reliable securities not been brought to the open market. The people who have been for long generations of misrule and robbery accustomed to hoard their little savings, are naturally sceptical of risking them in speculative enterprises or even of locking up in banks for, what seems to them, a paltry return. The unproductive wealth of this country has been estimated at about £300 million sterling chiefly in the form of ornaments. The small village societies that have been growing like mushrooms have by their unimpeachable security in the form of unlimited liability and the higher rate of interest been able to attract this hidden wealth where other lures had been found of no avail.

There is still another cause besides the intrinsic poverty of the people and the want of an adequate banking system, which is also of considerable importance. As long ago as 1891 the late Mr. Justice Ranade pointed

out the economic waste resulting from the lack of proper organisation of the different credit markets in the country in the following words:

"No fact in the economic condition of this country arrests attention more forcibly than the contrast presented by the hoards of unused capital, stored up in the vaults of the Presidency and other exchange banks, the high premium Government securities command on one side, and on the other the utter paralysis of industry in rural India, due to the poverty of the resources of the classes engaged in the production of wealth. It would appear as if some impenetrable barrier intercepted the overflow of wealth and barred the channels of communication between the reservoirs of capital and the parched fields of industry, dried up for the want of wealth-bearing and fertilising moisture... The Presidency Bank of Bombay alone has at this moment more than fifty millions of rupees of deposit receipts which it does not know how to use, and which drives it in despair to refuse municipal and other private deposits except as current accounts which bear no interest. Nearly twenty millions of rupees are locked up in the Post Office Savings Banks in the Presidency alone, and as many as fifty millions of rupees are similarly locked up all over India, which Government cannot turn to account except by buying its own paper and maintaining from the interest proceeds its Paper Currency Department... Meanwhile the cultivating and artisan classes can get no loans except at rates of interest ranging from 12 per cent. to 24 per cent."*

Add to this the love of hoarding bred of centuries of customs (specially in Indian women) to keep the savings in the shape of gold and silver ornaments and the picture of the economic backwardness of India of the complete lack of organisation in the credit-market is complete. Money is extremely scarce, where it is most wanted; and abundant where there is no demand for it. Again it is precisely in the interval between the successive harvests that the agriculturist is in the greatest need of funds, and exactly when the business of the large banks is slow, and the necessity of cash reserves at its lowest. In spite of this mutual correspondence of needs and suitability of time, capital is not utilised simply because of the absence of proper organisation. The advent of the Co-operative Central and district banks comes as a link between the giant capitalist and the poor worker in the village; it brings together the supplier and the consumer of capital. As long as there is not a brisk demand for capital for sound indus-

* Quoted in T. Morison's *Ind. Organisation*, P. 106-7, 2nd Edition.

trial enterprises in India, the only great customer of the money market must be the rural population dispersed in numberless centres but connected to the central market by means of definite intermediate steps—the villager transferring his demand through his village society, thence to the district bank and ultimately to the provincial money market.

It is evident then, that the development of the Credit Societies besides providing cheap credit to the peasant widens the economic market for capital and by a series of interconnecting channels joins together the various parts of the markets hitherto existing as isolated and independent units. Consequently they help to raise the level of the industrial market, to a higher plane of organisation, extend its area and enhance the efficiency of social economy. As Savings Banks, they are like the small offshoots of the central stream, pouring forth their waters in the main channel to circulate and fertilise the whole territory; as borrowers they are like the water-pipes or the tanks drawing their water from the central reservoir to meet the needs of the individual householders.

The capital they accumulate serves as a strong basis for a vast system of credit organisation which throws out greater utilities and is productive of greater wealth than the value consumed, only if it is properly made use of, its resources wisely distributed. Its benefits are like the raindrops scattered over the entire surface—without distinction.

Great as are the economic advantages of the rural banks, still greater are their moral effects. Co-operation is a truly democratic movement not imposed from above but taking its rise from the rank and file of the community. Its institutions are manned by the people for their own benefit. They stand as monuments not to exceptional ability and rare business power of individuals but to the common endeavour and unselfish devotion of the community. Their success lies not in amassing or distributing dividends; not in taking advantage of the situation but giving it. It lies not in exploitation for individual gain, but in rendering aid for common good. Co-operation is a movement combining the comforts of material gain with the joys of moral satisfaction; it is a re-

medy that succeeds best where the malady is most intense. Out of hopeless fatalism, apparently insurmountable helplessness, the miseries of starved existence and the joylessness of baffled endeavour it sets free forces that go to the very heart of the disease and stamp out the evil germs of usury and enforced indebtedness. It unlocks the springs of industry and effort, it sows the seeds of self-reliance, independence, fearlessness in following one's own ways of life and produces a self-respecting peasantry with a firm grasp of business knowledge, acquainted fully with the practical needs of agriculture, alert to take advantage of any new improvement in methods of production. It has been an effective weapon to overcome that curse of an impoverished peasantry in a country like India—litigation. It lays its roots deep down in the soil, slowly emerging into the stately growth of the tree. When first introduced it looks an insignificant powerless seedling incapable of yielding a crop of delicious and juicy fruit. But it has proved to be an agency that has transformed entire populations, substituted prosperity for poverty, encouraged thrift where extravagance existed, spurred ambition, inspired hope where dulness and pessimism reigned supreme. It has proved an educational weapon of rare potency. Let me quote the testimony of the Registrar for Bengal, who writes:

"The influence of the society is felt in other than purely economic ways. A desire for education is growing; quite a number of societies give monthly subscriptions to their village schools * * *. It is not a credulous optimism that reads in facts like these the promise of economic regeneration and of a village life invigorated and made healthier in all its relations."

Before the dry facts of self-interest disappear the deeply-rooted prejudices of castes and religions. What centuries of intercourse, pride of a common country, ties of national interests have not been able to accomplish, what preachings of public leaders and mutual concessions have been unable to extinguish, the simple expedient of co-operation within a few years has been able to deal with effectively. The barrier of religious divergences that has hitherto been a serious bar to common undertakings and frequently led to bitter strifes is being

* Annual report on the progress of the co-operative Credit Societies for 1910-11. P. 13.

steadily overcome by the simple means of sharing responsibilities for mutual benefit. This is what the Registrar for the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh—where the Moslem element is powerful, has to say on the point :

"The Panchayats are very eclectic in their choice of members, and differences of castes among a society's members are no bar to complete harmony."

A new race of agriculturists, independent, self-reliant, fully alive to the possibilities of progress, is emerging from the ashes of a hopelessly encumbered, sluggish, improvident and unprogressive peasantry. It passes through the school of practical experience, learning the principles of sound common sense and getting a firm grasp of business finance. Co-operation evokes the best energies of its members; it arouses a spirit of unselfishness and efficiency which can only be elicited out of the humblest and the poorest of men. It builds up an edifice out of the immaterial asset of the village community to serve as a support to all deserving persons in times of stress. It is open to all who are honest; it makes no distinction between rank or status. It unites the advantages of joint-stock banks with those of its own, at the same time avoiding their evils and imperfections. It has the advantage of possessing its own assured and tried market and consequently enjoys greater immunity from bad debts.

Though introduced and still assisted by the State it is a hopeful sign that the societies themselves are learning the lesson of standing on their own legs and rely less and less on outside aid or philanthropic charity. Their rapid but solid development indicates that our agriculturists have understood the principles of Co-operation, that the ambition of improving their condition, of rising out of the ranks of poverty and helplessness has not yet completely died out. To India then, as to Ireland, co-operation has proved a real boon. There is still an immense scope for extending its operations in the more remote, more backward corners of India; for improving and developing its organisation and increasing its efficiency. Our societies are only the beginning—the first step to the high ladder of productive and distributive societies—to societies for joint buying of seeds, manure, machinery, for joint marketing and

joint selling of agricultural products. Ours is merely a fair beginning in the almost illimitable field of co-operation; its result is merely the dawn of the day, the passing away of darkness.

The infallible test of internal vitality and solid progress is complete independence, spontaneous development and readiness to take the initiative. One thing about the co-operative movement in India should never be lost sight of, is that the movement drew its first breath from the Government, thrived under the care of the official Registrars and is still under their close supervision. There is still a slight touch of extraneous aid, philanthropic kindness, perceptible in the organisation of the societies, in the auditing of their accounts, and in the special facilities given to them for borrowing and recovering the loans. The societies are still under the fostering care of the State. As long as such is the case, Co-operation can be only regarded as imperfect. It is to the credit of the Registrars and in some instances to non-official workers that they have been able to evolve a great variety of the original German models in adaptation to the Indian soil and not hesitated to make new experiments whenever necessary. Despite the great growth in members and capital, the movement has hitherto been spreading chiefly under the momentum derived in the first instance from outside. In the initial stages this is quite justifiable, even indispensable, but it must be the aspiration of every society to free itself as soon as possible of all external help and learn to rely on the co-operation, zeal and ability of its own members. And it is the duty of every educated Indian to help to take the responsibilities off the shoulders of the Government. Here not only he is helping to improve the material condition of his country but also to promote his political aspirations. By spreading the message of co-operation and aiding in its extension he accomplishes something which in the present state of the country cannot be done by any other agency. Co-operation operates at the very base of the social pyramid, and for any progress to be real and enduring it is necessary that the mass of the community should be ready for it, sufficiently enlightened and disciplined to sustain it. Nothing more

effective has been devised than co-operation—specially in agricultural countries—to educate the entire nation into a self-reliant, independent and business-like democracy. Here the progress might appear for a time to be slow, the initial endeavours of little avail; nevertheless the development is real and vital, perhaps not distinctly visible on the surface, because it emerges gradually and appears outside only after destroying deep-rooted germs of social disease.

Here then lies a vast and hopeful field for work, for the enthusiasm and the activities of true patriots where they are exempt

from the worries of outside interference, immune from ignorant opposition, free from the bitterness and disappointments of politics. To preach co-operation is not only to ameliorate the economic condition of the millions of agriculturists but to strengthen the moral fibre of the real nation that dwells in huts and cottages; to put it into successful practice is to raise a new morally and materially rejuvenated India, unhaunted by the evil ghosts of plague and pestilence, famines and poverty, fit to take her proper place among the progressive and prosperous nations of the world.

ENGINEERING EDUCATION IN AMERICA

I think it a very opportune time to lay before the Hindu public some facts about education in Engineering in this great country. Before this many excellent articles have appeared in the *Modern Review* about the educational facilities in the western part of this country on this Pacific coast, but very little is known in my country about these facilities in the great industrial centres of the eastern part of the U. S. of America. And as an interest in the minds of the leaders of Indian thought in the technical education of their hopefuls seems to have been aroused, I will endeavour to tell in this article some of the means and ends, which are adopted and pursued to mould engineers in the American Universities.

In an American School of Engineering, two distinctive purposes are pursued; first to bring out designing engineers and the other, productive engineers. In other words, such a school must produce not only the man who has a knowledge and knows how to use it, of physics, mathematics, properties of materials, etc., but also the man who possesses this knowledge combined with an understanding of human nature, obtained by actual contact with man, a knowledge of the economic importance of the various factors which enter into the output of any concern, together with an appreciation of the fact that expediency enters into all engineering problems.

Besides these two classes of men, there is arising an ever-increasing demand for men who have more complete training along certain lines, those who are trained to undertake and carry to completion original investigations in the research laboratories which are becoming a part of all large industries in this country and are rapidly increasing in number and importance. Such men can not be developed, however, in four years but must spend a few more years in college and this means a graduate course.

SELECTION OF FACULTY.

The first and, perhaps, the determining factor in any school is its faculty, the selection of which depends upon the character which is to be given to the teaching of the school. Mr. Dunn, in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, has stated in a very clever manner what appears to me to be the main object of engineering education. He stated.—

"The profession of electrical engineering not only deals with single phase motors, storage batteries, high-tension transmissions, turbo-generators, coronas, carbon transmitters and commutation, as an occupation, it also is a way of thinking, and as such is not an occupation, but the latest and the most highly developed scientific method of solving all kinds of practical problems of matter and force, for the benefit of the human race."

If we are to consider engineering a way of thinking as well as an occupation it is

important that we have as members of the faculty on the teaching staff, men who themselves represent this idea, men, indeed, who do not follow engineering so much as an occupation as a way of thinking; in other words, men who apply this method of thinking to many problems outside of their occupation.

Therefore the selection of instructors for a school of engineering is certainly of far more consequence than that of equipment, which is always incidental to a particular method of teaching.

Up till now, the general policy even in this country, as is always the case in India, employed in the selection of instructors who naturally become members of the faculty in this country, has been to take the young graduate who wishes to teach or who is compelled by circumstances to take up this vocation, make him an assistant, later an instructor and finally he is promoted to the rank of professor. His entire training may be and often is confined to what he had as an undergraduate, and what he has learned from the students he has been obliged to teach. This type of man becomes convinced that he is an authority along his line mainly from the fact that he has been dealing with inferior minds who naturally look up to him as a leader.

That this type of man did not make the best teacher has at last been recognised, is shown by the fact that one sees an attempt being made to remedy this evil by having the instructors in many of the American schools spend a part of their time in practical engineering work; in fact many schools require their instructors to do so. In many other schools this order is reversed. These latter take in the faculty a few men who devote most of their time to the practice of their profession but who will devote to the school sufficient time and energy to impress upon it and the students with whom they come in contact, the best ideals of the engineering profession. A faculty, if properly adjusted in numbers and ability between those who devote most of their time to the practice of their profession and those who spend only a part of their time in practical engineering work, would provide, I believe, an ideal faculty. It goes without saying that all teachers of engineering must practise their profession to some extent.

Such a practice is followed in the University of Pittsburgh with which I am connected myself and can say from experience how great a benefit the students derive from the talk of their practising teachers in Engineering. The head of the Electrical Engineering department is the expert consulting engineer to the Westinghouse electric and manufacturing company of this city, one of the largest manufacturers of electrical goods and spends most of his time in investigating new ideas in electricity but part of his time he gives to the students directly and a part indirectly through his several whole time assistants. So with the heads of the mechanical, chemical and medical departments.

Having thus selected the faculty it is very essential that some methods should be employed to determine the results accomplished by each. Some systematic method of supervision should be provided. Dean Goss of the University of Illinois, in speaking of the necessity of such provision recently, said:

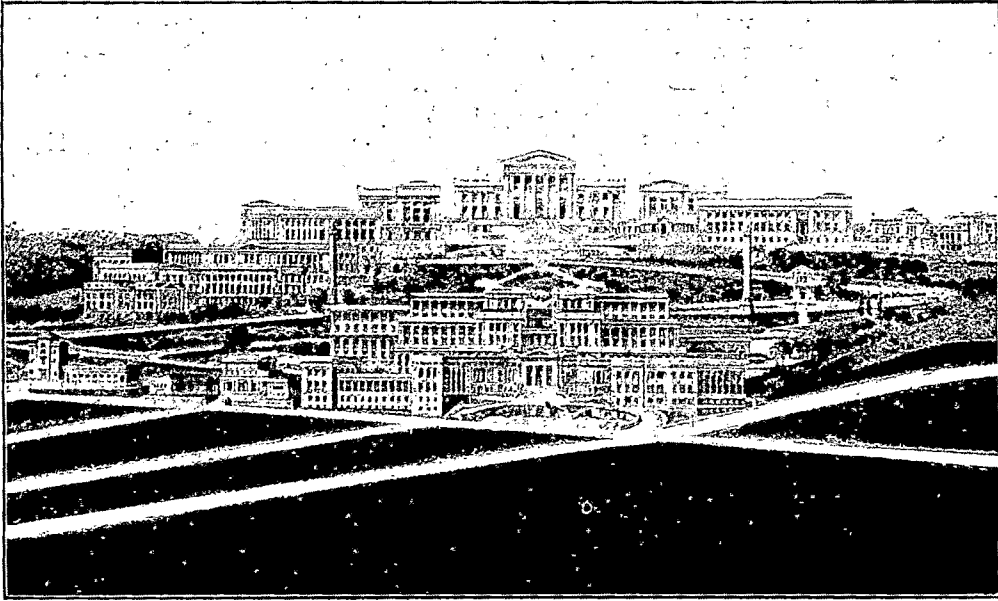
"The professor is more or less a law unto himself. He may rise in the morning if he feels like it, may meet his class if he feels like it and if he meets them, he may give them instruction as he may wish to impart. The purpose of a staff supervision is to provide responsible leadership. It should be definite so that each member shall know who is his immediate superior and who are subordinates.

SELECTION OF STUDENTS.

The manufacturer of high grade machinery, instruments, etc., must, if he is to have a first-class product, begin by the selection of the material that is to enter into his finished product. This is specially true of engineering schools which desire to produce not perhaps the maximum number but a smaller number of high grade men.

Two main methods are employed for selecting fresh men for entrance to college, examination or certificate. The first method is based upon the English style of education, which is to judge a man's knowledge by his ability to pass an examination. This method is growing obsolete in America for many reasons, among which might be mentioned the fact, well known in India, that an examination is not a perfect test of a man's ability, and also that an examination can be made to admit as well as to exclude students.

The second method, that of admission by



UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

certificate, is a far superior one, if properly administered. In this case it is necessary that the high schools from which a majority of the students come are regularly visited by a representative of the engineering school and the work of prospective students carefully examined.

The responsibility of the faculty of a school of engineering really begins after a fresh man is admitted. To take these men into the atmosphere of the University as rapidly as possible, to supervise their work, to assign to each sufficient work to keep him working to his limit and finally to eliminate those who do not show the necessary qualification for becoming engineers, is the problem for the faculty to solve.

SEEKING THE STUDENT'S BENT.

There are two kinds of institutions in this country giving Engineering education. First, the purely engineering schools called Institutes of Technology and the other Universities which besides having well equipped departments for all courses in Engineering, give instruction in liberal arts, Economy, Law, Medicine, Surgery and agriculture also. Of these two classes of institutions, a school of Engineering at a University possesses inherent advantages over the separate engineering school in the selection of its upper class men from the

fresh men. When a fresh man in Engineering displays an utter lack of appreciation of those subjects which go to make an engineer, he can be advised to transfer to some other school department of the University which seems more nearly adapted to his ability. Specific cases will illustrate this. A young man entered the school of Engineering at the University of Pittsburgh with an exceptional record from his high school. At the end of the first term, he was found deficient in nearly all his work except English and German. A long conference with the young man and his parents on the one side and the dean of the school on the other revealed the fact that his best work had been done in Latin and that he was very fond of the study of languages. He was transferred to the college of liberal arts where he made an excellent record.

Many illustrations might be taken from the records at the University of Pittsburgh of men who have been transferred to the school of economics and law and who have made a marked success in the study of finance, commerce and the constitution. It is safe to say that from 30 to 50 per cent. of the members of every freshmen class in an engineering school should be advised to take other courses.

Many students enter the engineering courses without any appreciation of the

hard work necessary to complete the course or the duties of an engineer. He should be given every possible opportunity between the time he enters and the time at which he must select his particular course to become acquainted with the profession which he proposes to follow.

This is much more important in engineering than in law or medicine because as a boy he does not in general have the same opportunity to come in contact with members of the Engineering profession that he does with others.

Lectures by prominent engineers, therefore, covering many phases of engineering work together with visits of inspection to many kinds of engineering plants constitute a part of the required work of the first two years. In addition frequent conferences with the members of the teaching staff are held.

ENVIRONMENT.

Next to a well-selected faculty and a student body who have as their ideal the best type of an engineer, the most important question is that of environment.

The effect of environment of location of the school of engineering upon its students has received very little or no consideration even in this advanced country until recently. However it is recognised that there are two classes of colleges; the Country and the City College. In the former, which are mostly state institutions, the whole life of the student is bound up in the small circle which revolves within the walls of the college. The smallest event in such a college is of great importance to the student compared with that which may happen in the outside world. This is the old type of classical college in this country and has many things to commend it. The life is almost ideal in that it is free from practically all responsibility. For professors and students alike the life of the college is self-centred.

In the other college the life within the school is only incidental to the student to the greater movements which are taking place all about him. He is in constant contact with the current events in the business world, with the development and solution of the various social and economic problems as they are being solved, with

the political movements taking place not only in his own country, but throughout the world. In Engineering he is in constant contact with the best methods of manufacture in various lines. He listens to lectures by engineers, becomes a junior member of an engineering society and by means of visits of inspection, co-operative work, etc., he is alive to the changes which his profession is undergoing and he enters into the spirit of it long before graduation.

Education has been defined as the adaptation of the individual to his environment. One of the chief criticisms against the schools of engineering has been that the young graduate did not readily adapt himself to his surroundings. This has been well founded and its cause probably arises from the fact that the student during his four years at school has lived in an artificial atmosphere.

ADVANTAGES OF AN ENGINEERING CENTRE.

It is evident then that the engineering school must be located in an engineering centre where the student engineer can observe the generation and transmission of large quantities of power, study the properties of material while in the process of manufacture, study bridges and buildings in the fabrication plants and after erection, visit and assist in the operation of water supply and filtration plants, become familiar in the earlier years of his course with armatures, cores, field windings, etc., by actual work upon these under ordinary working conditions. Such facilities are afforded only at the large industrial centres; and nowhere are they so well exemplified as at Pittsburgh, the industrial centre of America, where thousands of different kinds of industries are successfully and magnificently carried on giving employment to hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.

THE CO-OPERATIVE SYSTEM.

A logical outcome of the location of a school of engineering in an industrial environment is some form of co-operative work, whereby the student can make the most of his opportunities. This work originated first at the University of Cincinnati, and a modification of it was adopted by the University of Pittsburgh some three years ago.

The plan in brief is this: During the freshman year the student remains in school the entire time. During the sophomore and junior years he spends half the time in school and half in practical work, interchanging every three months. During the senior years he spends the entire time at the University. It is to be noted that by this means the faculty send out into practical work only those men with whom it is acquainted and consequently the grade of men given to the industrial establishments is fairly good. By having the student in school the whole of the senior year he is able to complete the theoretical work with his practical work as a basis.

It is very interesting to note that while in England, Germany and other European countries, an apprentice is required to pay the factory a certain amount of money, which they call premium, American factories are too glad to take any number of apprentices and pay them a fair amount of wages while in the process of learning. Some of the highest concerns have a regular apprentice department, presided over by an experienced and well educated head. This department is always on the look-out for the student apprentices from the university where they pay frequent visits and deliver lectures, telling the students the advantages which they will derive from the concern.

I believe that this co-operative system is not only a good thing but an absolute necessity if the best possible types of young men are to be produced from a school; that it has a scientific foundation which can be thoroughly demonstrated by a proper investigation made by a competent psychologist is one of the things which its advocates hope to show in the near future.

It would seem that the fundamental principle of the co-operative work lies in the fact that a freshman is intensely interested in those things which do not materially interest a senior or a graduate student. The whole operation of a manufacturing concern or the construction of any great engineering work appeals to the imagination of a freshman who is engaged in it, in a way that it does not to the graduate. As the student passes through his four years' course in the engineering school to enter upon practical work, he loses the desire of enter-

ing into the actual manual labour which is one of the interesting characteristics of the freshman. This, I believe, explains why so many students think they have a valid objection to the excellent apprenticeship or graduate engineering courses offered in many of the best engineering industries in this country. While a graduate will often "kick" when required to do any large amount of manual labour, the freshman is anxious to do this work in order to demonstrate to the working man and his colleagues that he is the equal of and possibly the superior to, any of them.

ACTUAL INCIDENTS:

The desire of these men in co-operative work to be given a large amount of work to do in order that they may have a opportunity to "make good" is well illustrated by a group of four young men who entered a concern on January 1, for a period of three months. They were assigned work which gave them very excellent experience in certain engineering work. After about ten days in this position they protested in a body that while the work was desirable they actually did not have enough work to demonstrate their ability. At the end of the three months' period, the dean of the school received an unsolicited letter from the assistant superintendent of these works which in part, is as follows:—

Messrs. returned to the university of Pittsburgh on April 1, after a very creditable shop record.

Each of them made an exceptionally good showing and seemed to appreciate the opportunity afforded through the field covered by Department enabling them to size up the whole shop.

They had good work to do and did their utmost to render satisfactory service.

Mr. in particular displayed leadership to a considerable extent.

They were regular in attendance and worked while on duty.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PLAN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH.

Not only is it important that the students should be assigned the proper kind of work at the proper time, but it must be so related to his other work that he will receive the maximum benefit from it. This University obtains those results by means of reports which are of two kinds.

The student reports to the proper instructor at the University every two weeks, at

which time he makes a detailed oral report concerning the particular pieces of work upon which he has been engaged for the past two weeks. The instructor leads him to talk about the work so that he may clearly understand the mistakes which he has made, and what he should do in order to improve his work. The relation of the particular piece upon which he may be working to the whole concern is explained each time, also the methods employed in other concerns doing the same type of work together with the modifications that might be made in order to make the same thing at less cost. In connection with these reports the instructor visits the student at his work a number of times during the three months' period. These visits at the plant sometimes take the place of the regular reports.

The second type of reports is presented at the end of the three months' period, at which time he writes detailed reports concerning the work of the past three months. This report is more or less exhaustive, and in many cases contains much desirable information from the point of view of the student. He is also required to make reports on various assigned topics selected by the faculty intended to cover the various branches of organisation in any engineering concern. Those topics differ with the department, although those in the mechanical and electrical are similar in many respects. There is also of necessity quite a wide variation among the different firms. The reports upon these special topics are not presented at the end of any particular period, but are extended over his entire co-operative work, which covers a period of two years.

The different topics are not necessarily taken up in the order in which they appear in this paper, but are varied to suit the particular conditions under which the student works.

PUTTING STUDENT IN PERSONAL TOUCH.

The acquaintances made by the student among the engineers and others employed

by the concern are certainly a marked advantage to the student. These busy men are in the majority of cases, most kind in assisting the student, giving them, I believe, more consideration and better facilities for the work in some cases than they give to the graduates, the engineers and others under whom the students work, feel a certain responsibility toward these men, in that they are assisting in their training. The student in return feels that he represents the university while in co-operative work and that the reputation of the university depends upon his conduct. Consequently the reputation of the university has grown considerably through the character of the students with which the firms have come into contact since the adoption of the co-operative system, so that there is always an increasing demand for its students.

A student is not granted his diploma simply because he has completed his university work but he is required to show that he has creditably completed his co-operative work also. This provides the university with a student body which is tremendously interested in its work and consequently it can do a larger amount of work in the same time than it would be possible to do with the average student body. These students are exceedingly loyal to their school, more so, I believe, than those in the university who are not in the co-operative work.

The close personal contact with the faculty which it is necessary to maintain and the constant intercourse with superior men in engineering work tend always to develop the student into a dignified and self-reliant man. Students enter upon their first period of co-operative work at the end of the freshman year as boys; after three months they return to the university with the characteristics of men.

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NOTES ON SOUTH AMERICA*

FOR many years past the traveller and the scholar, the merchant and the promoter have found the people, problems and potentialities of South America subjects of compelling interest. It is a continent of vast and varied possibilities. The nations of this continent are now making a progress that challenges the attention and respect of the world. Some of them are going forward with such splendid energy that they are running a close race with the past records of the United States and the present achievements of Japan. Others are on the verge of a progressive growth that will astonish sceptical critics of the Latin race and delight knowing admirers of their latent possibilities. In short it is safe to predict a forward movement during the next decade for the Latin American Republics that will give them a position and prominence among the nations of the earth not thought possible a few years ago. It will bring them a commerce for which Europe and the United States will compete with every resource at their command. South America is distinctly the land of to-morrow. This is no idle prophecy. Already the European nations and the United States have become aroused to the importance of the South American trade and investment. Commercial countries of Europe like England, Germany, France, Spain, Italy and Austria are now devoting far more attention to South America than they used to do ten years ago. And what is more significant, Japan far away across the Pacific, is exerting herself to get into close touch with the west coast of South America. The proof of this statement is found in the chartering of a steamship line which is running

from Japan to Chili and in the arrangement of a postal money order exchange, between the two countries made effective from January 1, 1908.

Latin American history during the last four centuries is replete with incidents and events, names and results that compare creditably with those of Europe and the United States. In it one can find names of heroes, statesmen, writers and scholars who have figured prominently in evolving the Latin America of to-day. The principal countries and capitals of Latin America have groups of eminent scholars, scientists and philosophers, as well as universities and professional schools which are quite advanced. At Lima, Peru, and at Cordova in Argentina, are Universities whose foundations antedate Harvard and Yale. There are so many other high educational institutions that one fully appreciates the compliment which Elihu Root, Ex-Secretary, United States, paid to South America when he said that the newer civilisation of North America had much to learn from the older civilisation of South America. Among the ruins of the Incas in Peru, Equador and Bolivia are evidences of a wonderful age of material and intellectual development that long preceded the Spanish conquest and are equalled in North America only by the similar ruins of the Aztecs in Mexico. Paranthetically it may be said here, that according to some students of antiquities the elements of this ancient civilisation were largely derived from India,—may be through the colonial Hindus who settled in various parts of the Eastern sea-board and in Java where they established a powerful empire.

South America has many natural and artificial features of development that surprise the uninformed. How many people realise that Brazil could completely cover the United States and still have room for all the States in that union in the Eastern sea-board, that out of the Amazon

* Derived from *Latin America*, a reprint of official reports and special articles, prepared by the Director of the International Bureau of American Republics, Washington, and *Argentine International Trade*, published by the Argentine Government at Buenos Aires.

flows every day three times the volume of water which flows from the Mississippi and out of the Parana twice that of the North American queen of waters? These great South American streams afford incomparable opportunities for interior navigation and development of commerce. How many people stop to think, when they remember the old geographical story about the beautiful harbour of Rio de Janeiro and the threadbare legends of yellow fever, that this capital of Brazil now has a population of 900,000 and is growing as fast as any city in the new world, that it spends more money for public improvements every year than any city in the new world excepting New York, and that to-day it is one of the most interesting national centres of civilisation, industry, art, literature and education in the world? Again how many people know that Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, is the largest city in the world south of the equator, that it is the second Latin city, ranking after Paris, in all the world, that it now has a population of 1,200,000 and is growing faster than any city in the new world excepting New York and Chicago? If surprised at this statement, they might be interested to learn that in Buenos Aires is the finest and costliest structure in the world used exclusively by one newspaper, the home of *La Prensa*; the most magnificent opera house of the Western Hemisphere, costing more than Rs. 30,000,000 and erected by the Government, the handsomest and largest club house in the world—that of the Jockey Club, the most expensive system of artificial docks in all America, representing an expenditure of Rs. 150,000,000. The railroad man may be surprised to learn that between Chili and Argentina has been constructed one of the long tunnels of the world. The highest points and most difficult construction that have ever been encountered in railway extension are found in Peru.

There is a mistaken notion about South American countries as being "small." Brazil has already been mentioned as exceeding the United States in extent, the excess in favour of Brazil being about 200,000 sq. miles. Colombia has an area as great as Germany, France, Holland and Belgium combined. And

similarly surprising facts may be given about the other "small" States of South America.

A mistake is also made in considering the climate of South America. Because it is called South America, the general supposition seems to be that it is all hot. A look at the map appears to support this theory. A large portion of the northern end is wholly in the tropical zone, and the equatorial circle passes across northern Brazil and Equador. Probably, however, it is not remembered except by special travellers and expert authorities, that vast sections of Colombia, Venezuela, Equador, Peru and Brazil possess wide-reaching high plateaus where on account of the elevation above the sea, the climate is pleasantly cool the year round. The temperature is so equable and favourable that there can be grown all the products of the temperate zone. A vivid idea of the climatic conditions can be gathered from the following account of a journey performed by Mr. John Barrett, formerly United States Minister to Colombia and now Director of the International Bureau of American Republics at Washington.

"Last summer (1906) it was my experience..... to make one of the longest journeys over untravelled routes that has ever been undertaken by an American official in South America. At that time I was United States Minister to Colombia and stationed in Bogota, its remote but interesting capital. Partly in an effort to comply with Secretary Root's instruction to meet him on the west coast of South America during his famous tour of that continent, partly from a desire to study carefully a vast unknown section of South America that will have great development after the completion of Panama Canal, and considerably from a spirit of adventure and in quest of strange scenes, I covered, including detours, a distance of 1500 miles over the high summits and plateaus and through the tropical valleys and deep canyons of the main ranges of the Andes Mountains. Of these 1500 miles more than 1000 were traversed on mules by 31 days of continuous sticking to the saddle. The rest of the distance we travelled in railroad trains, steam boats, canoes, afoot, and in automobiles. Not infrequently we would break camp in the morning at an altitude of 10,000 feet and regret that we were not clad like Arctic explorers. By noon we would be lunching under a palm tree with monkeys chattering about. At night we would have climbed up again and sought rest almost under the shadow of perpetual snow. During this one day's journey we had seen growing the vegetation of both Montreal and Panama, and had passed through as many stages of climate and products

as we could in two weeks' trip to and from Canada and the Isthmus."

Too much importance is generally attached to the idea that revolutions prevail all over Latin America and that, therefore, commerce and investments are insecure. This conception of Latin America as a whole is erroneous and does the progressive South American nations a great injustice. The tendency of public opinion and the powerful influence of large business interests in such great states as Brazil, Argentina, Chili and Peru is all against revolutionary movements and although now and then a sporadic attempt shows itself, it is most difficult for it to grow into dangerous proportions. Then, again, the gridironing of these countries with railway permits the immediate sending of troops to any place and crushing without delay incipient revolts.

There are now nearly 50,000,000 people living south of the Panama Canal or a population equal to that of the German Empire. Immigration is pouring rapidly into Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Chili.

As admission to the United States becomes more strict the tide will turn to South America. While all the progressive South American State are inviting immigrants, Argentina is the favoured land of the newcomers. While the Spaniards and Italians are more numerous in this immigrant population (in 1909 nearly 500,000 Italian and Spanish immigrants landed at Buenos Aires), other progressive races are contributing their quota. The proof of this statement is found in the immigration figures of Argentina for 1908.

ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS IN ARGENTINA IN 1908.

Spaniards	...	125,497
Italians	...	93,479
Syrians	...	9,111
Russians	...	8,560
Frenchmen	...	3,823
Austrians	...	2,551
Germans	...	2,469
Portuguese	...	2,083
Britons	...	1,879
Hungarians	...	934
Swiss	...	665
Brazilians	...	625
Danes	...	463

North Americans	...	341
Others	...	3,229
Total		255,710

It is to be noted that of these "others" the Japanese and the Chinese form no insignificant part. South America offers an immense scope for immigration. Those immigrants who are disposed to take to agricultural life will for many years to come find a vast scope in Argentina, whose land is extraordinarily fertile. Argentina also offers a great scope for the development of the live stock industry. The following table showing the density of population in various countries compared with that of the Argentine Republic indicates the scope that exists for immigration.

	Area in square miles.	Population.	Density (per square mile).
Austria-Hungary	241,333	45,405,267	188
Belgium	11,373	7,238,622	645
France	207,054	39,252,242	190
Germany	208,780	60,641,278	290
Holland	12,648	5,672,237	448
Italy	110,550	33,640,710	304
Portugal	35,490	5,423,132	153
Switzerland	15,976	3,463,610	216
Argentina	1,39,243	6,489,023	57

A noticeable feature of the composition of the indigenous population of South America is that it is very largely mixed, being composed of Spaniards, the Portuguese, Negroes and Red Indians and race prejudice does not exist in any part of that continent excepting perhaps Chili. Altogether it may be said that in South America the immigrant is not likely to have any trouble on account of colour. And in Argentina, particularly, the climate is such that it entirely suits emigrants from the tropical regions.

While the Spanish language is the common tongue of all South America except Brazil, it must be remembered that the latter has a population of nearly 20,000,000 and occupies nearly half the area of the continent. Portuguese is spoken throughout its limits, and Spanish is seldom heard among its people. The languages are similar but difficult for the same person to understand unless the ear is carefully trained to the sounds and inflexions of both. All well-educated persons in Spanish and Portu-

guese America speak and read French almost as well as their native tongue.

How to get to South America? Why, there are capacious, handsome passenger and mail steamers leaving Southampton, Hamburg, Cherbourg, Lisbon or Marseilles for Rio and Buenos Aires at frequent intervals.

Within the continent, facilities for travel and communication are fast increasing all over South America, elaborate programmes for new railroads are being worked out. Argentina is already gridironed with excellent systems; Chili is pushing lines in all directions; Brazil is penetrating her vast jungles and connecting distant points with Rio de Janeiro; Bolivia is spending more than Rs. 150,000,000 in new work, while Columbia, Equador, Peru, Uruguay,

Paraguay, and Venezuela are working out various practical and needed plans for new construction.

These extensive facilities of transport and communication are bringing about a rapid development of the natural resources which exist in abundance in South America, and are thus offering increasing opportunities for capitalistic investment. South America is undoubtedly entering upon a new industrial and material movement. Its development during the next ten years will arrest the attention of the world. The agricultural resources of Argentina are now well-known. But it is perhaps not known to all that in 1908 the United Kingdom purchased more grain and meat from Argentina than from the United States as is shown in the following table:—

From	Wheat		Maize		Refrigerated and frozen meat	
	cwts.	£	cwts.	£	cwts.	£
Argentine Republic	31,680,200	13,112,215	18,457,800	5,660,599	3,500,307	6,102,926
The United States	27,123,400	11,450,396	6,661,300	2,015,701	1,432,142	3,268,884

It is also worthy of note that in a decade the northern section of Argentina will become a great cotton-growing country and may possibly be able to compete successfully with the cotton regions of the U. S. A. The mineral wealth and resources, specially those of gold, copper, silver, tin, platinum and nitrate in the Andean States of Colombia, Equador, Peru, Bolivia and Chili are attracting capital and enterprise from Europe and America.

This rapid internal development is influencing foreign commerce, so that the total foreign trade—exports and imports—of the ten South American republics, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chili, Colombia, Equador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, and of the British, French and Dutch Guiana exceeded in 1908 the magnificent sum of Rs. 3,600,000,000. The position which South America occupies in modern commerce is illustrated by the fact that Argentina with only 6,000,000 people bought and sold more in 1908 than China with 300,000,000 or Japan with 40,000,000 and that the foreign commerce of Chili, whose population does not exceed 3,500,000, was greater than that of Eastern Siberia, Coria, Siam, Indo-China, and the Philippines combined, with a population of 50,000,000. It is to be further noted that in the light of the

statistics of the last 10 years, the foreign commerce of the progressive South American states is steadily increasing.

Within recent years, the Monroe doctrine has lost much of its vitality and charm. Several circumstances have brought about this change in South American politics. On the one hand, the great European powers have contributed a very considerable amount of capital and labour force to the development of South American trade and industries, and have thus created substantial interests in that region, and for the protection of these interests they now claim an amount of influence which they did not claim before; and in view of the fact that the Government of the United States is claiming similar influence in the Far East it can not contend that the demand of the European nations is unjustified. On the other hand, the South American States by no means entertain a genuine sentiment of concord and cordiality for the United States. Most of them have a suspicion about the real attitude of that country towards its weaker neighbours, and the suspicion has been caused by its colonial expansion in the Philippines and in Porto Rico. Vigorous efforts are, however, now being made to remove this suspicion, and "to bring about a new era of Pan-Ameri-

can confidence and good-will." A few years ago, the tour of Mr. Elihu Root, the United States Ex-Secretary of State, was productive of good results in this direction. It has been said that through his speeches, manner and personality, Secretary Root accomplished more in the three months which he spent encircling South America than all the diplomatic correspondence and all the visits of promoters and exploiters in a century. The visit to South America of Professor Moses of the University of California; of Professor Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania and of Professor Shepherd of Colombia, following close on the journey of Secretary Root, was also highly successful. But the most notable thing in this connection is the institution of the International Bureau of American Republics. This institution was organised as a result of the first Pan-American Conference held at Washington in 1887-90. It was at first started as a Bureau of information, but subsequent conferences have enlarged its

functions until now it bids fair to become one of the most important international institutions. This institution is the only office of its kind in the world. It is the head-quarters in the capital of one American State of 21 American Republics. Its Director is chosen by the vote of all the American Governments, and is responsible to the 21 representatives of the American Governments who constitute its governing board and guide its policies. The contributions of all the American Republics, based on population give it financial support; but the minister of even the smallest state in population has a vote in its governing board equal to that of the Secretary of State of the United States. The working staff of the Bureau is composed of 25 persons. These are divided into Administrative, Editorial, Translating, Statistical, Compiling, and Service Sections. The Bureau has a library of over 15,000 volumes covering every American nation.

SATIS CHANDRA BASU.

THE AMOUNT AND DISTRIBUTION OF INCOMES IN THE PUNJAB

BY PROF. BALKRISHNA, GURUKULA.

I have many a time in several articles drawn the attention of the well-wishers of India to the heart-rending poverty and degradation, penury and destitution that are making great havoc in this once happy Land of Gold. The horrible sights of the underfed, underclothed and poorly housed in their stinking slums of foul odour, offal and putridity, are terrible setbacks upon our growing prosperity. Indians as well as foreigners are often misled by the pomp, show and circumstance of the busy thoroughfares of big cities. They forget that life is not lived in the streets but in the quiet houses behind the visible scenes. *They do not see that the harrowing sorrows of India are concealed behind a mask*, while her joys alone are obtrusively strutting upon the stage in many-coloured robes. If they would

take a plunge with full and sympathetic hearts into the moving stream of Indian humanity, they would have passing glimpses of the true performances that are being played within. No doubt, it would require a bold endeavour to tear off the interposing veil but if they once succeed in taking off the mask, a new world of being would be open to their view.

Reader, just accompany me into this newly discovered world. Do you see the phantasmagoric sights of men, women and children victimized by biting cares, gnawing anxieties, abject misery, doleful destitution, undeserved degradation, premature decrepitude and dismal despair? Do you hear dismal screams, sullen moans and deep groans, shrieks of woe and heart-rending cries? Ah! but don't fly from these phantasmagoric shapes, don't think that they

are dreadful dreams and do not early bemoan the sorrowful degradation of the souls of these men. Just breathe the nauseous atmosphere of drinking, begging, cringing and lying. Just acquaint yourself with the sights and sounds and smells of these quarters. Just see face to face incarnated coarseness and bestiality. Then only you can form a correct estimate of the depth of this morass of Indian poverty; then only you will realize that all the fabulous gold of Rockefeller cannot tempt you to stay an hour in those places where more than ninety per cent of our people live, move and have their being from the cradle to the grave; I say that it is only then that you will realize that after all life is sweeter than gold. I hope you can not forget these hollow-eyed, gaunt-visaged men and women covering their nudity with a little *langoti*, toiling day and night in various ways to keep body and soul together and living in dingy, foul thatched cells with half a dozen dirty, thin, unpretentiously naked, hungry-eyed children huddled together without any regard of sex or age!

But do not these down-trodden, destitute and outcast sons of that Merciful God who are now, one and all, raving like lunatics in their dark dens, appear to you calling down the vengeance of Heaven upon us who are their brothers, their kith and kin in body, blood, heart and soul?

After what you have seen above, you will bear me out that this is no overdrawn or fancy picture of Indian poverty, rather, the like of it can be seen here, there and everywhere behind the scenes. But the question still remains why have we got such a plentiful crop of crying evils, why these innumerable black spots on our milk-white fairyland of old? I say that these melancholy evidences of hellish poverty are only present *because we are a morally and industrially backward people*. Otherwise, when these evils are every day present before our eyes, why should we not have concentrated our energies in wiping them out and even their reminiscences and in bringing in an era of industry, commerce, peace and prosperity? I am sure that descriptive words alone like the above cannot give a complete idea of the prevailing poverty of any country and

hence they are not powerful enough to rouse the people to action. I wish to reduce to a definite shape our vague conceptions of the fabulous riches of India on the one side and its extremely desponding destitution on the other. For that purpose I will confine myself in this article to the formation of a sober estimate of the annual income in the Punjab and its actual distribution above the income tax limit of Rs. 1,000 and the once lower limit of Rs. 500.

Below, the reader will see two tables giving the number of assesseees and their gross incomes in the fiscal years 1910-11 and 1901-02. If he will carefully read them, wonderful things might be revealed to him.

Income of the Punjab above the Income-tax Line in 1910-11.

Amount of Income.	Rs.	Rs.	No. of Assesseees.	Gross Income assessed (calculated by me).	Average per Assessee.
				Rs.	
I.	1,000 to	1,500	13,501	1,47,81,312	1,090
II.	1,500 "	2,000	5,004	92,22,528	1,843
III.	2,000 "	5,000	5,678	15,49,101'4	2,728
IV.	5000 "	10,000	1,245	77,71,353'6	6,242
V.	10,000 "	100,000 and more	627	2,78,00,056	44,338
Grand Total ...			26,055	6,11,24,352	2,346

Income of the Punjab above the Income-tax Line in 1901-02.

Amount of Income.	Rs.	Rs.	No. of Assesseees.	Gross Income assessed (calculated by me).	Average per Assessee.
				Rs.	
I.	500 to	1,000	29,641	1,68,20,016	568
II.	1,000 "	1,500	9,446	1,05,31,296	1,119
III.	1,500 "	2,000	4,010	73,66,704	1,812
IV.	2,000 "	5,000	4,402	1,22,22,643	2,776
V.	5,000 "	10,000	919	60,01,881	6,530
VI.	10,000 "	1,00,000 and more	389	87,61,001	22,573
Grand Total ...			48,807—	6,17,03,541—	
Above income of Rs. 1,000.			29,641=	1,68,20,016=	
			19,166	4,48,83,525	2,342

It is simply impossible to get a correct estimate of the profits of company promoters, entrepreneurs and big shopkeepers, while many a cunning fellow manages to escape the Argus-eyed Tahsildar. It is therefore advisable for the exact estimate of the National Income of the Punjab to make some allowance for under-assessment. Supposing 20% of all incomes have been left out of assessment, we have the *total income of the taxpayers* as under:

1901-02	Rs. 4488352	Assessed
	897670	Unassessed
	5386022	Actual
1910-11	Rs. 61124352	Assessed
	12224870	Unassessed
	73349222	Actual

If the reader will carefully compare and contrast the two charts given above, he will find that the total increment of wealth during the sufficiently lengthy period of nine years has been only Rs. 16,240,827. That is, *the annual increase of the wealth of taxpayers enjoying incomes of Rs. 1000 or more up to the uncountable millions (!) amounts to Rs. 18,04,534 or adding the unassessed incomes even the whole yearly increase comes up to Rs. 21,65,441 only.* Within this same period, the increase in the number of taxpayers has been 6889 persons; that is, 36% is the net increase during these nine years, *while the increase in their total incomes is a little more than 40%.*

Moreover, the percentage of the increase in the total income and number of the taxpayers enjoying incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 1,500 is very nearly the same—43% in both cases.

Now we know the exact number of assesseees holding incomes between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 in the fiscal year 1901-02 but we do not know even the approximate number of persons enjoying the same incomes in the year 1910-11. However, the three conclusions drawn above would materially help us to form an approximate calculation. Because, if we suppose that the increase in the income and number of such persons during the last nine years

has been fifty per cent, we shall not be accused of understatement or exaggeration. Well, then the amount of total income and the number of such taxpayers would be $1,68,20,016 + 84,10,008 = \text{Rs. } 2,52,30,024$ and $29,641 + 14,820 = 44,461$ persons.

That is, the total number of persons enjoying incomes of Rs. 500 or more in 1901-02 was 48,807 out of the total population of 20,330,337 souls in the Punjab, which means that in that year of Grace *one man among four hundred persons held an income of Rs. 500 or more.* As I proceed I will show that we reach the "Poverty Line" with annual incomes below Rs. 500 for a family. If we assume that each of the 48,807 persons is the head of a family of five persons, we get, by obvious calculation, the following result:

Distribution of the Provincial Income above and below the poverty line in 1901-02.

<i>Above "Poverty Line."</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Income. Rs.</i>
Persons with incomes of over Rs. 500 and their families (48,807 × 5) ...	2,44,035	6,17,03,541
Persons with incomes of less than Rs. 500 and their families (total population less 2,44,035) ...	2,00,86,302	Not counted as yet.

If my readers will agree with the "Poverty Line" fixed by me, then the most striking result spontaneously follows from the above figures that throughout the Province the number of persons in and above the Poverty Line amounts to 24 per cent, but taking families as our standard, less than 1 per cent only, *i.e., more than ninety-nine families were below the Poverty Line in the year 1901-02.*

During the nine years between 1901-02 and 1910-11 we have undoubtedly grown a little richer because in that year 5 per cent of men were above that horrible line.

Now if my readers will carefully inspect the four comparative tables that I have prepared for them to show *the distribution of incomes of persons above the Poverty Line*, things would be revealed to them that have for years remained hidden under a gilded mask.

Distribution of Incomes above the Poverty Line.

(A)

Year	No. of persons with incomes from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000.	Percentage	Percentage of Income	No. of persons with incomes of over Rs. 1000.	Percentage	Percentage of Income
1901-02	29641	60	27	19166	40	73
1910-11	44461	63	30	26055	37	70

(B)

Year	No. of persons with incomes from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500	Their Percentage	Percentage of Income	No. of persons with incomes of over Rs. 1500.	Their Percentage	Percentage of Income
1901-02	9446	50	23	9720	50	77
1910-11	13501	52	24	12554	48	76

(C)

Year	No. of persons with incomes from Rs. 1500 to Rs. 10,000	Their Percentage	Percentage of Income	No. of persons with incomes of over Rs. 10000.	Their Percentage	Percentage of Income
1910-11	69889	99.22	68	627	.88	32

(D)

Year.	No. of persons with incomes of Rs. 2,000 and over.	Their total income.
1901-02	...	Rs. 2,69,85,525
1910-11	...	3,71,20,512

(E)

Year.	No. of persons in the United Kingdom with incomes of over Rs. 2,400 (£160 the Income-tax limit.)	Their total Income.
1903-04	...	Rs. 12,45,00,00,000 (£830,000,000)

Extraordinary conclusions emerge from the facts that we have examined. Table A presents two classes of persons:

(a) One whose members are living between the Poverty Line and the minimum margin of liberal necessities of life. They are 60 and 63 per cent of the fortunate lot but their incomes are only 27 and 30 per cent. The remaining income is enjoyed by

(b) The second class whose members live in comfort and luxuries. Though they amount to 40 and 37 per cent, yet their incomes come up to 73 and 70 per cent—two and a half times more than the first class of men enjoy.

Table B gives facts still more striking.

In 1910-11, 13501 men were living between the boundary lines of Necessity and Comfort while only 12554 persons can be said to enjoy a certain amount of comforts and luxuries. Thus

out of a population of 20 millions a handful of persons can enjoy life while others must be at one time or other, cursing their creator for the faults of society. However, it should be remembered that these happy people possessed nearly half the taxable income.

Table C is really remarkable. It gives us the income and number of rich men in the province. They come up to .88 per cent only (a very lamentable evidence of Progressive India) but they get thirty-two parts of all the income enjoyed by 70516 persons. That is, more than one-third of the entire income (above Rs. 500) of the Punjab is enjoyed by less than one hundredth of the people above the Poverty Line.

Comparing tables D and E, a remarkable discovery dawns upon our conscience. Making all allowances for the differences of income, population and the year of calculation, we see that there were one hundred times as many tax-payers in the United Kingdom as there were in the Punjab in the same year, 1903-04, and that their total income was more than two hundred times as much as that of our fortunate big Punjabee Lords enjoying incomes of Rs. 2,400 or more!

These differences require a little comment. Hence we make haste to calculate the minimum expenses of a family of four mature persons living in the Punjab. We will request the reader to carefully go through these interesting figures and judge for himself the true amount, if there be any, of exaggeration in our estimate of the

annual expenses on the barest necessities of life.

(a) *Annual Expenditure on Food per man.*

Material.	Amount per diem.	Rate per Rupee.	Annual expense in Rupees
Flour ...	1 seer	10 srs.	36 8 0
Salt and pepper ...	$\frac{1}{4}$ pice		1 6 $9\frac{3}{4}$
Oil or Ghee ...	2 "	$\frac{3}{4}$ "	11 6 6
Pulse ...	1 "	8 "	5 11 3
Fuel ...	1 "	$1\frac{1}{4}$ mds.	5 11 3
Tobacco ...	$\frac{1}{2}$ "		2 13 $7\frac{1}{2}$
Vegetable, fruits, ...	2 " only		12 0 0
Butter, eggs, meat ...			
			75 9 $5\frac{1}{4}$

The total Annual Expenditure of the whole family of four members (taking two children equal to one man or woman) is as under :

Expenses under table (A)		Rs.	AS.	P.
Ditto	B	...	302	5 9
Ditto	C	...	26	0 0
Ditto	D	...	32	13 $7\frac{1}{2}$
		...	51	13 $7\frac{1}{2}$
		Rs.	413	1 0

(B) *Annual Expenditure on clothing per man.*

Material.	No.	Annual Expenditure.
		Rs. A. P.
Dhoties ...	4	4 0 0
Shirts ...	4	3 0 0
Turban ...	1	1 0 0
Shoes ...	1	2 0 0
Blanket or Quilt	1	1 8 0
Blanket for Rains and winter...	1	4 0 0
Towels ...	2	0 8 0
		13 0 0

(C) *Annual Expenditure on clothing per woman.*

Dhoties ..	4	4 0 0
Native Gowns	2	3 0 0
Shirts ...	4	3 0 0
Shoes ...	1	1 0 0
Blanket or Quilt	1	1 8 0
Blanket for Rains and winter	1	1 0 0
Towels	2	0 8 0
Oil for hair		1 6 $9\frac{3}{4}$
False anklets		1 0 0
		16 6 $9\frac{3}{4}$

(D). *Extra Household Expenditure of Man, Wife and Four Children per annum.*

				RS.	AS.	P.
House	...	...	...	12	0	0
Light-oil for lamp	...	...	...	2	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Barber and Washerman	...	...	...	2	0	0
Utensils	...	...	...	2	0	0
Medicine (for the whole family)	...	...	...	3	0	0
Loss by fire	...	...	...	2	0	0
Presents to Brahmans or Maulavies...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Gifts in temples or Sadqa of Moslems	...	...	...	2	0	0
Ceremonies and Funerals	...	}	}	24	0	0
Religious and social fairs						
Pilgrimages						
				51	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

The head of a family in India has generally to support some widowed sister, daughter or old parents. Hence his yearly expenditure to make the two ends meet only, reaches the minimum sum of Rs. 500 which I have adopted as marking the Poverty Line in our country.

Now I will calculate the number of persons who were living on the Poverty Line in the years 1901-02 and 1910-11. In the year 1901-02, the number of assesseees enjoying incomes of Rs. 500 but less than Rs. 750 was 20,496, while the number of tax-payers whose incomes varied from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000 was but 9,145. In the presence of these figures it is clear that in that year the number of persons having incomes of about Rs. 500 cannot be smaller than 15,000. Hence in the year 1910-11, the number of these very men should amount to 22,500. When these persons enjoying incomes of Rs. 500 a year can with the utmost difficulty keep body and soul together and have to abstain even from the necessities of life, as is quite clear from the diet and clothing tables given above, what would be the condition of people living below the Poverty Line in the very midst of poverty itself? Their deplorable condition can be still better understood from the established fact that a family of four members in India has an earning capacity of Rs. 120 per annum (according to the highest estimate of Lord Curzon) while to keep body and soul together they ought to spend at least Rs. 400. The terrible effects, on body, mind and soul, of such a large deficit per annum can be better imagined than described. But to rouse the slumbering masses to industrial activity and agitate the minds of the well-wishers of India, I will quote the words that I once wrote on Indian Poverty.

You will see millions, in fact from 40 to 80 millions of your brethren, homeless, breadless, and helpless, who have not even a piece of rag to protect their shame or to

save them from the pinching cold of December, or any hut to keep off the wintry winds and the hot blasts. Forty millions of human souls! Are they the sons of God, created in His own image or lanky scarecrows and living monuments of famine, suffering and privation? Are they the descendants of the Indian Rishis who never dreamt of famine or plague, or are they the incarnations of famine and have plague as their constant companion to console them, to cheer them up and eventually to give them perfect rest? *Are they alive or dead?*

Dead, absolutely dead are they materially, socially, physically, morally, intellectually, spiritually and politically. With naked skeleton-bodies, upturned hands and weak wailing voice, they pray for "Food, Food, and Food," but the Twin Devils: Destruction and Despair, are making a terrible havoc in their serried ranks.

"Landless, joyless, helpless, hopeless,
Gasping still for bread and breath,
To their graves by trouble haunted,
India's helots toil till death."

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION AT MADRAS

THE Public Service Commission sat at Madras for 10 days and examined orally only 39 witnesses though some more submitted their written answers. Of these 9 were Europeans, only two of whom were non-officials belonging to Educational Missions. Of the 30 Indian witnesses, 13 were officials, either in the Service or retired and two were Muhammadans, one non-official and the other an official. Of the non-official Indian witnesses, 3 are journalists, 9 members of the Local Legislative Council and the rest are active workers in the political field. The questions addressed to these were not all identical, especially in the case of official witnesses. In the present article, I intend to deal with their evidence on simultaneous examinations, the separation of the judicial and executive services, probation, the irreducible minimum and the Provincial Service.

It may be stated at the outset that the evidence before the present Commission at Madras has not been so favourable as that in 1886 on the question of simultaneous examinations. Of the 8 European Civilian witnesses examined before the Commission in 1886, 3 were for the same, an equal number of them had no opinion to give and only two were against it; but all the European witnesses that gave their evidence before the present Commission are emphatically opposed to the scheme and even the non-official Europeans followed in their

wake. All of these, however, did not feel it necessary to go into the details of this question. Sir Ralph Benson, the senior Civilian in India, with a record of 41 years' service behind him, contented himself with the observation that the reasons advanced by the Commission in 1886 against simultaneous examinations held good even now. The Hon. Mr. A. G. Cardew, based his opposition on the fear that the European element in the Service would be considerably reduced and that all posts would be monopolised by the Brahmins. In his opinion, several practical difficulties, such as the *viva voce* examination, stood in the way of simultaneous examinations. As to his first contention it may be stated that this proposal is intended to reduce the European element in the Service but his fears that the English candidates will have no chance of success at the open competition are purely imaginary. With regard to his second objection, with the increasing spread of education, the prospects of castes other than the Brahmin are steadily improving and a glance at the university results for the last ten years will fully bear out this statement.* The last objection has been already found to be superficial by the Committee appointed by the India Office to consider this question in 1860. Mr. Yakub Hussain, Secretary of the Madras

* The Brahman intellect is not as pre-eminent in other provinces of India as in Madras.—*Ed., M. R.*

Branch of the Moslem League, advocates simultaneous examinations but he is for filling only the first two vacancies as a result of the competition; as regards the rest, he advocates recruitment by nomination from among only the successful candidates. This method is intended to give the backward communities a chance to enter the Civil Service but it does not take into consideration the evil influences of patronage on the people as well as the Government and also the efficiency of the Service, which is sure to be impaired by it, inasmuch as it gives room to select the inferior persons when better candidates are available in the field. On the whole 16 witnesses have given their whole-hearted support to the scheme of simultaneous examinations and this number includes also four Indian officials.

There is not however such a divergence of opinion on the next important question—the separation of the judicial and the executive branches of the Civil Service. No witness, European or Indian, has strongly objected to it. Sir Ralph Benson said that the expenses of this scheme would be very heavy but in reply to Mr. Gokhale, he confessed that he had no facts and figures to substantiate his statement. The Hon. Mr. Cardew characterised this demand as harmless and he had no objection whatever to concede it in regard to the Provincial Service. The Indian witnesses have been unanimous on this point. Persons of vast official experience like Mr. P. Rajagopalachariar, Dewan of Travancore, and Justice Sir. C. Sankaran Nair have strongly expressed the drawbacks of the present system and so far as evidence at Madras is concerned, there is every likelihood of this demand of ours being conceded.

As regards the probationary period, no two witnesses are agreed. Some of those who advocate simultaneous examinations are prepared to send successful Indian students to England to spend their probationary period there and an equal number of witnesses do not perceive any benefit in that step. Many of the European witnesses have confirmed this idea, but they do not perceive any advantage in spending that time in India either. The consensus of opinion, however, seems to be in favour of spending the probationary course in England. The

candidates for the executive branch, in their opinion, will do well to stay at the Residential Universities, but as to the judicial branch training at the bar after an year's study at the inns is recommended for one more year. There is also a proposal to increase the period of probation to two years in the case of all the candidates; but the Indian witnesses advocate the same for reasons quite different from those of the European officials. The former, especially the advocates of simultaneous examinations are prepared to lengthen the period of probation only to afford the successful Indian students a chance of staying in England as long as their brethren do under the present circumstances but the latter wish to lower the age limit and then give the successful students a chance of finishing their educational career before joining office in India.

The present inefficient condition of the Judicial Service has been a subject of frequent criticism. The European witnesses are prepared to limit the number of English judges to fifty per cent of the total strength and they think a training in the lower grades of the service will considerably lessen the drawbacks of the Civilian Judges. The Indian witnesses, on the other hand, wish to restrict their number to only one-third of the total, and they are unanimous that the new recruits should begin service as low as a District Munsiff. The remaining vacancies, in their opinion, are to be filled either by nomination directly from the bar or by promotion from the subordinate service. There is also a general agreement of opinion that subordinate judges should receive Rs. 1,000 per month in the highest grade and that the District Munsiffs should begin service at Rs. 250 per month, and not on Rs. 200 as is now the case. The official European witnesses have also admitted the superiority of Indian Judges in deciding Civil cases, and it seems as if the admission of more Indians into the Judicial Service will not evoke any opposition from that quarter.

The fixing of the irreducible minimum of Europeans in the higher grades of the service has been unanimously advocated by the English witnesses. Sir Ralph Benson expressed a fear that the European officials are decreasing in the service but Mr. Gokhale convinced him easily of the

baselessness of his fear. Even then, he could not be content without fixing the minimum. "Danger to British rule" is the only cry in support of this claim. Some of the Indian witnesses also think it necessary to fix this minimum but they fix it at $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total strength of the Covenanted Service; but a large majority of them object to it on these grounds: (1) there is no need to fix the minimum under the existing circumstances; (2) even when simultaneous examinations are granted, the fixing of this proportion is a retrograde step for which there can be no justification; (3) it is also against the spirit of the pledges given to us by successive British Sovereigns and the acts of Parliament. But of the 39 witnesses examined before the Commission, only 30 have given their opinions on this point and of them 19 are against the fixing of the irreducible minimum.

The Provincial Service has not attracted any great attention at the hands of the witnesses. The European witnesses are all for the continuance of this system and for the increasing of the number of listed posts by the addition of a few important appointments. Many Indian witnesses, on the other hand, advocate the abolition of this Service. It came into existence to satisfy the just aspirations of the Indians for higher and more extensive employment in the public service and if these are satisfied by conceding simultaneous examinations, the need for the Provincial Service completely vanishes. If however it is to continue, open competition is generally admitted as the best method of recruitment, at least so far as the executive branch is concerned. The question of class representation has also been brought forward. Many of the witnesses are in favour of recruiting only for a portion of the vacancies as a result of the open competition. They generally fix this limit at fifty per cent of the vacancies but the remaining, in their opinion, should be distributed among the different backward communities.

Some of the witnesses also propose competition by compartments, for all the vacancies. According to this method, if Brahmins are to be eligible for only 40 per cent of the vacancies—which some of them suggest—the remaining candidates belonging to that caste are to be declared ineligible though some others far below them in the list may be selected. Those who oppose this view on the ground of efficiency of service think that promotion from the subordinate ranks gives the backward communities a door to enter the higher service. But it must be admitted that a large number of the witnesses at Madras advocate limited competitions either by compartments or by selection below a certain limit in the list of successful candidates. As to the Judicial branch of the Provincial Service, all the witnesses except four are for direct nomination from the bar. The majority of the witnesses agree that direct nomination should mostly be confined to the lowest grade, *i.e.*, that of district munsiffs, and above that nomination should be resorted to only in exceptional cases.

To sum up, there is a sharp difference of opinion between Indians and Europeans on only two questions:—Simultaneous examinations and the fixing of the irreducible minimum. Most probably both of these questions will be left for time to solve. The evidence before the Commission has left the impression in Madras that most probably (1) the number of listed posts will be increased, (2) the Judicial and the Executive branches of the Civil Service will be completely separated and (3) open competitions will again be introduced for recruitment to the Executive branch of the Provincial Service. This is also the impression of most of the witnesses that were examined before the Commission here; but it is yet too early to forecast the probable results of this second Commission on the Public Services.

S. K.

FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE

THE Philippine Islands can not boast of any ancient indigenous civilisation, literature, philosophy, science or arts.

The Spaniards converted them to Christianity and civilised them to some extent, from the sixteenth century onwards. Spanish

rule ended in 1898. At the beginning of the American occupation, in August 1898, a purely military government was established; but in May, 1899, the military authorities began the re-establishment of civil courts, and in July of the same year they began the organization of civil municipal governments. By the end of 1901, the work of organising and establishing the civil government was complete.

The Philippine legislature is composed of two branches, the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly. The Commission is composed of five Americans and four Filipinos. The members of the Assembly are elected by districts for a term of two years.

Justice is administered principally by a supreme court, courts of first instance and courts of justices of the peace. The supreme court consists of seven members, four Americans and three Filipinos.

The total population of the archipelago as enumerated in the census of 1903 was 7,635,426. Of this number 7,539,632 were of the Malayan or brown race, 42,097 were of the yellow race, 14,271 were of the white race and 15,419 were of mixed races. The blacks live in a primitive state, tattoo themselves and have no fixed abodes. The brown race is composed of twenty-three distinct tribes varying widely in culture, language and appearance; their languages however, belong to one common stock and there is a general resemblance in physical features and in quality of mind. The great bulk of the population, approximately 90 per cent, are Christian. Among the wildest of the primitive people head-hunting is still a common practice. Slavery is common among the Moros.

Such in brief are the people whom the Americans propose to grant independence.

On the 31st December, 1912, Reuter cabled from Washington:—

Dr. Woodrow Wilson, in a speech at Staunton, said he favoured the independence of the Philippines at an early date. Asked subsequently to explain his views more fully, he declared that he was not yet prepared to disclose his plans.

The granting of independence to the Filipinos has been discussed in all sections of the American press. For a summary of their views, we are indebted to the *Literary Digest* of New York, which observes:—

It may seem a trifle bitter that after fourteen years of our rule the Filipino is not only willing to see our starry banner leave his archipelago, but holds a regular celebration at the bare prospect of it. More than twenty thousand Filipinos, dispatches tell us, paraded the streets of Manila in "wildest jubilation" over the election of Woodrow Wilson to the Presidency, and "listened to addresses in which the rule of the United States was declared practically at an end." On this occasion, moreover, Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipino insurrection following the war with Spain, made his first public appearance and political speech since his capture by General Funston in 1901. These facts, as well as the comment of the Filipino press, say the correspondents, reflect a prevailing belief in the islands that one of the first acts of the Democratic Administration will be to arrange for their independence. Nor is this impression entirely confined to the Filipinos. In a Washington despatch to the *New York Sun* (Ind.), we read that "some of the Democratic leaders are talking of giving the Philippines limited independence on July 4, 1913," and the same correspondent quotes Chairman Henry of the House Rules Committee as predicting that one of the first measures to go before the house will be the Jones Bill, which provides for qualified self-government at once and complete independence at the end of eight years. The press also quote Speaker Champ Clark's declaration that he intends to use "every endeavor" to free the Filipinos "for their good and our own."

The Philippine plank in the Democratic platform, it will be recalled, reaffirms the party's opposition to "a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere," and asks for "an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other Powers."

This, remarks the *New York Evening Post* (Ind.), is not a promise of "immediate independence," but of "the immediate adoption of a pledge of independence at the earliest practicable date." "In a way this declaration does not go beyond that made by the Republicans in the past," remarks the *Chicago Post* (Prog.), which adds, however, that "the Republicans always had an idea that the Filipinos could not safely be turned loose for forty years"; and that "the Democrats hope to do the thing more quickly." After all, it continues, this question ought not to be a political one at all; "it ought to be a matter of plain Americanism, of a belief in the right of all people to rule themselves if they know how." It is on the question of how soon the Filipinos will "know how" that we find the widest divergence of editorial opinion. Thus while some papers cite facts and authorities in support of their belief that the Filipinos are

already competent to manage their own affairs, others cite other facts and authorities to prove that dire consequences would follow the withdrawal of the Americans from the islands now or in the near future. To quote again from the *New York Evening Post*:

"Two serious arguments will, however, be used to impress those who have thought only superficially on this matter. How about the wild tribes? will be asked. And how about the possibility of these people governing themselves? The facts about the non-Christian tribes are that they constitute but 600,000 out of 7,600,000 people; they dwell in the mountain fastnesses, and they, says Judge James H. Blount in his new book, 'The American Occupation of the Philippines,' 'cut little more figure, if any, in the general political equation, than the American Indian does with us to-day.' To those who have any doubts on this question we most heartily recommend this excellent volume from the pen of one who was an officer of volunteers in the war and subsequently a judge. He has not the slightest question as to the ability of the Filipinos to set up satisfactory governments. . . .

"Under the promise of independence, he declares, a 'very fair electorate of at least one-third, possibly one-half, of the adult male population, could be built up. The sitting up of prospective Filipino States would, he says, 'electrify the Filipino body politic,' as would the mere definite promise, of independence. But without that definite promise nothing can be gained. Least of all would it be fair to deny self-government to millions because of a fraction of the uncivilized among them. We must, as Judge Blount says, make clear to all concerned, and particularly to the American grafter and Filipino demagogue, 'that the government of a remote and alien people is to have no permanent place in the purposes of our national life.'"

The *Baltimore Evening Sun* (Ind.), while endorsing the Democratic attitude, warns against haste, and has this to say:

"The Jones Bill provides for a probationary independence for a period of eight years, during which the President of the United States would have a veto power over any legislation which might be passed by the Filipino Congress. It reduces the qualification for the franchise from 500 pesos to 250, and from those who can read and write Spanish or English to those who can read and write a native language. The Philippine Legislature at present consists of the Philippine Commission, appointed by the President of the United States, as an upper house, and the Assembly, elected by Filipino voters, as the lower. This system has been in operation since 1907, but it has not satisfied the aspirations of the natives, and Manuel Quezon, their Delegate to Congress, is leading the fight for national emancipation.

"The only substantial objection to the Jones Bill seems to be the insufficiency of the probationary period provided. Eight years is scarcely long enough to educate the Filipinos in the art of self-government. It is true that they have had some five years of preliminary training and that they have had the advantage

of American contact and civilization since we delivered them from Spanish rule in 1898. But they have not been walking alone, and 15 or 20 years of probation would be wiser than 8 and would better serve to confirm their self-control and balance.

"Of the righteousness of the principle and the soundness of the policy embodied in the Jones Bill there can be no doubt. We have no moral right to hold the Philippines indefinitely, and it is bad national policy to do so."

Still other papers urge a withdrawal from the Philippines at the earliest possible date as a mere matter of economy. The islands, they say, are not only a bad investment, they are a heavy burden. Thus the *Boston Herald* (Ind.) characterizes the Philippines as "an extravagant child in the family that contributes nothing to the general maintenance." A fair estimate of what they are costing the Americans, says this Boston paper, is 875,000,000 a year "which, spread through the cumbersome system of federal taxation, means the extraction of several times as much from the pockets of the people." This is higher than the estimate made by Mr. Jones, who in reporting his bill to Congress, said that the Americans could save 850,000,000 annually by giving self-government to the Filipinos. And there are still other authorities who maintain, with President Taft, that the Government of the islands is wholly self-supporting.

Among those prophesying disaster as a result of any change in America's present policy toward the Philippines, we find papers of all political complexions, including the *Washington Post* (Ind.), and *Star* (Ind.), *Hartford Times* (Dem.), *New York Commercial* (Com.), *Columbus Dispatch* (Ind.), and *Ohio State Journal* (Rep.), *Cincinnati Times-Star* (Rep.), *New York Tribune* (Rep.), and *Evening Mail* (Prog.), *Boston Transcript* (Ind.-Rep.), *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Rep.), *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Rep.). The *Hartford Times* dwells upon the strategical importance of the Philippines, both from a military and a commercial point of view and remarks that "the awakening of dormant Asia might easily render Manila a port of world-wide importance and the islands as necessary to the safeguarding of our trade routes as Gibraltar and Malta are to the British Empire now." The *New York Commercial* remarks altruistically that although "we are ruling these islands at a heavy financial loss," nevertheless "we have undertaken the job in good faith, and

are bound in honor to see it through to the end." "Will President Wilson convert the Democratic party into an Aguinaldo Aid Society?" asks the *Washington Star* in apparent alarm; and the *Columbus Dispatch* remarks that the Democratic programme on this point "begins to assume the proportions of a blunder." Urging the American nation not to shirk a duty that is burdensome, the *Washington Post* remarks:

"Even from the humanitarian standpoint, the only thing that the United States can do with honor is to continue its present attitude toward the Philippines. The United States is now putting civilization into the Philippines. It is a job that will extend over many years. Not until the present children of the islands, who are being taught high standards, have grown to their majority, will it be safe to give the Filipinos independence.

"The United States Government is carrying on the work of education as rapidly as possible. The Jones Bill provides for gradual steps toward independence but such a bill is unnecessary. The gradual steps are being taken already. As soon as the Filipinos are fit for self-government, Congress can take action. To act now, when the future Filipino is merely in the making, would demonstrate that the Democrats are beginning the old reckless game of shooting without aiming."

Moreover, say other critics of the Jones Bill, to give political independence to the islands at this stage would be a crippling blow to their commercial prosperity. A *Washington* correspondent of the *New York Sun* states on the authority of "army officers and others who have had administrative experience in the islands," that "stagnation of the Philippines and demoralization of Filipinos themselves will result" even from the present talk among Democratic leaders of hastening Philippine independence.

It is not as a defeated candidate defending a rejected policy, remarks the *New York Tribune* (Rep.) but "as a disinterested statesman who has done more than any other man for the advancement and prosperity of the Filipinos," that President Taft in his message to Congress discusses the question of Philippine independence. And his counsel on this subject is peculiarly timely because the Jones Bill, now pending, aims to give the islands qualified self-government at once and complete independence at the end of eight years. The President's "clear analysis of the situation" is welcomed by the *Baltimore News* (Prog.) because "not a small proportion of the Democratic press is insistently demanding"

definite action in the direction indicated by the Jones Bill. Many papers agree with the *New York Journal of Commerce* (Com.) that the most forceful part of Mr. Taft's message is the section dealing with the Philippines, and that "there is no person more competent to speak on this subject" than the man who, as their first American Governor, studied sympathetically both the possibilities and the limitations of the Filipinos.

The Jones Bill, Mr. Taft informs Congress, is based on the assumption that "we have now discharged our trusteeship to the Filipino people and our responsibility for them to the world, and that they are now prepared for self-government as well as national sovereignty." These assumptions, he declares, "are absolutely without justification." Even a "present declaration of future independence" would "retard progress by the dissension and disorder it would arouse," and would amount, in fact, to "a disguised policy of scuttle." Moreover, "it would make the helpless Filipino the football of Oriental policies, under the protection of a guaranty of their independence which we would be powerless to enforce." As a proof that the task of educating the Filipinos is still far from finished, the President points out that at present, "under liberal franchise privileges," "only about 3 per cent of the Filipinos vote and only 5 per cent of the people are said to read the public press." "Freed from American control, the integrating forces of a common education and a common language will cease, and the educational system now well started will slip back into inefficiency and disorder." Without American rule, says the President, the islands would also lose almost everything that they have gained under that control along the lines of commercial development and sanitation. Of the gradual process of training the Filipinos for self-government we read:

"Within the last dozen years they have gradually been given complete autonomy in the municipalities, the right to elect two-thirds of the provincial governing boards, and the lower house of the insular legislature. They have four native members out of nine members of the commission, or upper house. The chief justice and two justices of the Supreme Court, about one-half of the higher judicial positions and all of the justices of the peace are natives. In the classified civil service the proportion of Filipinos increased from 51 per cent in 1904 to 67 per cent in 1911.

Thus to-day all the municipal employees, over 90 per cent of the provincial employees, and 60 per cent of the officials and employees of the central government are Filipinos."

The President concludes with this plea :

"Our true course is to pursue steadily and courageously the path we have thus far followed ; to guide the Filipinos into self-sustaining pursuits ; to continue the cultivation of sound political habits through education and political practice ; to encourage the diversification of industries, and to realize the advantages of their industrial education by conservatively approved co-operative methods, at once checking the dangers of concentrated wealth and building up a sturdy, independent citizenship. We should do all this with a disinterested endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence."

While the Democratic Cleveland *Plain Dealer* agrees that any measure looking toward immediate self-government for the islands would be unwise, it finds "it difficult to understand the President's opposition to a Congressional declaration promising future independence." *The Plain Dealer* can not "believe that such a

declaration would, in the words of Mr. Taft, 'retard progress by the dissension and disorder it would arouse.' It should instead, expedite progress by presenting a promise and fixing a goal for Filipino ambition and patriotism."

Among other papers that are not entirely convinced by the President's argument are the New York *Evening Post* (Ind.), the Springfield *Republican* (Ind.), and the Baltimore *Sun* (Ind.). *The Republican* suspects him of secretly hoping for the final establishment of "a permanent imperial tie" between the Philippines and the United States, and the Baltimore paper thinks that "the Democratic party in and out of Congress is not likely to agree with him" in his "stand-pat" attitude toward the islands.

From the above summary it is clear that all parties are practically unanimous as to the ultimate granting of independence to the Filipinos. The difference is only as to the period of probation, the longest term mentioned by any party or paper being forty years.

THE INDIAN IN FIJI

IN some recent numbers of this Review, articles appeared describing and discussing some problems relating to the Indian population of Fiji. What was published in our pages is supported by the following letter, which has appeared in *India* :

Sir,—Living in a country where the system called "Indentured labour" is in vogue, one is continually oppressed in spirit by the fraud, injustice, and inhumanity of which fellow-creatures are the victims.

Fifteen years ago I came to Fiji to do mission work among the Indian people here. I had previously lived in India for five years. Knowing the natural timidity of Indian village people, and knowing also that they had no knowledge of any country beyond their own immediate district, it was a matter of great wonder to me as to how these people could have been induced to come thousands of miles from their own country to Fiji. The women were pleased to see me as I had lived in India and could talk with them of their own country. They would tell me of their troubles and how they had been entrapped by the recruiter or his agents. I will cite a few cases.

One woman told me she had quarrelled with her husband and in anger run away from her mother-in-law's house to go to her mother's. A man on the road questioned her, and said he would show her the way. He took her to a depot for indentured labour. Another woman said her husband went to work at another place. He sent word to his wife to follow him. On her way a man said he knew her husband and that he would take her to him. This woman was taken to a depot. She said that one day she saw her husband passing and cried out to him, but was silenced. An Indian girl was asked by a neighbour to go and see the Muharram festival. Whilst there she was prevailed upon to go to a depot. Another woman told me that she was going to a bathing ghat and was misled by a woman to a depot.

When in the depot these women are told that they cannot go till they pay for the food they have had, and for other expenses. They are unable to do so. They arrive in this country timid, fearful women, not knowing where they are to be sent. They are allotted to plantations like so many dumb animals. If they do not perform satisfactorily the work given them they are punished by being struck or fined, or they are even sent to gaol. The life on the plantation alters their demeanour and even their very faces

Some look crushed and broken-hearted, others sullen, others hard and evil. I shall never forget the first time I saw "indentured" women. They were returning from their day's work. The look on those women's faces haunts me.

It is probably known to you that only about thirty-three women are brought out to Fiji to every one hundred men. I cannot go into details concerning this system of legalised prostitution. To give you some idea of the results, it will be sufficient to say that *every few months* some Indian man murders for unfaithfulness the woman whom he regards as his wife.

It makes one burn with indignation to think of the helpless little children born under the revolting conditions of the "indentured labour" system. I adopted two little girls—daughters of two unfortunate women who had been murdered. One was a sweet, graceful child, so good and true. It is always a marvel to me how such a fair jewel could have come out of such loathsome environments. I took her with me to India some years ago, and there she died of tuberculosis. Her fair form was laid to rest on a hillside facing snow-capped Kinchinjunga. The other child is still with me—now grown up to be a loyal and true and pure girl. But what of the children—what of the girls—who are left to be brought up in such pollution?

After five years of slavery—after five years of legalised immorality—the people are "free." And what kind of a community emerges after five years of such a life? Could it be a moral and self-respecting one? Yet some argue in favour of this worse than barbarous system, that the "free" Indians are better off financially than they would be in their own country! I would ask you at what cost to the Indian people? What have their women forfeited? What is the heritage of their children?

And for *what* is all this suffering and wrong against humanity? To gain profits—pounds, shillings, and pence for sugar companies and planters, and others interested.

I beseech of you not to be satisfied with any reforms to this system of indentured labour. I beg of you not to cease to use your influence against this iniquitous system till it be utterly abolished.—H. DUDLEY. Suva, Fiji. November 4.

[Miss Dudley, the writer of this pathetic letter, is the pioneer Indian missionary in Fiji. She is an Australian Methodist and has done admirable and devoted service in undertaking the care of Indian orphan-girls whose mothers have been murdered and their fathers hanged as the result of the sexual jealousy produced by the scarcity of women, which is one of the many blots upon the system of indentured labour. We hope shortly to return to the consideration of the question of Indians in Fiji.—Ed. INDIA.]

Further corroboration is found in a resume of Mr. J. W. Burton's "Fiji of To-day" (Charles H. Kelly, 26, Paternoster Row) given in *India*.

If we turn to Fiji we shall find an even more remarkable state of affairs. In an introduction to Mr. J. W. Burton's "Fiji of To-day" (Charles H. Kelly, 26, Paternoster Row), the Rev. A. J. Small, Chairman of the Methodist Missions in the Islands, observes, firstly, that the Fijian race is dying out, and,

secondly, that its place is being taken by Indian immigrants. Fifty years ago the native inhabitants numbered 200,000; in 1910 the total had shrunk to 86,000. Per contra, there are now over forty thousand Indians in the group. Some 3,000 are needed annually, says Mr. Burton, "to carry on the business of the colony," but additions are made at the rate of about 4,000 a year: for not only do the immigrant ships pour forth their contribution, but the birth-rate makes a large and increasing presentation. "Thus the face of Fiji is surely changing in feature, if not in colour; and with a constantly diminishing native population and a rapidly growing Indian element, it cannot be many years before the proportions are completely reversed, and these islands become, to all intents and purposes, an Indian colony."

THE EVILS OF INDENTURED LABOUR.

It is frankly acknowledged in Mr. Burton's book that the Indian has come to Fiji because he is wanted there. "He came at our solicitation, and we are under some sort of compliment to him for coming to us in our extremity, though we would rather die than admit it to him." In heathen days the Fijian was a worker; conversion to Christianity seems, according to this missionary commentator, to have cured him completely of that failing. "The Pharaohs of capital cannot hope to press him into bondage," and so they import Indian labourers under indenture. Thirty years have elapsed since the arrival of the first instalment, and fully one-third of Mr. Burton's pages are filled with a most damaging and shocking description of the abuses which exist under this system of legalised slavery. The "net cost of these human agricultural implements"—the words are Mr. Burton's—amounts to about £16 per statute adult, inclusive of transit. In return for this payment the master obtains the services of a coolie for five years. At the end of that period, if the coolie has "satisfactorily fulfilled his obligations" and has not "suffered jail," he becomes "free," and for five more years is expected to settle in the colony. When the second term has been completed a free passage back to India is given, but the majority avail themselves of the option to remain in Fiji as permanent residents. We will now let Mr. Burton give his own account of work on an estate served by indentured labour:

The system of tasks prevails on the estates. So many chains of sugar-cane weeding or planting are counted, for example, as a task. For the satisfactory performance of this amount of work the coolie receives one shilling. He is expected to accomplish it in one day and the basis is that of an average man's ability. The women are placed on the same footing: but their tasks are lighter and the payment proportionately less. If a man fails to perform the task set him within the day, he is liable to be summoned to the court and may be fined or imprisoned for his slothfulness. . . . When the coolie judges that the task is too hard, he has the right of appeal to the coolie inspector (a Government official): but as that gentleman is not seen oftener than once or twice a year, it is a somewhat limited privilege. Of course there is the magistrate to whom complaint can be made: but the court-house may be twenty or thirty miles away, and that is practically an impossible distance. It is not surprising, therefore, that under such conditions it frequently happens, that the coolie takes the law into his own hands and tries the edge of his cane-knife upon the skull of the English overseer.

In the year 1907, 1,461 persons out of a total of 11,689 adults under indenture were prosecuted for breaches of the labour laws. They either refused or were unable to complete the tasks given them, and, says Mr. Burton, were consequently fined or imprison-

ed, "according to choice." No instance is given in which the benefit of the doubt came the way of the coolie, but we are assured that "probably an even greater proportion of dissatisfaction did not make its appearance before the bench."

On the very next page Mr. Burton observes that "the life on the plantation to an ordinary indentured coolie is not of a very inviting character."

The difference is small between the state he now finds himself in and absolute slavery. The chances are that as a slave he would be both better housed and better fed than he is to-day. The coolies, themselves, for the most part, frankly call it "narak" (hell)! Not only are the wages low, the tasks hard, and the food scant, but it is an entirely different life from that to which they have been accustomed, and they chafe, especially at first, at the bondage. . . . No effort is made either by the Government or by the employers to provide the coolie with any elevating influences. . . . A company, of course, has no soul. So long as its "labour" is maintained in sufficient health to do its tasks, no more is required. The same may be said of its mules and bullocks. The children are allowed to run wild. No educational privileges are given. As soon as they reach the age of twelve they, too, must go to the fields.

Small wonder, then, that Mr. Burton should say that one of the saddest and most depressing sights a man can behold, if he have any soul at all, is a "coolie line" in Fiji. "There is a look of abjectness and misery on almost every face that haunts him." And among the men undergoing this "five years' hard labour"—the phrase, once more, is Mr. Burton's—are men of education, high caste, and refinement, who have been inveigled into emigration by the glowing tales of recruiting agents in India. They are told that there are now splendid openings for enterprising Indians in Fiji, that it is a rapidly developing country, that people grow rich there in a few years, and that men of education are at a premium. They believe these tales, and on arrival in the land of promise find themselves drafted to a sugar estate and knocked about by overseers and put to the hardest form of manual labour. Nor is the case of the simple rural folk any better. Says Mr. Burton:—

The system is a barbarous one, and the best supervision cannot eliminate cruelty and injustice. Such a method of engaging labour may be necessary in order to carry out the enterprises of capital; but there is something dehumanising and degrading

about the whole system. It is bad for the coolie: it is not good for the Englishman.

WHAT "FREE MEN" CAN DO.

And yet, if left to himself, the Indian can do, and does well enough in Fiji. It is significant that less than five per cent of the coolies re-engage themselves when their five years are over. They prefer to lease a little patch of soil and undertake various occupations. And with what result? According to Mr. Burton, the 25,000 "free" Indians constitute industrially the most important element in the Fijian community. In 1907 licences were issued to Indians for the following occupations: Storekeepers, 981; hawkers, 532; bakers, 6; wholesale storekeepers, 23; boatmen, 112. The Government returns, which are very incomplete, give the following particulars of cultivation by Indians on their own account: Cane, 5,580 acres; bananas, 2,000; maize, 1,158; beans, 107; rice, 9,347. Probably for all purposes over 20,000 acres are tilled by them. Very much more is held for grazing, and a large proportion of the cattle of the colony is in Indian hands. Over £50,000 in cash lies to the credit of Indians in the banks of Fiji; but this represents a mere fraction of the wealth of the community. Again, among the "freemen" the death-rate is low, and, considering the scarcity of women, the birth-rate is high.

On every hand they are covering the face of Fiji, and in several districts already outnumber the Fijians. Indians are gradually pushing the native back by buying or leasing his best lands: and the river and road frontages are mostly theirs. They are changing the face of Fiji also. Everywhere their patches of cultivation appear. One may drive from Suva to Nausori for example—twelve miles—and not see one solitary Fijian village till the very end of the journey. Indians, Indians, Indians, along every mile of the road.

There seems only one prospect for Fiji, says Mr. Burton. It is that of becoming an Indian colony. But at what a price has India bought this outlet for her superfluous population.

The flow of *indentured* labour into Fiji, should be stopped at once, and an equalisation of the numbers of the two sexes among Indians brought about by steady efforts.

A WORD FOR THE TURKS

OUR knowledge of Turkey and the Turks is derived from western writers, with whom it has been usual to condemn them. But it cannot be that a people who have lived and ruled for so many centuries in Europe are devoid of any redeeming features in their character and conduct. It is, therefore, pleasant to find two English writers speaking well of the Turks.

Mr. J. L. Garvim, in his War Notes in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, says that the man in the street in spite of his admiration for the

allies, longs irrepressibly for a word of sympathy with the Turk. The man in the street is right. There is one quality which has caused travellers in Anatolia—where alone, upon his own ground, the Turk is to be judged—to look upon him with the eye of benevolence and affection, however strongly they may at the same time have believed in the cause of the Balkan Christians. They have various words of praise in which they try to epitomise the qualities of the other races, but they reserve one for the Turk alone. They say that the humble

Turk is above all things a gentleman. You may deny him many claims, but you can never deny him that. He is hospitable even towards those whom he would rather not have received but whom he will not leave houseless. He reveres the aged, and does not scorn the poor.

Another writer who has said a good many things in defence of the Turks is Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall in the *Nineteenth Century and After*.

What is the cause, he asks, of the Mohammedan fanaticism, expressed in brutal massacres of subject Christians, which was unknown before the nineteenth century? The Mohammedans of old were not inhuman. Compare their conquest of Jerusalem, for instance, when the Holy Sepulchre and all the churches were respected, with that of the Crusading armies with its awful massacre; their treatment of the subject Christians with that endured by heretics and Jews in Europe; and it will be evident that the religion of the sword in those days was more tolerant than that of peace and love. In the Bulac edition of the *Arabian Nights*, in the fourth volume, there is a story different from every other in the book, having in every word the air of truth. It is of a merchant who repaired to Acre at a time of truce, and while there became enamoured of a Frankish woman, the young wife of an officer in the Crusading host, but was restrained from wronging her by thoughts of God. Afterwards he came across her as a captive, and, as she was then lawful to him, married her. The story, told with absolute simplicity, with no aspersions on the faith or customs of the Crusaders, is an odd contrast to the Frankish stories full of "the foul Paynim," "the false perjurious Mahound," &c. Yet that the Crusaders recognized the honor of the Moslems, esteeming them above the Eastern Christians, can be shown from history; as also that the Eastern Christians loved them better than the Frank.

"Secure under the Mamaluke sceptre," says Gibbon, writing of the schism of the Eastern Church, "the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem" (the Patriarch of Constantinople, not yet fallen, was intimidated by the forces of the West), "... condemned the creed and council of

the Latins." Far from crushing out the Oriental churches, Moslem rule preserved them. By the Europe of the Middle Ages they would have been persecuted to extinction for their slight divergence.

When Constantinople fell at length, the conqueror divided the city and its churches equally between the two religions, and though that edict was rescinded half a century later, the principle of toleration still endured. Travellers in Turkey in the eighteenth century, like Lady Mary Montagu, speak of the moderation of the Turk as something unexpected, a most strange discovery. Every male Christian paid a tax (the merest trifle) annually for his life, which was technically forfeit to El Islam. In return he was exempt from service in the wars which swept off thousands of the Moslem population. The penal laws against him much resembled those which formerly prevailed in England against Roman Catholics, with the exception that his faith was not proscribed. Those laws were often unenforced for years together. They are now abolished. All recent changes have been favourable to the "Nazarenes." Never, so far as is known, in the history of El Islam have subject Christians suffered persecution *for their faith*. What, then, is the cause of those "atrocities" which have shocked the world from time to time in the last century?

The writer believes the answer to be foreign interference, of a particularly intimate and galling nature.

Of old, poor Christians and poor Moslems lived on equal terms, chaffing each other freely on the subject of religion, as many genial folk-tales live to witness. They do so still where equal poverty combines them. But, thanks to interference by the European Powers, protecting each her special brand of native Christian; thanks to missionary efforts directed mainly to the Christian population; thanks last, but principally, to the capitulations of the Berlin Treaty by which each subject of the fourteen States enumerated resident in Turkey acquires extra-territorial standing (*i. e.* is placed out of reach of the law of the country), together with his servants and dependents, generally native Christians; the Christian population has been set above the Moslem in a way which savors strongly of injustice. The

Christian has been schooled for nothing by the missionaries, who put him in the way of earning a good living. Boasting the protection of some foreign consul, he is perforce an object of attention to the Turkish Government. In time past, when supervision was less keen than it is now, many Christians even changed their nationality. Without departing from the country, or the least intention or desire ever to do so, they obtained papers of naturalization from a foreign consul simply and solely to secure a "pull" in Turkey, and not through any love of the adopted nation. The writer is acquainted with a man, a Christian native of the Lebanon, whose father, being dragoman to the Italian Consulate, obtained papers of naturalization in this way. The father laid by money and bought property. The son renounced the fez and took to hats, and thought himself superior to all Ottoman subjects. Despite his Arab name, he was Italian to all inquirers, until this year, when word went forth that all Italians were to leave the Empire. Then he changed his tone: "I am the son of an Arab, like the rest of you," he cried in anguish. His swagger of the foreign subject vanished in a trice. He begged them, for the love of God, to let him stay. But the evidence was clear against him; his fellow-Christians with the Moslems drove him out. In his place of exile his one thought was to return; his mind was tortured with anxiety for his possessions. He bribed some smugglers to convey him in with other illicit goods. But in a street of Beyrout, when he believed all danger past, the cry "Italiani!" was raised suddenly, a mob collected, our friend was badly beaten by the common people, rescued by the authorities, and once more banished. That shows the utterly factitious character of such "naturalization."

The great majority of Christians in the Turkish Empire have no wish to dwell elsewhere. Except the people of the Lebanon, who, in return for their autonomy, were years ago walled in with a prohibitive tariff, preventing too much profit from their labors, they would seldom emigrate; and the tendency of emigrants is to return. Nowhere else could they enjoy the same immunity in the pursuit of rather dark commercial ends; nowhere else could they

extort such interest for money lent, or live on a luxurious scale so cheaply. They have no corporate sentiment approaching nationality, nor any solid bond of union in religion, divided, sub-divided, as they are, into conflicting sects. These words do not apply to Servia and Bulgaria—till lately Turkish provinces—where a sense of nationality survived and the bulk of the population was of one opinion; but they do apply to Thrace and Macedonia, almost as much as to the Asiatic provinces the writer has in mind.

The scale of education, as of comfort, wealth and luxury, is generally higher among Christians than among Mohammedans, and this owing entirely to foreign interference (including missionary effort, rendered arrogant by the capitulations) in the former's favour. The Christians almost everywhere seem pampered; the Mohammedans neglected and downtrodden. And the Christians are not herded to the army, like the Moslems.

"We saved their lives, we kept them like expensive pets for centuries," the writer has heard a Moslem cry with indignation, "and now you say we are their persecutors! If we had killed them all at the beginning, as you, of Western Europe, would have done in those days, you would not now be troubling; but our Faith forbade it."

"Expensive" they have truly been to Turkey; though as to "pets" there may be two opinions. Our friend meant that the Moslems had done all the fighting, and the government, police, and so on, while the Christians stayed at home, increased, multiplied, and made money. On the other hand, many of the Christians have been, and are still, good subjects, of high service to the State. A list of native Christian pashas—not to speak of physicians, clerks, philosophers, and men of letters—would include few names that are not quite illustrious, honoured by Moslems and Christians equally. The Christians have always had a hand in the administration of finance in Turkey; her foreign commerce has been theirs entirely. A hundred instances of kindness and toleration could be found for every instance of oppression, under normal circumstances.

It is only where the foreign consul's, or "protector's," hand is seen, raising a man

above the common lot of Turkish subjects, that any bitterness is found between adherents of the two religions. The Christians boast of favours, put on airs. Then all at once there may arise a sudden madness; and the innocent—poor, wretched, and half-starving villagers—may suffer for the guilty, being, to the mind of madness, the same species. The burden of bad government falls heaviest today upon the poor Mohammedan, who, seeing Christians, once his equals, basking at their ease, feels sore with injury. He, the conqueror of old, has still his pride, but nothing else to lean on for support or comfort. No foreign Power is heedful of his lot. His government, to which he looks with blind devotion, is always harassed by the Franks or Muscovites and cannot help him.

In 1860 at Damascus there was this sore feeling. Some low-class Moslems did a foolish, rather childish thing. They made some crosses out of bits of wood, attached them to the tails of the street dogs, and sent these running through the Christian quarter. The Russian consul took the matter up. The culprits were apprehended. At the consul's bidding the Turkish Governor gave orders that for punishment the prisoners were to sweep the streets of the Christian ward in chains. The sight of Moslems thus degraded, with native Christians looking on complacently, produced a transitory insurrection of such fury that the authorities were powerless to check the slaughter. Thousands of Christians perished, hundreds fled. The Russian consul's house was the first burnt.

That is an instance typical, the writer thinks of many others. Russia in her dealings with the subjects of the Porte has seldom been considerate of Moslem feeling, or squeamish of the means used to obtain her ends. Many thousands of lives have been sacrificed to her ambitions.

Then usury has caused much trouble; for usury, beloved of Eastern Christians, is to the unenlightened Moslem an abominable crime. Where land is the security, the trouble is embittered; for land in Turkey is a sacred thing, "the house of El Islam," and a Christian could not until three years since acquire it legally in his own name. Usury has been the cause of horrid murders, particularly where the money-lender

is Armenian and his customers are Kurds, his ancient enemies. And here again the innocent many—wretched peasants—have suffered for the guilty few—the cunning townsmen. The slaughter of women and children, so horrible to us, seems merely logical to peoples among whom the custom of blood-vengeance still obtains; and Christians also practice it in warfare.

As far as can be gathered, in two cases only can massacres be fairly laid to the charge of the Government, and both cases happened under Abdul Hamid II., a Sultan whom the Turks themselves deposed with ignominy. Moslems of the better sort are not blood-thirsty. They hate such crimes as much as Christians do. They have long been worried over the condition of their country, seeking some road to quiet out of all her troubles. The very massacres themselves are proof that even ignorant Moslems were unhappy in the state of things. The Powers of Europe, they were constantly assured, desired nothing else than the good government of Turkey for the benefit of Mohammedan and Christian, both alike. That was the cause, the one and only cause, of all their interference. This seemed strange, since, by their interference on behalf of Christian sects, by their "Capitulations" placing many thousands of inhabitants of Turkey outside the country's law—a privilege which has been shamefully abused by certain lesser Powers which once were Turkish provinces—they have made reform a superhuman task. Yet many Moslems half believed these Christian declarations. That was one reason why the Young Turk Proclamation of equal rights for all was everywhere received with such enthusiasm. Moslems hoped that the way out of the difficulty had been found at last; while native Christians hardly dared to trust the evidence of their own senses. The news was too miraculously good to be at first believable.

Then came the disillusion. At once upon the tidings of new life in Turkey, Bulgaria threw off the suzerainty—very dear to Moslem pride—and Austria gobbled Bosnia and Herzegovina. The other Powers which signed the Berlin Treaty made but feeble protest. The Christian States had never been in earnest when they said their one idea in interference was Turkey's renovation and

reform. The last thing they desired was her revival. At the first sign of a new and healthy life in her they fell to snatching what they could, for fear lest in a short while she should hold her own. Supine and sick they might have let her be. Alert once more and eager for her strength she got no mercy from them.

Truly the simple fact, well ascertained, of the existence of a multitude of native Christians loyal to the Porte might give our latter-day Crusaders pause, since it deflates their diatribes. The Christian churches of the East are many; Turkey has let them all survive together. Would any Christian Power have done as much? They value foreign interference only as it raises one above another. Collectively they stand to lose by any change. Under any other rule they would ere long grow discontented, and sentimentalize about "old times," as do the Copts in Egypt. The majority know enough of the conditions which prevail in other countries to recognize that even a chaotic, mediaeval Turkey, prolific of disorder and unsafe for travel, is better as a place of residence and less oppressive of the individual than, for example, Russia.

As for Turkish Government, "rough in the hand, but genial in the head," the writer believes that most of them regard it in the abstract with some slight affection. The Orthodox Greek Church of Turkey long ago declined to be the cat's paw of an anti-Moslem Power. Her punishment was the Bulgarian exarch. The Armenian Church has suffered more than any other from the Mohammedan mob, and she preserves the spirit of a nationality; yet it is truly to be doubted if a majority among her members would be found to vote for any foreign ruler but the Turk. The lesser, weaker Churches are protected under Moslem rule from the aggressions of the greater. All have equal standing. As in the hotbed of religious strife, Jerusalem, the Moslem keeps the Christians from each other's throats.

The Turks promise to evolve a civilization as "modern" as the European's and owing much to it, yet independent and perhaps superior, as building less upon mechanical contrivance, more on culture of its citizens. They are Hanafis, members of the only Sunnite sect of El Islam which values reason

as a guide above tradition. They, therefore, in their faith itself can welcome progress which Malikis and Shefa'is would deem ungodly. And their influence upon their co-religionists is almost boundless. It was they who overthrew the recent tyranny whose ministers were chiefly Arabs of the baser sort. It is they—though not the Young Turk, hare-brained section—who rule to-day the counsels of the Empire.

The principles, Mr. Pickthall concludes, formulated at the revolution, and since adopted by the Turkish nation as a whole, were as hopeful for the Moslem as the Christian.

The more intelligent among the Turks have perceived what has made her enemies powerful. They have been asking what is the secret of Bulgaria's wonderful military efficiency. It is not Creusot cannon or French tactics—the *Ikdam* (Constantinople) looks beyond all that, and decides that the basis of military efficiency is an intelligent population; so it recommends popular education as the first step toward military power. It is of interest to remember in this connection that when the Turks invaded Europe they were educated and the Europeans were mostly illiterate; as the educational position changed, the military situation was also reversed. Says the *Ikdam*:

"By learning the reasons of the defeats we have suffered in this war, we are to-day forsaking many old methods and entering on new plans of action. One of the things we are learning is the qualifications required in men entrusted with the administration of government. This is something. But it is not enough for the permanence, the independence, and the progress of a state. For a powerful state a powerful people is necessary. We have separated the Government from the people, and all our reforming zeal has been based on this false principle, neglecting the ends of the people. This must be changed. For in this war we have very painfully learned that a state which lacks a strong people on which it can depend can not be strong either in its external relations or in its internal institutions.

"If we have fully learned that a strong and progressive state can exist only with the existence of a strong and progressive people, then our chief care and zeal must be directed to the task of strengthening our people and inspiring them with a desire for progress. For the future our activity, our struggle, our whole aim, must look toward the elevation of our people.

"Elevate the people of all ranks and classes, those of the villages as well as of the cities, and the national Government, which derives its strength from the people, at once takes on a new and stronger character. To accomplish this must be our supreme endeavor.

"We must find out how our enemies have labored and succeeded in developing strong peoples, and profit by their example. The Bulgarian people, which has grown so strong and which the government has so safely depended upon, is a peasant people.

"A Bulgarian officer lately said to a newspaper reporter: 'Only five per cent of our soldiers are unable to read. They know how to use and how to care for their arms. In this they are superior to the Turkish soldiers. Our successes in this war are due to our common schools.' Behold, here is the most

important lesson we have to learn. We must adorn our villages with schools, and enlighten and elevate and discipline the minds of our villagers with instruction suitable for their condition and fit for the high objects we have in view.

"It is in this way that we shall be able to save our state and our people.

"Have we the zeal and the intelligence and the perseverance requisite for this great endeavor?"—
Translation made for THE LITERARY DIGEST.

A NOTE ON THE BLACK ANTELOPE AND THE ARYAVARTA

By KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL, B.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

HINDU Law undertakes to define and describe the Hindu India, the Aryāvarta or 'the land of the expansion of the Aryas.' There in doing so, almost all the authorities are unanimous in predicating one curious description, *viz*, that "where the black antelope naturally lives" (lit. 'naturally roams').*

The description is really based on a method followed by Hindu writers in giving geographical data. In describing a country they mention the mountains, the rivers, the chief characteristics of the people and occasionally the local fauna and flora. A treatment of the methodology of Hindu geography falls outside the scope of the present note and has to be reserved for an independent paper. But to bring the point

- * (a) आससुद्रात् तु वै पूर्वोद् आससुद्रात् तु पश्चिमात् ।
तयोर एवान्तरं गिर्योर् आध्यावत्तं विदुर् वृधाः ॥
कृष्णसारसं तु चरति सगो यत् स्वभावतः ।
स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशो ऋक्देशस्य ततः परः ॥

Manu, II. 22-23.

- (b) यस्मिन् देशे सगः कृष्णस्य तस्मिन् धर्मान् निबोधत ।
—Yajñavalkya, I. 2.

(c) Cf. the earlier view of the Bhallavins as quoted in the *Vasistha* and *Baudhiyana-Sutras* (V. I. 15; B. I. 12.); where the predication is not so general as in Manu and Yajñavalkya: "(Between the limits) in the west the boundary river Indus (and) in the east the region where the sun rises, as far as the black antelope roams that much (is the country of) the Brahmanic-Civilization (Brahma-Varchasa)." The wider horizon of the *Manava-Dharma-Sastra* is the outcome of a wider knowledge of Indian geography consequent upon the unification of India under the Magadhan Empire.

home, I might refer here to the familiar geography of India incidentally described by Kalidasa in his popular work the *Raghuvamśa*. There in the Canto IV, verses 28—84, we have, for instance, the following local fauna and flora:

- the palm of the Prachi;
- the cane of Vanga;
- the elephant, the betel-leaf and the cocoanut of Kalinga;
- the green pigeon and the cardamum-plant of the mount Malaya;
- the large species of the elephant and the sandal tree of the South;
- the vine of the Persian frontier;
- the excellent horse of Kamboja; and
- the musk-deer of the Himalayas.

The *Krishna-sara* or the black antelope of our law books is a similar geographical specification. The peculiar feature about this specification consists in the fact that the predication in its developed form, as we find it in the *Manava-Dharma-Sastra*, is emphatic and exclusive. Of all the animals the *Krishna-Sara* alone has been selected for the description of the 'holy land,' the *Aryavarta*; and "beyond that land" ("where the black antelope naturally lives; that is, beyond the *habitat* of the animal), the world was declared to be "foreign" (ऋक्देशस्ततः परः)।—It is thus evident that the Aryāvarta was believed by the Hindus to be the only home of the black antelope.

It is very interesting to note that modern science completely bears out the above Hindu view. To show this I give below a

few extracts from zoological authorities which have been very kindly collected for me by Mr. B. K. Bose, Superintendent of the Alipore Zoological Gardens.

(a) *The Book of Antelopes*—contains the following pronouncement on the animal,

"Hab. India from the base of the Himalyas to Cape Comorin, and from the Punjab to Lower Assam, but not found in Ceylon or to the east of the Bay of Bengal.

"This Antelope although strictly confined to India south of the Himalayas, has been more or less known in Europe for a long period, probably since the invasion of India by Alexander the Great.

"It has been conjectured that the twisted horn of the fabled unicorn of mediæval writers may have been originally based upon single horns of the present animal though other authorities are inclined to refer the unicorn's horn to the Narwhal. This however, is rather an antiquarian than a zoological question."

"Shaw and other writers who confounded this animal with the Addax, continued the story of it being met with in Africa as well as in India—a fallacy exposed by Lichtenstein (1814)."

(b) Jerdon in his '*Mammals of India*' (1867) says:

"It is found throughout India but is not met with elsewhere. It is rare in Bengal, a few only extending into Purneah and Dinajpore, north of the Ganges, and it does not occur in the richly wooded Malabar coast. It is abundant in the Deccan, in parts of the Doab between the Jamuna and Ganges, also in Hurriana, Rajputana and the neighbouring districts. It is found in the Punjab but does not cross the Indus."

(c) "Indian Antelope" (*Antelope carvicastra*).

Distribution:—India from the base of the Himalayas to the neighbourhood of Capé Comorin and from the

* By P. L. Sclater, M. A., Ph. D., F. R. S., Secretary to the Zoological Society, London, and O. Thomas, F. Z. S., F. R. G. S., Assistant in the Zoological Department of the British Museum.

Punjab to Lower Assam, in open plains, not in Ceylon nor east of the Bay of Bengal, and wanting throughout the Malabar coast south of the neighbourhood of Surat. The statement that this antelope is not found in Lower Bengal is not correct; none are found in the swampy Gangetic delta but many exist on the plains near the coast in Midnapore; as they do in Orissa. They are most abundant in the N. W. Provinces, Rajputana and part of the Deccan."—*The Fauna of British India—Mammalia*, by W. T. Blandford, F. R. S.

(d) Mr. R. B. Sannyal in his '*Handbook of the Management of Animals in captivity in Lower Bengal*' adds that the Krishnasara is also wanting in the Eastern Ghats.

The above authorities may be thus summarised: (1) that the Krishna-sara has its *habitat* in India and India alone and (2) that even there it "naturally roams" almost within the identical limits of the region which about 150 B. C.* was called the *Aryavarta*, that is the land stretching from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Vindhya.

† "(The land) from the East Ocean to the West Ocean, and between the two mountains (the Vindhya and the Himalayas), the authorities call the *Aryavarta*."—Manu, II. 22.

The date 150 B. C. *circa* is the date of the metrical *Manava-Dharma-Sastra* arrived at by the present writer. The arguments are set forth in the pages of the local legal journal, the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, 1911, notes portion, the thesis advanced there being that the Dharma-Sastra is a work of the reign of the Emperor Pushya Mitra.

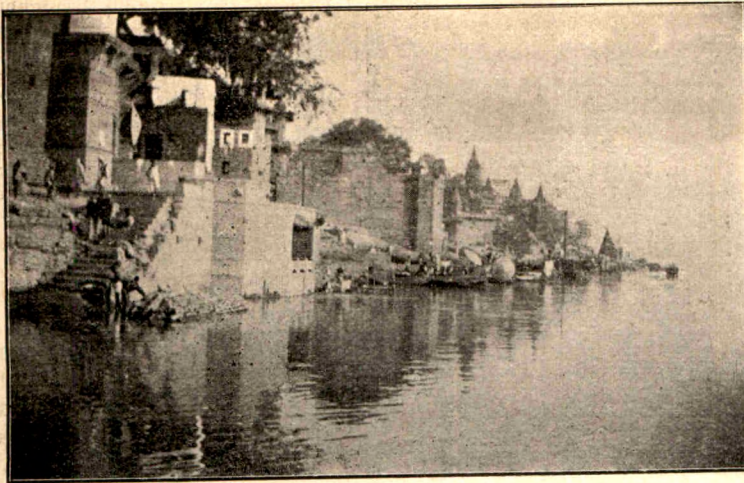
It may be noticed here that the western and eastern limits of the Aryavarta, 'from sea to sea', which is peculiar to that work, seem to be in sympathy with the claim of the first Sunga succeeding to the empire of the Mauryas. Former writers (e.g., Vasistha and Baudhayana) has claimed the Aryavarta to be extending from the 'boundary-river' up to the *Kālaka-Vana*.

HARDWAR AND ITS GURUKULA

UP to the present year two places in India have held my imagination with a power and intensity that it would be difficult to explain in words. The one is the river-front at Benares, with the pilgrims bathing in the Ganges and the ghats and temples rising upon its banks. The other is the view at sunset from Humayun's tomb, near Delhi,—the

old ruined forts and walls and monuments which go back to the days of Indraprastha and recall the glory and the greatness of the past.

Doubtless the study of history made these places memorable to me even before actually saw them. But this, by itself would not account for their peculiar effect upon me. I did not, for instance



The River Ganges at Benares.

get the same impression when I witnessed for the first time the more imposing views of the Kutab and Tuglakhabad. Nor again was the same feeling present when I first beheld the meeting of the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna at old Prayag. That is a scene of amazing beauty and age-long historic reminiscence, but it did not bring me, as it were, into the very heart of things, and reveal to me India herself in all her mysterious attractive powers. Benares, on the other hand, and that one scene outside the walls of Delhi, had exactly that revealing effect upon me. There was an atmosphere about them which seemed to take me back, without an effort on my part, into the heart of India of the past. The spirit of ancient India was, for me, brooding over these places in a manner that could be felt and almost touched, —

'A Presence which is not to be put by.'

All that I had myself to do was to enter into that presence in order to come in contact with

A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things,

to hear, in Wordsworth's words, —

The still, sad music of humanity
Not harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue.

These verses of the poet meant little to me when I was in England, but they express with remarkable exactness my experience here in India. A new world has opened

out to me which I am gradually learning to explore.

I have only once visited Benares; yet the memory of what I then saw is almost as vivid to-day as when I first visited the place. Humayun's tomb, which is near my Indian home, has been a constant place of pilgrimage. Some times, when I go there, the first feeling is as strong as ever upon me: at other times it is hard to recall; but it is always present in some measure. When it is strongest, it is so

all-absorbing that it has

power to make

Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of the eternal silence.

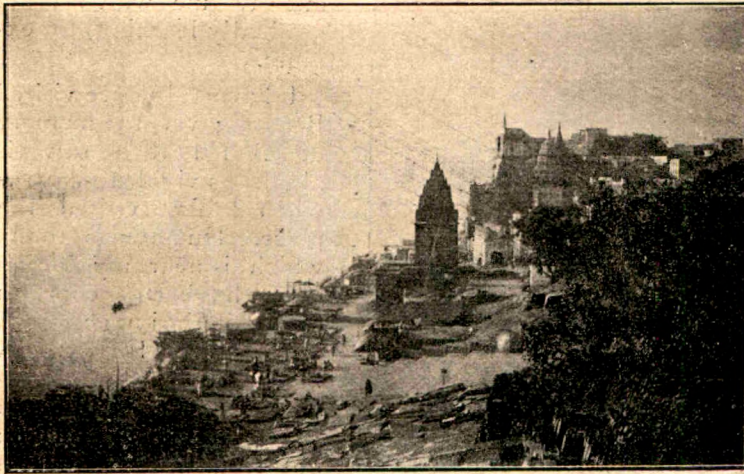
When it is weakest, I have to exert a conscious effort of the imagination, and then slowly

With many recognitions dim and faint,
And somewhat of a sad perplexity,
The picture of the mind revives again.

It is only when I try to analyse its effect that I find myself at fault. The most that I can do is to say that at Humayun's tomb it is the greatness of the past that comes before me; while at Benares it is the sacredness of ancient India that is prominent. But even in saying so much I feel I have given an imperfect and possibly a misleading impression; for it is not merely a religious atmosphere which gives colour at Benares or a regal atmosphere at Delhi. It is something more. It is a spirit that seems to pervade each place and hold communion with the human spirit.

I have been obliged to linger so long on this introduction to my main theme, for otherwise what follows would be difficult to understand. I trust that I shall not appear fanciful in what I am now about to say. It is fact, not fiction that I write, though fact of no ordinary character.

During the last few days a third place, which I have visited, has given me a new vision of India. I am anxious to put the experience down in words, while it is still



The River bank at Benares looking towards Tulsi Das's House.

fresh in my mind. I am afraid it will escape me, but I will make at once the effort to retain it.

I had come by an early morning train to Hardwar to pay a long-promised visit to the Gurukula. The journey through the night from Delhi had been very broken, and I was tired and somewhat restless when I reached the station. The first sight that met my view was dull and depressing. The succession of Dharmshalas with their painted fronts, built with all the ugliness of modern bad taste by wealthy rajahs and marwaris; the sadhus sitting lazily smoking, or lying covered up in blankets and still sleeping; the filth in the streets and the stale atmosphere; the general air of listless stagnation; all this depressed me exceedingly. Perhaps also the restless night which I had passed through and the jolting of the bullock cart, wherein I was seated, added to the depression. I settled myself down to the sense of disappointment and disillusionment.

The bullock-cart jolted on, and we passed at length out of the narrow streets of the town, reaching the river side with its long stretch of boulders, debris and grey sand. The fresher, cleaner air was now reaching us, but at first I was only conscious of the extra jolting of the bullock-cart and a dreary wilderness before me of sand and stone and scrub. My companion, if I remember right, was engaged in questioning me on some abstruse problem. While he talked on, I had been turning my face to-

wards him away from the hills. Indeed I had not yet realised that the hills were there, nor had I caught sight of the Ganges itself. I noticed, as we got out of the atmosphere of the town, that the morning light was growing more and more beautiful, but I had seen nothing yet arresting.

Then, just as we reached the middle of the river bed, I turned my face round to the other side and looked.

Words fail utterly to describe what I then

saw. The waters of the Ganges were revealed before me, with a deep, transparent blueness purer than the pure blue sky above. Beyond were the lower slopes of the Himalayas rising up on either side, above the clear, translucent waters, with a mystical, unearthly beauty. Here and there a white gleaming temple marked the boundary of the river bank in the foreground. Far away, past the lower hills, in the dim and hazy distance, the great mountain ranges went back, leaving vast and shadowy spaces. I saw, in a moment that this scene before my eyes was the ancient path-way of the pilgrims, the threshold of the great ascent. I could almost follow the winding road trodden by countless feet through countless ages, leading up and up to the eternal snows of Kailash and Kedarnath and Badrinath.

The vision of it all came upon me with a sudden flash of insight. Here was the India that I had known and loved—the India of my day dreams and waking reveries of thought—the same India whose spirit had stirred me so profoundly at Benares and at Delhi; the India of the immemorial past venerated in song and art and worship by the souls of men and women who had lived and loved and died in each succeeding age; the India still cherished and revered by all her true children.

But there was this striking difference. The spiritual presence, which I had felt at Benares and at Delhi, had had a strangely sad effect upon me. The words that com-



The front of the Old Fort built on the site of Indraprastha.

nearest to describing it are those haunting lines of Shelley—

Make me thy lyre even as the forest is:
What if my leaves are falling like its own,
The tumult of thy mighty harmonies
Will take from both a deep autumnal tone
Sweet though in sadness.

It was always that 'deep autumnal tone' which I had felt,—'sweet though in sadness.' There had been nothing in Delhi or Benares of the Spring-time. The colour had been that of *Il Penseroso*, not of *L'Allegro*.

But here, on the contrary, was a new spirit, how shall I describe it? Here was the India that I had met, not among the old-world pundits with their beautiful, ascetic faces, but in the throbbing and pulsing of young eager hearts ready to lay down life itself in devotion to the Motherland. I saw before me that Motherland, not worn and sorrowful, beautiful only in decay, but ever fresh and young with the spring-time of immortal youth. The river Ganges sending down its pure blue waters from the snow-clad mountains; the pure keen

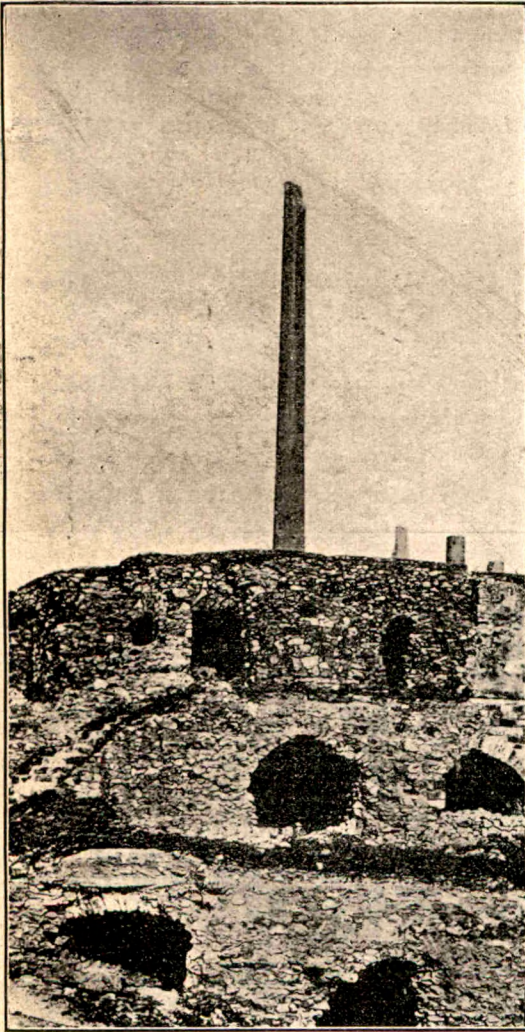
air coming straight from the melting snows; the mountain ranges stretching ever upward and onward to the pure blue sky; these all represented to my kindled imagination the vision of India renewing her youth, radiant with a resurrection glory,—the cerements of her dead past thrown aside like the cold white mists that vanish at the break of dawn.

For many minutes I was under the spell of this absorbing enchantment. It was so vivid to me that it seemed to come actually with a personal note, a spirit in nature holding converse with my own spirit. My companion went on talking, but his voice seemed strangely distant. It was only with difficulty that I could bring myself to attend, so intense was the inner impression produced by the scene I had witnessed.

When I reached the Gurukula itself the vision I had seen on the way was still with me. Then at last, as I saw the brahmachāris in their saffron robes and looked into their bright morning faces (so

utterly different from the dull faces of the sādhus whom I had met earlier on the road), I understood its further significance. The whole experience seemed to fit together and form one single picture. Here in the Gurukula was the New India, the India I had just seen portrayed in nature. Here

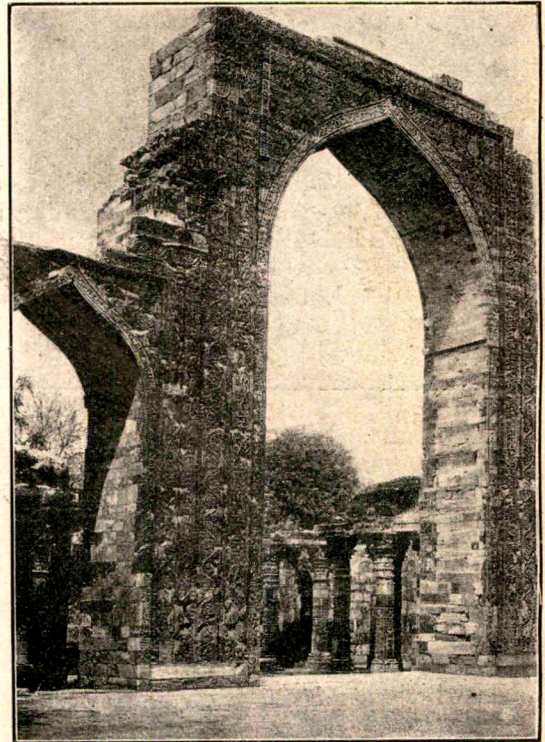
which Sister Nivedita so often wrote about, before she laid down her life in service, namely, why the heart of the Indian people has ever turned towards the distant hills and set the most sacred pilgrim shrines amid their very snows. It was because the streams descending from the snow-clad mountains were a symbol, a living parable, an inspiration, a pathway leading to the divine in nature and in man. They were an eternal witness, in the midst of the stifling heat and sultry



Asokan Pillar on the way to Humayun's Tomb, Delhi.

was the sacred stream of young Indian life nearest its pure unsullied source. Spotless as the snows should it be kept by the vow of chastity which bound it. High ideals too should float above it, luminous as the clouds which touched the distant mountain peaks, tinged with the morning light.

Now, too, I seemed to understand that



The Great Arch of the Qutab Minar.

labour of the plains, that human life could rise above the dust and weariness and heavy languid air, and by its own God-given strength become young again.

And here in this Gurukula the children of the Motherland, in closest touch with nature, were learning the same great lesson. There also, they were taught to love the Sanskrit literature of their country which was written when the world was young. There, too, they were taught to love Hindi, their own mother-tongue, the language of their childhood and to receive through

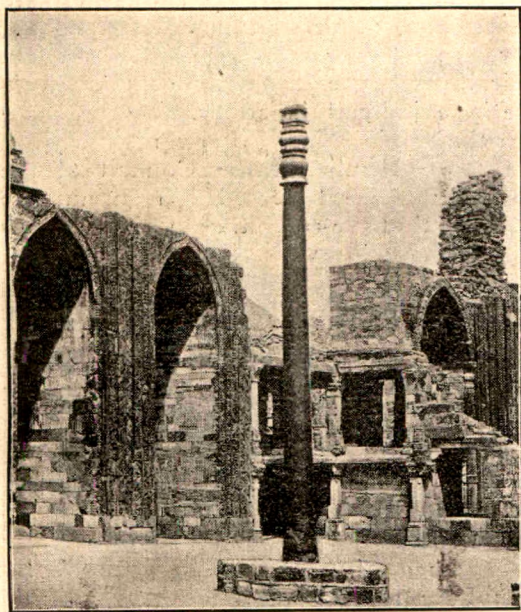
it alone the impulse from the West. If there was to be a Renaissance in India, a true rebirth, it was from sources such as these that it would spring. Here character would be formed in harmony with the genius of the country, not against it.

I came to know and love in the days that followed the founder of the Gurukula, Mahātmaji Munshi Rama. He told me of his ideals and of the difficulties which had been overcome. When he had first reached

heaviest burden of all. But in spite of every obstacle the school and college had been maintained, not by the valueless superfluities of the wealthy, but by the free-will offerings of the poor.

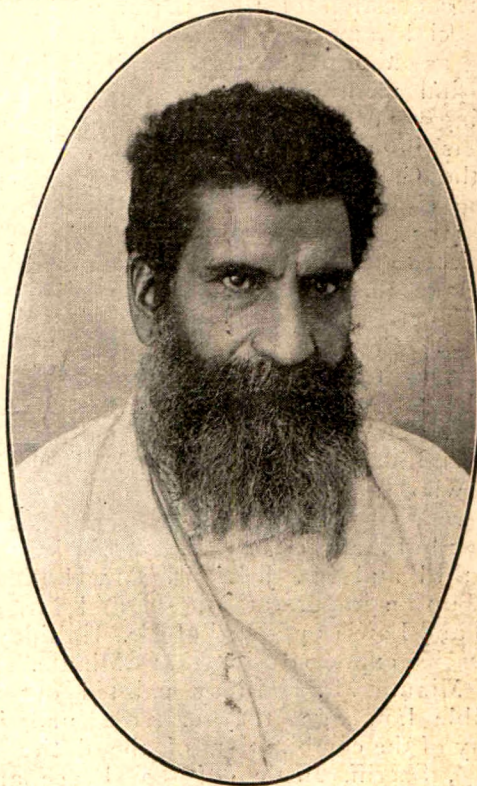
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Stone by stone, line by line, the foundations of New India are being laid. Sometimes the experiment ends badly, and what



Pillar at the Qutab set up by a Vaishnavite king of Delhi about the 5th Century A.D.

the spot, on which the Gurukula now stands, the jungle was so thick and impenetrable, that he had lost his way, and only reached his destination after hours of fruitless search. The wild animals were so numerous, that the labourers, who cleared the jungle, would not stay on the spot at night-time. He was obliged always to be present with his workmen. Little by little the brushwood was removed, the pools drained, the rushes cut down. So the work had gone on, till at length a dry open space was obtained with ample playing fields and room to expand. Later on, the burden of raising funds had to be undertaken,—the



Mahatma Munshi Rama.

appeared to be solid granite is found to be mere rubble. Much useless debris, also, has to be cleared away before the bed-rock on which to build is ultimately reached. But surely and firmly the foundations are being set, line by line, stone by stone. In spite of that which tells of human failure and shortcoming, in spite of the folly, pride and sinfulness of men, we can trace through all the hand of the great Artificer, making all things new.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL FROM EXECUTIVE DUTIES AND THE BETTER TRAINING OF JUDICIAL OFFICERS

THE question of the separation of Judicial from executive duties is almost as old as the British Empire in India. We find mention of the inexpediency of vesting executive officers with judicial powers in the Regulations promulgated by the Governor-General in Council even in the eighteenth century. In Regulation II of 1793 passed in Lord Cornwallis' time it is pointed out in clear and unequivocal language that the combination of these two functions was extremely undesirable. In 1838 a Committee was appointed by the Government of Bengal to draw up a scheme for the more efficient organisation of the Police. The Committee consisted of Mr. F. J. Halliday (afterwards Sir F. J. Halliday who subsequently became Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and Member of the Council of the Secretary of State), Mr. W. W. Bird and Mr. J. Lewis. Mr. Halliday drew up an important Minute and Messrs. Bird and Lewis approved of Mr. Halliday's views as expressed in that Minute. In that Minute Mr. Halliday pointed out in forcible language the extreme undesirability of the combination of the duties of Judge, Sheriff, Justice of the Peace and Constable in the same person. He characterised such combination as absurd as well as mischievous. He pointed out further that a Magistrate ought to have no previous knowledge of a matter with which he had to deal judicially. He said "*The union of Magistrate with Collector has been stigmatised as incompatible, but the junction of thief-catcher with Judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice.*" So long as it lasts, the public confidence in our Criminal Tribunals must always be liable to injury and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and mis-applied and the power of appeal is not a sufficient remedy—the danger to justice, under such circumstances, is not in a few cases, nor in any proportion of cases, but

in every case. In all the Magistrate is constable, prosecutor and Judge."

In 1854 Mr. C. Beadon, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in a letter to the Government of India, also pointed out the desirability of the separation of the executive from judicial functions. In the same year the Hon'ble Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. P. Grant as a Member of the Council of the Governor General recorded a minute to the effect that the combination of the duties of the Superintendent of Police, Public Prosecutor and Criminal Judge was objectionable in principle and the Government ought to "dissever as soon as possible the functions of Criminal Judge from those of thief-catcher and Public Prosecutor, now combined in the office of the Magistrate."

In September 1856, a despatch of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (No. 41 Judicial Department) reiterated the same view and stated that the management of the police of each district should be taken out of the hands of the Magistrate.

In 1857 the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant again recorded a minute upon the "Union of the functions of Superintendent of Police with those of a Criminal Judge" and that eminent Judge and erudite lawyer Sir Barnes Peacock (then Mr. Peacock) agreed with the views of Mr. Grant. In that minute Mr. Grant observed: "In which way is crime more certainly discovered, proved and punished, and innocence more certainly protected—when two men are occupied each as thief-catcher, prosecutor, and judge, or when one of them is occupied as thief-catcher and prosecutor and the other as judge? I have no doubt that if there is any real difference between India and Europe in relation to this question, the difference is all in favour of relieving the Judge in India from all connection with the detective officer and prosecutor. *The judicial ermine is, in my judgment, out of*

place in the bye-ways of the detective policeman in any country, and those bye-ways in India are unusually dirty. If the combination theory were acted upon in reality—if an officer, after bribing spies, endeavouring to corrupt accomplices, laying himself out to hear what every tell-tale has to say, and putting his wit to the utmost stretch, for weeks perhaps, in order to beat his adversary in the game of detection, were then to sit down gravely as a judge, and were to profess to try dispassionately upon the evidence given in Court the question of whether he or his adversary had won the game, I am well convinced that one or two cases of this sort would excite as much indignation as would save me the necessity of all arguments a priori against the combination theory.” Those are not the words of an irresponsible critic but of a responsible English official who had worked his way up to a very high rung of the official ladder and who was presumably familiar with the system he was criticising. His official position as well as the occasion of the Minute must have led him to weigh every word that he wrote and yet no condemnation of the system he was criticising could be stronger than his. Mr. Grant thought that one or two cases of this sort would excite such indignation, as would save him the necessity of all arguments a priori against the combination theory. In this perhaps he was too optimistic. Perhaps the age in which he lived and the official ethics of those days lent itself to such optimism. But, alas! to the misfortune of the Indians and to the fair name of British Justice (to uphold which all loyal and thoughtful citizens of the Indian Empire, Indian or European, Official or Non-official—are or, at any rate, ought to be—so anxious) such instances have occurred not once or twice but so repeatedly that the public has now almost ceased to take an interest in such cases. Time there was when each fresh case of this nature caused a wild outburst of public indignation, but there have been so many of these cases that the public has grown callous and perhaps has come to look upon such cases as an ordinary incidence of existence in India. Is such a state of things conducive to the best interests of the British Empire in India? Perhaps the officials of the present day who have presumably grown wiser than those statesmen and far-sighted administrators who

built the empire would condescend to answer the questions.

To resume the thread of our historical examination of the question, we find that in 1860 a Commission was appointed to enquire into the organisation of the Police. Mr. M. M. Count, C. S., N. W. P., Mr. S. Wauchope, C. B., C. S., Bengal, Mr. W. Robinson, C. S., Inspector-General of Police, Madras, Mr. (afterwards Sir) R. Temple, C. S., Punjab, Lt. Col. Bruce, C. B., Bombay Army, Chief of Police, Oudh, and Lt. Col. Phayre, Commissioner of Pegu, were the Members of the Commission. The members represented all the Provinces of India and, in the words of Sir Bartle Frere, were “all men of ripe experience, especially in matters connected with the Police.” In their report the Police Commission stated that “as a rule there should be complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities and the official who may be in any way connected with the prosecution of any offence or the collection of evidence should never sit in judgment—not even with a view to committal for trial before a higher tribunal.” The report however went on to add that as a matter of practical and temporary convenience in view of the constitution of the official agency then existing in India an exception should be made in the case of the District Officer, but they were careful to point out that such combination was open to the same objection on the question of principle but that the principle should be temporarily sacrificed to expediency. They looked forward to the time when improvements in organisation would in actual practice determine this combination even in the District Officer, for the present however the exigencies of the situation merely enabled them to “make this departure from principle less objectionable in practice” by making the exercise of the respective functions “departmentally distinct and subordinate to its own officers.”

The recommendations of the Police Commission were adopted by the Government of India and when Sir Bartle Frere introduced in the Legislative Council in the year 1860 the bill which ultimately became Act V of 1861, some very interesting discussions took place. The discussions show that the Government of India regarded the exceptional union of Judicial with Police func-

tions in the District Officer as a temporary compromise. Sir Barnes Peacock from his place as the Vice-President of the Council, stated that he had always been of opinion that "a full and complete separation ought to be made between the two functions." The Hon'ble Mr. A. Sconce described the bill as a "half-and-half measure" and the Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere assured the Hon'ble Mr. Sconce that nobody was more inclined than he was to make it a whole measure if only the executive governments could be induced to support a measure that would effect a still more complete severance of the police and judicial functions than what the bill contemplated.

As regards the cognate question of the training of Judicial Officers, the High Court in various administration reports of the sixties (notably in those of 1864, 1866, 1867 and 1869) expressed its dissatisfaction with the existing system and various District Officers, Divisional Commissioners and other high officials admitted in official correspondence that the present system of training of Judicial Officers was certainly defective and reform was urgently necessary (see letter from Mr. E. C. Craster, C. S., District Magistrate of Monghyr to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division, No. 600, dated Monghyr the 4th December 1866; letter from Mr. J. W. Dalrymple, C. S., Commissioner of the Patna Division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, No. 7, dated Patna the 9th January 1867; letter from Mr. R. P. Jenkins C. S., Offg. Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division to the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 17, dated Bhagalpur the 16th January 1867; letter from Mr. C. F. Montresson, C. S., Commissioner of the Burdwan Division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, No. 16, dated Burdwan, the 19th January 1867; letter from Mr. R. B. Chapman, C. S., Offg. Commissioner of the Presidency Division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department No. 16 Ct. dated Krishnagar the 14th February 1867, and the note of Mr. H. L. Dampier, C. S., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 27th August 1867). In this last-mentioned note Mr. Dampier observed as follows:—"I am convinced that the only true and lasting

solution of the difficulty is a complete separation of judicial and executive duties." This question constantly came up for consideration by the Government and various high officials and the generally accepted opinion was that the existing system should be changed. Limitations of space preclude me from discussing this question in any greater detail, but I beg to refer to the following official papers and documents an examination of which will convince one that the generally accepted official opinion was in favour of a change of the existing system [Despatch from the Secretary of State No. 11 of the 10th January 1868 with enclosures; letter of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated 1st December 1869; letter from Mr. F. R. Cockerell, C. S., to the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal dated Simla the 25th July 1868); letter from Mr. (afterwards Sir) and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) Rivers Thompson, C. S., Officiating Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 1335 dated Fort William the 25th July 1868; note by Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. S. Maine, Law Member to the Government of India, dated the 12th March 1868; and a note by Sir William Markby, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, dated the 2nd November 1868].

After all this strongly expressed official opinion, one would have expected that the "temporary compromise" and "half-and-half measure" of Sir Bartle Frere introduced in 1860 would soon be remedied. India however is a land of surprises and it is no unusual thing for us in India to find that instead of advancing with the advance of times the hand of progress is often set back specially when some important question is taken up by a high official with reactionary ideas. The "word of hope which was spoken to the ear" by such eminent officials as Mr. J. P. Grant, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Henry Sumner Maine, and last but not least Sir William Markby was destined "to be broken to the heart" by that reactionary of reactionaries Sir FitzJames Stephen—to whom India owes so much of her reactionary legislation and reactionary methods

of administration. Unfortunately for India at the psychological moment when the hope expressed by Sir Bartle Frere was about to be fulfilled, at any rate could easily have been fulfilled, I mean when the Criminal Procedure Code was being amended in the year 1822, Sir FitzJames Stephen was reigning over the legislative destinies of India, and in a minute (printed as No. XXXI of the selections from the records of the Government of India, Home Department, dated 1872) memorable for the reactionary spirit it breathes, for the half truths on which it is based, for the commonplaces about the "personal rule", "prestige" and "dignity" so dear to the heart of all bureaucrats, Sir FitzJames Stephen rudely dashed the hopes raised by the weighty and wise words of so many distinguished officials who had preceded him and embodied a system of judicial administration which is unique in the history of the world and which, in the words of a distinguished official already quoted, enabled "the thief-catcher and the prosecutor" to be "the Judge" in a cause in which he was really in the position of the prosecuting officer, and which enabled such officer "after bribing spies, endeavouring to corrupt accomplices, laying himself out to hear what every tell-tale has to say, putting his wit to the utmost stretch, for weeks perhaps, in order to beat his adversary in the game of detection," and then to sit in the solemn farce of judging gravely and dispassionately the cause in which he has taken so much interest as the real prosecutor. Nobody questions the ability of Sir FitzJames Stephen as a lawyer and a jurist and if the reasons assigned by him for perpetuating this cruel wrong were the reasons of a lawyer or of a jurist one could have understood the position. But the reasons assigned by him were that "under the circumstances of British India" the system must continue, that the "maintenance of the position of the District officers is essential to the maintenance of British Rule in India, and that any diminution in their influence and authority over the natives would be dearly purchased even by an improvement in the administration of justice". Surely these were matters in which the opinion of Mr. J. P. Grant, Sir Bartle Frere, the distin-

guished Officials who composed the Police Commission of 1860, or the Police Committee of 1838, or Lord Cornwallis, who was responsible for the regulation of 1793, were entitled to far greater weight than that of Sir FitzJames Stephen, however eminent he may be as a lawyer and as a jurist. Most of these officials had spent their life-time in India at a time when it was usual for Indian Officials to speak the language of the country like the Indians themselves, had worked and moved amongst the Indian people, knew the thoughts, prejudices, proclivities, ideas and aspiration of the Indian people and above all belonged to a period of Indian history when the Officials of the East India Company built for England her Indian Empire, brought peace, concord and harmony out of the chaos, rapine, and misrule that followed upon the disruption of the Moghul and the Mahratta rule in India. Surely in a matter as to what was best for "the maintenance of the British rule in India," or what "were the circumstances of British India", the opinion of these veterans, these empire-builders, must unhesitatingly be accepted before the opinion of a gentleman who spent five comfortable years in Calcutta or at Simla, who did not perhaps know the alphabet of any Indian language, who had perhaps never spoken to a single ryot in his own village, who had perhaps never seen a single Indian in his own home, who had come out to India to fill a comfortable office for a comparatively short period of five years after all the stress and strain of the empire-building was over, and whose sole right to arrogate to himself the authority to speak on matters such as these was derived from an arm-chair study of thrice distilled dockets of reports of officials who in their turn were certainly far less competent to speak about real India than their distinguished predecessors and who came to serve in India at a time when it was the exception rather than the rule to know the Indian language intimately, when thanks to the convenient rules of leave and furlough and the annihilation of distance by the opening of the Suez Canal and of the Steamship Companies it was the exception rather than the rule to know Indians intimately, or to visit Indians in their own homes, and who came out to rule India at a time when they

could afford to talk glibly of "prestige," "diminution of influence and authority over natives instead of turning their thoughts (unlike those distinguished predecessors of theirs) as to how to win the hearts of the people by making British justice more broad-based or as to how to make British rule more loved and respected rather than feared by bringing contentment, good will and amity to the teeming millions of British subjects in India.

The Criminal Procedure Code of 1872 embodied Sir Fitz James Stephen's re-actionary methods of administration and continued the serious blot in Indian administration of combining the judicial with executive functions in the same officer. A system so defective as this was bound to create serious dissatisfaction and result in miscarriage of justice in many cases. The late Mr. Manomohan Ghose brought out two excellent pamphlets, in one of which (published in 1896) he collected 20 typical cases from 1876 to 1894 which forcibly demonstrate the evils of the present system. The late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt published in the year 1893 an excellent Scheme of separation of the judicial from executive duties and it was mainly through the exertions of those two distinguished Indians that the question was kept before the public both in England and in India. It was also through the exertions of these two gentlemen that opinions of several distinguished retired Indian Chief Justices and High Court Judges were collected and published. Statements favourable to the scheme of separation from Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir William Markby and Sir Raymond West were published in the columns of "India" in the years 1895 and 1896. Ultimately a memorial was submitted to the Secretary of State by a number of distinguished Anglo-Indian Judges and administrators in the year 1899. The memorial was subscribed by Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sargent, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Ronald Wilson and Mr. H. J. Reynolds. Questions were often asked in Parliament as also in the Legislative Council in India. Vague and indefinite promises of reform were often

held out but nothing definite was done. In the year 1908, however, Sir Harvey Adamson, the then Home Member, in his budget speech delivered on the 27th March of that year, promised to effect a separation of judicial and executive duties in Bengal and in Eastern Bengal and formulated a scheme for the purpose, but even that scheme has not been carried into effect. The scheme formulated by Sir Harvey Adamson is defective in many respects and will hardly form an effective remedy of the defects of the existing system. It is useful, however, as an admission by a high and responsible executive official that separation is needed. Sir Harvey Adamson in the course of his speech observed as follows:—"I fully believe that Subordinate Magistrates very rarely do an injustice wittingly. But the inevitable result of the present system is that criminal trials, affecting the general peace of the district, are not always conducted in that atmosphere of cool impartiality which should pervade a Court of Justice. Nor does this completely define the evil, which lies not so much in what is done, as in what may be suspected to be done: for it is not enough that the administration of justice should be pure; it can never be the bedrock of our rule unless it is also above suspicion."

Two objections are mainly urged by the officials against the separation of executive from judicial functions.

1. That the separation of the executive from judicial functions will involve considerable additional expense.

2. That the District Magistrate cannot be deprived of his judicial powers without loss of prestige and influence over the people.

As regards objection No. 1 it is submitted that according to the scheme detailed below no additional cost will be incurred. But even if additional expense were necessary, such expense ought not to be grudged. In the words of Sir Harvey Adamson, "the experiment may be a costly one, but we think that the object is worthy."

As regards objection No. 2 the better opinion is against it. I have already drawn attention to the opinion of distinguished Indian Officials, Judges and Chief Justices who are in favour of the separation and it is hardly necessary to dilate on the point in

any greater detail. I may be permitted however to quote the following passage from the speech of Sir Harvey Adamson:—

I fully believe that subordinate Magistrates very rarely do an injustice wittingly. But the inevitable result of the present system is that criminal trials, affecting the general peace of the district, are not always conducted in the atmosphere of cool impartiality which should pervade a Court of Justice. Nor does this completely define the evil, which lies not so much in what is done as in what may be suspected to be done; for it is not enough that the administration of justice should be pure; it can never be the bedrock of our rule unless it is also above suspicion."

"Those who are opposed to a separation of functions are greatly influenced by the belief that the change would materially weaken the power and position of the District Magistrate and would thus impair the authority of the Government of which he is the chief local representative. The objection that stands out in strongest relief is that prestige will be lowered and authority weakened if the officer who has control of the police and who is responsible for the peace of the district is deprived of control over the Magistracy who try police cases. Let me examine this objection with reference to the varying stages of the progress of a community. Under certain circumstances it is undoubtedly necessary that the executive authorities should themselves be the judicial authorities. The most extreme case is the imposition of martial law in a country that is in open rebellion. Proceeding up the scale we come to conditions which I may illustrate by the experience of Upper Burma for some years after the annexation. Order had not yet been completely restored and violent crime was prevalent. Military law had gone and its place had been taken by civil law of an elementary kind. District Magistrates had large powers extending to life and death. The High Court was presided over by the Commissioner, an executive officer. The criminal law was relaxed, and evidence was admitted which under the strict rules of interpretation of a more advanced system would be excluded. All this was rendered absolutely necessary by the conditions of the country. Order would never have been restored if the niceties of law as expounded by lawyers had been listened to, or if the police had not gone hand in hand with the judiciary. Proceeding further up the scale we come to the stage of a simple people, generally peaceful, but having in their character elements capable of reproducing disorder, who have been accustomed to see all the functions of Government united in one head, and who neither know nor desire any other form of administration. The law has become intricate and advanced, and it is applied by the Courts with all the strictness that is necessary in order to guard the liberties of the people. Examples would be easy to find in India of the present day. So far I have covered the stages in which a combination of magisterial and police duties is either necessary or is at least not inexpedient. In these stages the prestige and authority of the Executive are strengthened by a combination of functions. I now come to the case of a people among whom very different ideas prevail. The educated have become imbued with Western ideals. Legal knowledge has vastly increased. The lawyers are of the people, and they have derived their inspiration from Western law. Anything short of the

most impartial judicial administration is contrary to the principles which they have learned. I must say that I have much sympathy with Indian lawyers who devote their energies to making the administration of Indian law as good theoretically and practically as the administration of English law. Well, what happens when a province has reached this stage and still retains a combination of magisterial and police functions? The inevitable result is that the people are inspired with a distrust of the impartiality of the judiciary. You need not tell me that the feeling is confined to a few educated men and lawyers and is not shared by the common people. I grant that if the people of such a province were asked one by one whether they objected to a combination of functions, ninety per cent of them would be surprised at the question and would reply that they had nothing to complain of. But so soon as any one of these people comes into contact with the law his opinions are merged in his lawyer's. If his case be other than purely private and ordinary, if for instance he fears that the police have a spite against him or that the District Magistrate as guardian of the peace of the district has an interest adverse to him, he is immediately imbued by his surroundings with the idea that he cannot expect perfect and impartial justice from the Magistrate. It thus follows that in such a province the combination of functions must inspire a distrust of the Magistracy in all who have business with the Courts. Can it be said that under such circumstances the combination tends to enhancement of the prestige and authority of the Executive? Can any Government be strong whose administration of justice is not entirely above suspicion? The answer must be in the negative. The combination of functions in such a condition of society is a direct weakening of the prestige of the Executive."

After this latest pronouncement of high official opinion the objection hardly deserves any further consideration.

I shall now proceed to place before the reader a scheme which I submit will effectually do away with all the defects of the existing system. The scheme will not entail any additional expense and will also secure proper training for Judicial Officers.

I propose a complete separation of judicial from executive duties. I further propose that all officers who exercise any judicial powers, whether civil or criminal, should be subordinate to the District Judge and not to the District Officer as at present. I also propose that the District Officer who at present discharges the duties of a District Magistrate and of a District Collector should be relieved of his magisterial duties. Such officer after being relieved of such duties may well be known by the name of "District Officer." Even when relieved of his magisterial duties he will have his hands quite full. It is well-known that very little judicial work is usually done by

the District Magistrate. He will still have to look after the following amongst other branches of administration, namely, Land revenue, Excise, Jails, Police, Sanitation, Dispensaries, Education, Municipalities, Khasmahal, and various other matters. It is a matter of constant complaint that District Officers have too much work in their hands. The relief of judicial duties will go to mitigate their complaint and leave them more time to look after the legitimate duties of an executive officer, amongst which the proper supervision of the duties of the police officers of his district ought to form an important item of his work. The judicial work of a district both Civil and Criminal should be under the supervision of the District and Sessions Judge. He should be assisted in very heavy districts by an Additional District and Sessions Judge and one or two officers who should be given powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge as also of a District Magistrate under the Criminal Procedure Code and that of a Civil Judge of the highest grade; in districts where the work is neither very heavy nor very light there need not be any Additional District and Sessions Judge but only one officer with powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge, as also of a District Magistrate under the Criminal Procedure Code and of a Civil Judge of the highest grade, and in very light districts the District and Sessions Judge may be assisted by an officer who will exercise the powers of a District Magistrate under the Criminal Procedure Code and of a Civil Judge of the highest grade. As I proceed to develop the scheme I propose to show in detail the distribution of judicial work for the districts in the Presidency of Bengal, and for the other provinces. Such distribution of work may be easily worked out on the lines indicated in the Bengal Scheme. The District Judges and all Judicial Officers under them should be placed under the High Court, in all matters, namely, pay, promotion, leave, suspension, punishment, etc., and will not have any concern with the District Officer or Divisional Commissioner or the Local Government. As a part of this scheme the Judicial Department of the Local Government may well be placed under the High Courts. This arrangement will also mean some further saving of expenses, for at

present the High Courts have an expensive staff under its English Department and the local governments have a more expensive staff for its judicial department. These two departments after amalgamation can surely be run with lesser expense and possibly with lesser friction. I propose that the Judicial Service in India should be divided into two branches, one an Imperial Judicial Service for the whole of India and the other a Provincial Judicial Service for each Province. The Imperial Judicial Service may well be recruited and trained in the manner following.

I propose that 60 p. c. of the vacancies of this service should be filled up by a competitive examination held in London and 40 p. c. should be recruited locally. Any person (British or Indian) who holds a degree of Bachelor in Law of a British or Indian University or a Barrister-at-law, who holds a degree of Bachelor in Arts of any English or Indian University, will be eligible for this examination. Candidate's should be between 25 to 30 years of age. No candidate should be allowed to appear more than twice in the said examination. The examination should be held to test fitness of the candidates in the following subjects:— (1) Different branches of English Law with special reference to the candidate's grasp of general principles, (2) Some important Indian Statutes such as the Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Civil Procedure Code, the Indian Contract Act, the Transfer of Property Act, the Succession Act, the Limitation Act and other important Statutes relating to the whole of British India, (3) Constitutional Law, English and Indian, (4) Hindu and Mahomedan Law, (5) Elements of Roman Law. After passing this examination successful candidates will be appointed members of the Indian Judicial Service and will forthwith come out to India. After coming out to India they should be posted to one of the three Presidency towns of India (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay) for a period of two years during which time they will have to qualify themselves for the discharge of their future duties. While residing in the Presidency towns they should attend the High Court (Original Side and Sessions Appellate side) and some other Courts near the Presidency towns, namely, Courts of Sessions Judges,

District Judges, Subordinate Judges and Presidency and Provincial Small Cause Courts. They will have to take notes of cases and keep a diary of their attendance in these various courts and submit the same to some selected senior Judicial Officer once a month. During this period they will have to pass a departmental examination in (1) the vernacular of the Province where they will serve and will have to shew a fair working knowledge of the language as written and spoken, a fair ability to read petitions and documents filed in records of cases, (2) an examination in the land tenure and statutes relating to the province where the Officer will be placed, (3) an examination showing that the Officer has a fair knowledge of Indian Case Law, and (4) an elementary knowledge of practical surveying and mensuration, as also some familiarity with the system of survey and settlement work of the province in which he will be placed.

So long as an Officer does not pass this departmental examination he will not be promoted to the next higher grade. During these two years the Officer will draw a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem. His real position will be that of a probationer but as he will have to leave England and come out to India I have proposed that his service will commence from the date he reaches India.

After spending these two years purely for the purpose of qualifying himself for his future work the Officer will be entrusted with judicial work, Civil and Criminal. The nature of such work and the grades of his service are noted below :—

(1) He will serve on a salary of Rs. 750 for a period of say, 2 years. During this period the Officer will exercise the powers of a Munsiff as a Civil Judge and the powers of a Magistrate of the 3rd and the 2nd Class and will try both Civil and Criminal cases.

(2) Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1250 for a period of say 5 or 6 years. During this period the Officer will at first exercise the powers of a Subordinate Judge, as a Civil Judge and of a Magistrate of the 1st Class. After he has gained some experience he may be gradually entrusted with powers of a District Magistrate and of an Assistant Sessions

Judge as also with Appellate work, Civil and Criminal.

(3) Rs. 1,500, say, for a period of three years. During this period the Officer will be given the full powers of a District and Sessions Judge.

(4) Rs. 2,000 for such period as he may have to serve in this grade.

(5) Rs. 2,500 for such period as he may have to serve in this grade.

(6) Rs. 3,000 for such period as he may have to serve in this grade.

(7) High Court Judge.

I propose that at least 40 p. c. of High Court Judgships should be reserved for the members of this service. Regard being had to the recent alteration of the statute and also regard being had to the fact that many of the members of this service will be Barristers or Vakils there will not be any statutory difficulty in allowing 40 p. c. of the High Court Judgships to the members of this service. I further propose that two of the higher Small Cause Court Judgships and two of the higher Presidency Magistrateships should also be reserved for the members of this service. Pension and leave rules for the members of this service should be liberal.

As regards the remaining 40 p. c. I propose that 20 p. c. should be recruited from Barristers and Vakils of approved merit and the remaining 20 p. c. by promotion from First Class Munsiffs of approved merit. The officers so recruited will at once start with a salary of Rs. 750.

As regards the Provincial Judicial Service I propose that Munsiffs and Subordinate Judges should also exercise the powers now exercised by the Deputy Magistrates. I also propose that some selected senior Subordinate Judges should also be given the powers of Assistant Sessions Judges and of District Magistrates. These officers will be specially useful in light districts. I would give an additional grade of Rs. 1,200 to Subordinate Judges and increase the strength in the grade of Rs. 500 to the Munsiffs. I would throw open all the Small Cause Court Judgships (excepting the two reserved for the Indian Judicial Service) and all the Presidency Magistrateships (excepting the two reserved for the Indian Judicial Service) to the members of this service.

This scheme is likely to be financially sound as will appear from the scales of the proposed salaries. Further, it will not obviously necessitate the appointment of any additional officers. The strength of the Provincial Judicial Service will have to be increased but that increase will mean a reduction of the strength of the provincial executive service.

The additional appointments in the Indian Judicial Service will not mean any financial burden as the total strength of the Indian Civil Service will be reduced. In the scheme suggested by the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, the only weak point was the arrangement for the trial of Criminal cases in the subdivisions. According to the present scheme there will be no difficulty on that head as there are Munsiffs in all subdivisions as also in Chowkis which are not Subdivisions.

At the present moment there are 27 Districts in the Presidency of Bengal. There are three District and Sessions Judges on a salary of Rs. 3,000, 13 District and Sessions Judges on a salary of Rs. 2,500 and 15 District and Sessions Judges on a salary of Rs. 2,000, altogether 31 District Judges. There are 17 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors on a salary of Rs. 900. After separation 7 or 8 of these appointments may be taken away for the benefit of the Judicial service. There are 17 second grade Joint Magistrates on a salary of Rs. 700. After separation 7 or 8 of these appointments may be taken away for the benefit of the Judicial Service. In the provincial Executive Service there is at the present moment the following cadre for the Presidency of Bengal:—

Grade.	Salary.	Number.
First Grade ...	Salary Rs. 800	5 Members
2nd Grade ...	" " 700	7 "
3rd Grade ...	" " 600	16 "
4th Grade ...	" " 500	48 "
5th Grade ...	" " 400	71 "
6th Grade ...	" " 300	73 "
7th Grade ...	" " 250	79 "
Total ...		299

I propose that 40 p. c. of the strength of this Service should be transferred to the Provincial Judicial Service, or, in other words, roughly speaking 119 officers should

be transferred to the Provincial Judicial Service.

The present strength of the Provincial Judicial Service is as follows:—

<i>Subordinate Judges</i>			
1st Grade ...	Salary Rs. 1000	...	6
2nd Grade ...	" " 800	...	7
3rd Grade ...	" " 600	...	14
<i>Munsiffs</i>			
1st Grade ...	Salary Rs. 500	...	12
2nd Grade ...	" " 400	...	40
3rd Grade ...	" " 300	...	50
4th Grade ...	" " 250	...	66
5th Grade ...	" " 200	...	36
Total ...			231

So that after the separation the total strength that will be necessary for the Provincial Judicial Service will be 350 officers. This Service however will be relieved to a certain extent by the officers of the Indian Judicial Service doing the work which is at present done by the members of this Service. Taking into account the work of both branches of the Service I believe the following cadre will meet the requirements of Judicial work in Bengal:—

<i>District and Sessions Judges.</i>			
1st Grade ...	Salary Rs. 3,000	...	3
2nd Grade ...	" " 2,500	...	8
3rd Grade ...	" " 2,000	...	8
4th Grade ...	" " 1,500	...	8
5th Grade ...	" " 1,250	...	8
(Assistant Sessions Judges who will also exercise the powers of a District Magistrate and of a Civil Judge of the highest grade)			
6th Grade. (1st Class Magistrate and Civil Judge of the highest grade)		...	8
7th Grade. (2nd and 3rd Class Magistrate with powers of a Munsiff)		...	7
Total ...			50

Besides those fifty there will be five more posts—four for the higher Small Cause Court Judgeships and the higher Presidency Magistrate-ships and one for the Judicial Secretaryship to the High Court. So that the total strength of this Service will be 55 Officers.

The Provincial Judicial Service may well consist of the following cadre:—

1st Grade ...	Rs. 1,200	...
(Duties of a first grade Civil Judge, Assistant Sessions Judge and of a District Magistrate)		
		4

2nd Grade ...	Rs. 1,000 ...	
(Duties of a first grade Civil Judge and of a District Magistrate)...		8
3rd Grade ...	800 ...	
(Duties of a Civil Judge and first class Magistrate ...)		8
4th Grade ...	Rs. 600 ...	
(Duties ditto) ...		20
Munsiffs first grade and Deputy Magistrate ...	Rs. 500 ...	30
Munsiffs and Deputy Magistrates on a lower pay on various grades		280
	Total ...	350

(Duties ditto, except in the lowest grade when 2nd and 3rd class powers of a magistrate should be given).

It will be clear from a detailed calculation that the expenses will be about the same. But even if it means more expense the reform ought to be effected. I may be permitted to repeat in the words of Sir Harvey Adamson "the experiment may be a costly one but we think that the object is worthy." Then again I may point out that there can be no doubt that the expenses of the present Scheme will certainly be much less than that of Sir Harvey Adamson. In this connection I may also note the fact that it is admitted on all hands that the Judicial Officers of the Indian Civil Service are urgently in need of a better legal training. This fact has been admitted for during the last fifty years or so (vide the official papers referred to in an earlier part of this note.) Very recently Sir Robert Felton in a newspaper article has admitted this fact. Sir Herbert Carnduff in his evidence before the Royal Commission has also admitted this fact. The improvement

in the training of Judicial Officers suggested by Sir Herbert Carnduff will certainly be much more expensive and much less effective. According to Sir Herbert Carnduff's suggestion an Officer before taking up the duties of a District Judge should have a few years (I presume it must be 3 years) training in England to qualify himself as a Barrister and should work in the Chambers of some Barrister in England. At this period of his service the Officer's salary will be something between Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 1,500. To pay this salary, at any rate a good portion of it, for a period of 3 years and then to pay the Call-fee and the Chamber-fee will come up to an enormous sum. The training too will be less effective because the Officer will not qualify himself in Indian Law, Indian procedure and Indian languages. I venture to think that upon a proper consideration of the History of the question, the opinion of the high authorities who have expressed themselves in favour of this Scheme, the cogent reasons which exist to meet the objections that have been raised, the undoubted improvement in the training and tone of the Judiciary, as also for the other important reasons given in this note, this much deferred and much needed reform should at once be given effect to and the Scheme set forth in this note should be accepted. There can be no doubt that the acceptance of the Scheme will make British Justice more loved, honoured and respected, will promote good-will between the different sections of His Majesty's subjects in India and will secure to India equal justice for all classes of the people.

PROVASH CHANDRA MITTER.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Smiling Benares, with 91 illustrations and a map, published by K. S. Muthiah & Co., Benares City, 1911, Pp.X+164, Rs. 5.

This sumptuously printed and richly illustrated volume we owe to the enterprise of Messrs. Muthiah & Co., silk-merchants of Benares. Tourists should be particularly grateful for the large size map of the city

and its environs, which will be of great service to them. In addition to describing the ghats, temples, and other edifices of Benares with a wealth of detail and very fine illustrations, the book gives a long history of Kasi "from the Vedic days to the modern times," covering 66 pages. The compiler is indebted to Havell, Sherring, R. C. Dutt, Neville's *Gazetteer of Benares District*, the *History of the Province of Benares*, Curwen's translation of the *Balwanāmah*, and other

well-known sources. What strikes us as of special value is the full history of the Rajahs of Benares, based on the last two works and also, presumably, on the Ramnagar archives. The materials thus placed before students of Indian history throw a new light altogether on the question of Chait Singh's status and enable us to correct the impression produced by the writings of Warren Hastings and his apologists about that "Zamindar of Benares."

Mansa Ram, the founder of the house, acted as deputy, and *de facto* governor of Benares under Mir Rustam Ali, the sublessee of the Wazir of Oudh, who held the province, at least in theory, as the Emperor's *subahdar*. But Mansa Ram contrived to get from Muhammad Shah an Imperial order conferring on him the sovereignty of Jaunpur, Chunar, Ghazipur, and Benares, with the title of Rajah (1720). This deed has been doubted. But he was certainly succeeded by his son Balwant Singh in 1738 under the *farman* and *sanad* of the Emperor. Naturally there was much plotting and counterplotting by the Rajah's men and those of Rustam Ali, at the courts both of the *faineant* Emperors of Delhi and of the Wazir of Oudh. In this conflict of authorities and the clashing of rival *sanads* granted by the impecunious and inconsistent Emperor, Balwant's ability enabled him to continue in possession as the *de facto* ruler, and he could fairly appeal to the Imperial *sanad* to give legal validity to his position. The real struggle lay between him and the ruler of Oudh, each stirring up the foes of the other and trying to weaken his authority. It was clearly the Wazir's interest to oust Balwant Singh and get a more pliant and *fleeceable* governor installed at Benares. We pass over a long period of intrigue and petty civil broils during which Balwant's power increased. In the wars of the English with Oudh, Balwant, as might have been expected, took the side of the former, who made an alliance with him. By the treaty between the English and the Emperor, Dec. 1764, Benares became a feudatory state under the British. Next year, by Clive's treaty with the Wazir of Oudh, the province was made a dependent state of Oudh, but subject to the payment of a fixed tribute and under the pledge of British protection from the Wazir's exaction and interference. Then followed an ignominious scene in which the Wazir tried to seize Balwant by treachery and extort money from him. The English governor, Mr. Cartier, did not effectually protect the Rajah who was fleeced to the tune of the ten lakhs as a "forced loan."

In 1770 Chait Singh, a natural son of Balwant, succeeded to the lordship of Benares after paying a fee of 17 lakhs to the Wazir and raising his annual tribute by 2½ lakhs. Five years later, a new Wazir Asaf-ud-daula, ceded Benares, Chunar, Ghazipur and Jaunpur to the English, who confirmed Chait Singh in his possession. This Rajah's reign was troubled by family dissensions, which resulted in English intervention and his own humiliation. His agent at Calcutta also courted the favour of the majority in the Council, as the powers that be,—and this offence afterwards cost him dear.

Hastings publicly recorded that his intention was "to exact from his (Chait Singh's) guilt the means of relieving the Company's distress." Wherein lay the Rajah's guilt? He is accused of having intrigued with the enemies of the English. Who were these enemies? A tale reported at third hand finds a place in Forrest's

Selections from State Papers, that Chait Singh and the Wazir of Oudh had once talked together about their unhappiness under British overlordship. So, the Wazir of Oudh, the special favourite of Hastings, the milch-cow of the East India Company, the man to whom Hastings had hired out a British brigade as a friendly power dependent on the English for his very existence, was the dreaded enemy of the British Raj! Could the Wazir's power have lasted a day if the British bayonets had been withdrawn? And we are expected to believe that Chait Singh conspired with such a potentate for the overthrow of English rule in India!

Hastings further admits that Chait Singh had intrigued with the enemies of the Government at Calcutta, by which he means the party of Francis that opposed him in Council. Now, as Clavering had been appointed Governor General *vice* Hastings by order of the Directors, Chait Singh was justified in paying Court to him, so long as that order was not set aside by the same supreme Home authorities. His conduct in this might have indicated unfriendliness to Hastings personally, but not to the British Government.

Hastings's second plea that the annual extra contribution of 5 lakhs demanded from Chait Singh—a contribution which was increased still further in the third year,—was necessary for the defence of British dominions during the war with France is disingenuous. No other "Zamindar" was called upon to pay similar "aids". Are we to conclude from this that Chait Singh was the only rich subject in British India, and that none else profited by English protection to such an extent as to be fairly chargeable with a part of the cost of national defence? The whole history of Hastings's treatment of the Benares Rajah shows that he was determined to ruin Chait Singh. The so-called "rebellion at Benares" of which he tried to make much in his published defence and about which his "kind friend" Impey took affidavits—as if it could *retrospectively* prove Chait Singh's guilt—at the period when the forced aids began,—was the natural outcome of the Governor General's violence and injustice. The impartial student of history must join with Burke in calling it *Mr. Hastings's rebellion*.

Lastly, if Chait Singh had been a man of the least enterprise and spirit, he could have easily destroyed Hastings and the English party at Benares, and such a reverse happening at that critical time would have shaken the infant British power in Northern India to its foundation. Hastings must, therefore, be condemned for administrative incapacity, in having bungled in the Benares affair and led the British Indian empire to the brink of ruin.

The book seems to have been hurried through the press, and misprints are more numerous than should be. The style of the work is usually inelegant and unidiomatic, besides being occasionally ungrammatical. We also object to the Madras system of romanising & by *dh*. The publishers have shown singularly bad taste by printing the portrait of a venal beauty of Benares.

Burning and Melting, (Siz-u- Gudaz) being an English translation by Mirza Y. Dawud, edited by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Pp. 66 with 3 illustrations (Luzacs, 1911), 6s. net.

This is another of the beautiful specimens of the

printer's craft which we owe to Dr. Coomaraswamy. The subject-matter of the poem is the voluntary burning of a Hindu maiden on the funeral pyre of her betrothed lover, in spite of the attempts of the Emperor Akbar to dissuade her from the step. But the work is really meant to be an allegory illustrating the Sufi conception of the longing of the human soul for union with the Universal soul. The author, Muhammad Riza Naui, wrote it at the request of Akbar's son Daniyal, who had been bored by the poetry current in his time and wanted to hear something new (P. 25). There is not much genuine poetry in this Indo-Persian composition; only a few of the images are above the commonplace or conventional. The three illustrations, taken from British Museum MS. Or. 2839, are excellent examples of the strong old Mughal school before the excessive ornamentation, elaboration of detail and weakened power of Shah Jahan's court painters affected Indian art. The face of Akbar (op. p. 47) agrees with that given in his known portraits as preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library.

Dr. Coomaraswamy has added a readable foreword and some useful notes. The cover is characteristic, being flame-coloured taffeta.

J. SARKAR.

I. *Travel Pictures: The record of a European tour.* By Bhawani Singh, Raj Rana Bahadur of Jhalawar. Longmans, Green & Co. 1912. 6s.

This is a closely printed volume of 280 pages with a preface, an index, and a dedication to His Majesty the King and many excellent illustrations reproduced from photographs taken by the author himself. The book is written in a racy, fluent and idiomatic style. As might be expected, there is nothing particularly informing or illuminating in these pages. Owing to the rank of the author he had exceptional opportunities of mixing in high circles and seeing such sights as do not come in the way of ordinary tourists. A perusal of the volume before us gives one a good general idea of the outward characteristics of Western civilisation, its orderliness and method, its utilitarian basis, its innumerable labour-saving appliances devised for all conceivable purposes, its high achievements in the arts and sciences. In his Highness's opinion, Barcelona, Amsterdam and Buda Pesth are among the most beautiful cities of Europe. The Maharana showed Mr. Longfior, the artist, some ivory paintings of Delhi, and he could hardly believe that they were made in India. It is sad to hear that this industry is dying out. It is interesting to learn that handloom weaving is still practised by the descendants of French Huguenots in London, and that the silk fabrics manufactured by them on looms which are 200 years old are still highly valued. His Highness rarely gives us a glimpse of his own mind. We have only been able to cull one or two such passages which are reproduced below:

"There are other altars where I saw a number of women praying on their knees, with hands raised in supplication as the Hindus do. As these Roman Catholic Christians do homage to pictures of the saints, I think they should not condemn the like practices among Hindus" (pp. 213, 14).

"The practice of tipping is prevalent in every country, but I should say that there is less of it in India than elsewhere. In England it is quite as bad as on the continent, for if a man of the people only

answers a civil question he seems to expect something." (P. 52) From what we find here and there in the book we gather that it is indistinguishable from bribing, for a railway officer will attach the 'reserve' label to your car and exempt your goods from customs duty on receiving a tip. Reverting to the same subject, His Highness says in another place (p. 216) "corruption exists all over the world; it is indeed a curse to the human race. Even in well-educated nations, which ought to know better, money is a temptation which few can resist... I had always held a very high opinion of Europeans, but though I still think that there are individuals who might be called saints, and whom no money can corrupt, I now know that altruism is not a monopoly of any one country or nation."

II. *Confessions of a Maharajah: Edited by S. Vedamurti, B.A. The "New Monthly" office, Madras. Annas eight.*

In this book we have an account of the wretched lives led by some of our titled aristocracy—how love of titles ruins them financially and want of good company, absence of a strong public opinion, and domestic intrigues reduce them to moral wrecks, has been graphically described in these pages. Before we can hope for the extinction of the race of Maharajahs of this type, both the national character and the attitude of the ruling power must undergo considerable modification.

III. *The Pedagogy of the Hindus: by Benoy Kumar Sircar, M. A. Calcutta. Chuckerverti Chatterjee & Co., 15, College Square. 1912.*

In this little brochure Professor Sircar has provided us with much wholesome food for thought. The first part is devoted to an exposition of the antagonism in the Western system of education between religion and learning, faith and culture, religious education in the West being mainly a branch of intellectual culture and having little or nothing to do with one's practical life. This rivalry is, in the opinion of the writer, due to the fact that Western life is not dominated and controlled by the spiritual sense. The Western view of man is that he is a pigmy surrounded by mighty natural forces which are the sole reality. The soul, which is supersensuous and transcends all limitations is taken little count of, and life consequently becomes a matter of compromise with our environment. In the Indian system of education, which the author calls the 'cottage' system as opposed to the 'factory' system of Europe where production on a large scale is aimed at, religion is not opposed by reason, and harmony between worldliness and other-worldliness, attachment and renunciation, has been realised. Under that system the arts, industries and commerce of India flourished exceedingly, the graduates trained up under it were competent to found and administer states, and could build up a greater India beyond the seas. The domestic system of education under a *Guru* trained the whole life of the student in methods of self-control and social service. It was therefore a successful system, and in the learned Professor's opinion, is still the one thing needful. Modern civilisation has no doubt developed one or two characteristic products, but India can surely assimilate the scientific methods of the West without denationalising her educational system.

"We will demonstrate that equality is not an apology for hiding real inequalities and self-aggrandisements, and that inequality is not necessarily a hindrance to real equality, love and fellow-feeling. It will be our mission to prove to mankind that it is possible for an individual to give up all worldly cares and anxieties and live a life of contentment and solitude after one of real absorption in the secular interests of the world, that it is possible for man to maintain his faith and reverence even while undertaking scientific investigations, and that it is possible for a man, who has been in the householder's stage a political leader, social dictator or an organiser of economic concerns, to adopt the retired life of a *Muni* in old age and wait for passing away by practising *Yoga*. It is for the propagation of this message that the Hindu is still alive..."

Professor Sircar writes eloquently and thoughtfully and what is more, he has faith in his mission and has devoted his life to the building up of an educational scheme on a strictly national basis. His plea for what he calls 'cottage' education therefore deserves careful consideration.

P.

HINDI:

The Digambar Jain (Vol. VI, No. 1) edited by Babu Mulchand Kishen Das Kapadia of Surat and printed at the Jain Press, Surat. Special Illustrated Number. Royal 8vo. pp. 120. Price—one Rupee.

This is a journal published in six different languages, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Sanskrit, Prakrit and English. Its annual subscription is Rs. 1-12-0 and this includes postage for certain presentation books sent sometimes to the subscribers. The Hindi part is not correct, however the sense is clear, and it reads better than Hindi as spoken by many. The journal is primarily meant to discuss the Jain religion and to be a mouthpiece of the Jain community. This number is adorned by 59 art paper illustrations of distinguished Jainis, who, we must confess, are not a few.

Vudhhdhadevaji Ka Jivancharitra, by Mr. Prakashdev, Punjab Brahma Samaj, Anarkali, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 186. Price—as. 14.

This is a life of the famous founder of the Buddhist religion and is written in an extremely instructive and interesting manner. The writer gives play to historic imagination and though there is hardly any fictitious matter in the whole book, it reads like a novel. The defect of the book lies in certain printing, grammatical and etymological errors.

Kuruvandahan natak, by Pandit Badri Nath Bhatta, B. A., Printed at the Rambhorshan Press, Agra. Demy 8vo. pp. 132. Price—as. 8.

The subject of this drama is the same as that of the *Veinismhara* by the well-known Sanskrit poet Bhatta Narayan. The writer has borrowed from the Sanskrit drama, but has skilfully adapted his own to modern tastes and made it fit to be acted on the modern stage. The language is not unsuited for the book and the author may be said to have succeeded a good deal. But we must say that the playful scenes which intervene the drama are not to be found in an English tragedy, which the writer says he has imitated, though the Hindi writers do not pay much attention to this element in dramatic art. As for instance, the writer

may have the Nildevi of the Bhartendu to support himself. There are printing errors here and there besides those noted in the list of errata and we would not approve of the use of the word निरीग instead of नीरीग (p. 10, l. 16) in a Khariboli poem. There has been a partial lull in dramatic activity in the field of Hindi Literature, as compared with its other branches, and we herald with delight the drama under review which we would like to see acted in amateur theatres.

Bharatamilap, by Mr. Prakash Deva, Punjab Brahma Samaj, Anarkali, Lahore and to be had of him. Printed at the Punjab Economical Press, Lahore, Crown 8vo. pp. 72. 2nd Edition. Price as. 4.

This is a reproduction in simple and splendid Hindi prose of practically the whole of the *Ayodhyakanda* of the *Ramayana*, particularly that which concerns itself with Shree Bharatji. In some places we find in this prose compilation the same spirit and grandeur as we do in the epic of Mahatma Tulsi Das. The writer seems to have felt what he has written and that has in a great measure ensured his success. The descriptions and dialogues are at times very touching. The language is nice.

Shikshavijyan Ki Bhumika, by Prof. Binoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A. and translated into Hindi by Babu Yashodanandan Akhourri. Published by the Hindi Translating Company Office, 96-97, Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 54. Price as. 4.

The writer of this pamphlet who is a distinguished alumnus of the Calcutta University is doing much good work in his own unostentatious manner. A gigantic and ambitious scheme of writing a voluminous book in several parts on the Art of Teaching has been formulated in this book. For aught we know the writer has had no special training in the modern methods of education, however in his introduction he has unknowingly given expression to some of their principles. They have no doubt some special characteristics of their own and we hope if given a trial they will have success. Indeed any method systematically followed cannot but have its success and though only time will solve the question what value to attach to Prof. Sarkar's scheme, we can see that much careful attention has been given to it. The translation has been done in chaste and correct style by one who has considerable mastery over the Hindi Language.

Grihadharma, by Shreemati Sumatiwala. Published by Mr. Prakash Dev, Punjab Brahma Samaj, Anarkali, Lahore and printed at the Bombay Machine Press, Lahore. Crown 8vo. Pp. 155. Second Edition. Price—as. 6.

This is a translation from the Bengali of Shri Shivanath Shastri, the famous Brahma leader, by the talented daughter of Mr. Prakash Deva. There are fifteen chapters in the book each dealing with a different phase of domestic life. The treatment has been excellent and the translation has not marred the spirit of the original. The language is pure but some printing errors are left behind.

Ramayana Shikshamala, by Shrimoti Chandarani Devi, Student, Standard VII, Maharani Burdwan Kanya Mahapatshala, Lahore and published by the Managing Committee of the Pathshala. Distri-

buted gratis to female students. Demy 8vo. Pp. 27 + 1.

This is a collection in simple language of the principal teachings of the Ramayan which as the authoress correctly says is a storehouse of instructions for all grades and types of people. The treatment has been in the form of short essays under different headings.

Ayurved main vuddhi barhane ka upay, by Ayurveda-panchanan Vyas Punamchand Tansukh Vaidya of Vyavar, Rajputana and published by him. Printed by the Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay. Demy 8vo. Pp. 104. Price not mentioned.

In the introduction the writer tries to prove that medicines can bring about a wholesale change for the better in intellect. Then the writer gives certain mantras and medicines, reciting *shlokas* and elucidating them in detail. He claims for the medicines mentioned by him untold efficacy, if given trial, and he says that he has made a selection of the very best. The printing is very nice as is always the case with that of the Nirnayasagar Press.

No. 1 of Hindi-Shabdasagar, published by the Kashi-Nagri Pracharini Sabha and printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad. Demy quarto. Pp. 96. Price—Rupee one, excluding postage.

The Hindi literary community have heard of this Dictionary which bids fair to be the Webster's Dictionary of the Hindi language. It is yet premature to pass any opinion upon it, however by seeing this number we can say that the editors are spending much labour upon it. Roots of words have not been given, but this should better form the feature of a Sanskrit Dictionary. Quotations from Hindi writers are to be found here and there, though sparingly, which is good. Pictorial illustrations should have been added. We see that the Dictionary is being helped forward by funds and also by the assistance given by certain lovers of the Hindi Language and we hope it will be an epoch-making one.

Hindu-Sahitya-Procharak, by Prof. Binoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. Printed at the Keshav Press, Benares. Demy 8vo. Pp. 12. Price—not mentioned.

Herein we find a plea for the better encouragement of the ancient Sanskrit Literature in its various forms on the part of the Indians. The writer rightly deplores the comparative laxity shown in this respect by the Indians, when much is being done in this direction by the Germans, Englishmen, etc.

Swadhinata, Hindi translation of John Stuart Mill's "Independence." By Pandit Mahabir Pd. Dwivedi. Published by the Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Karyalaya, Girgaon, Bombay and printed at the Bombay Vaibhav Press. Crown 8vo. Pp. 56 + 330. Price Rs. 2.

The translator has succeeded a great deal in combating the stiff language of the original and making his own fairly intelligible. The language used has been scrupulously made simple and difficult Sanskrit words avoided. This in a work of this nature must have cost considerable pains. We saw this translation before also, as published by the Hindi Grantha Prasarak Mandli of Nagpur. But there is one peculiarity in this edition. The printing is nice here too and a long biography of Mill has been added. The information given on the subject is more than sufficient

for the needs of the Hindi writers. There is no doubt the edition has been prepared in a masterly manner.

Bhartrihari's Nitivairagyaatmakam Shatakavyam, edited by Babu Balmukunda, B. A. and published by Lala Ram Narain Lal, Bookseller and Publisher, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 408. Price—Rs. 2.

This edition has after every Sloka a commentary in Sanskrit, grammatical notes, and Hindi and English translations. It will prove useful to those examinees who may have got the Nitishataka and the Vairagya Shataka of Bhartrihari as their text-books. The contents are generally correct. Some printing errors are left. A short life of Shree Bhartrihari is subjoined and some model questions are also given.

Sukanya, by Shree Giridhar Sharma, Navaratna-sarasvati Bhavan, Jhalrapatan. Published by Ramchandra Mulchand, Marwari Stores, Indore. Demy 16, mo. pp. 18. Price—one anna. To be had of the writer or the publisher.

This describes in simple and correct poetry the story of Chyavan Rishi and Sukanya, the daughter of Sharyati. It will form a very suitable present to female students in girls' schools.

Maivur Ka Itihas, by Kumar Hanumant Singh Raghuvanshi and Thakur Purna Singh Varma. Printed and published at the Rajput Anglo-Oriental Press, Agra. 2nd Edition. Demy 8 vo. pp. 311. Price Re. 1-4.

As the name indicates, it is the history of Mewar from the earliest times. Colonel Todd's Rajasthan seems to have been for the most part laid under contribution in preparing this history, though on occasions help has been taken from other histories and variations made from Todd where necessary. These are of course very few. The Ranas of Mewar, as also famous Shivaji, being direct descendants from Shree Rama, their accounts must be full of interest and utility. We hope the writer will follow with an account of Shivaji. The language is free from mistakes.

Kindergarten Book No. 1, by Pandit Devi Datta Kanyal Sharma, Teacher, Mahragano, P.O. Bhuwali, Dist., Nainital and printed at the Navalkishore Press, Lucknow. Crown quarto. pp. 21. Price—as. 1½.

Along with this we have also received the Kindergarten Box No. 1 priced Rupee one containing certain coloured pieces by joining which with different combinations, letters of some languages are formed. This book shows the use of the pieces and the formation of the Hindi, English and Persian letters have been illustrated. The writing letters of the English Language cannot be well formed with the pieces though the printing letters can be. Certain Geometrical figures can also be formed with the pieces.

M. S.

URDU.

Tarbinul Ikhlāq, by Mr. Munshi Lal, M.A., Late Asstt. Superintendent, Central Training College, Lahore, published by Mr. Prakash Dev, Punjab Brahma Samaj, Anarkali, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 43. Price—as. 2½.

This is a translation from "Character Building" by a certain English writer. The two main principles which the book enunciates are—(1) Habits are at the

root of character, (2) good habits have for their origin good thoughts. The treatment is simple and persuasive and the translation has been free. The writer is in favour of introspection and insists on some time being set apart for calm and solitary deliberation.

Bachchon Kai liye musid aur nasihat amoz Kahani-an, Part 1, by Mr. Prakash Deva, printed at the Rajpoot Printing Works, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 99. Price—as. 4.

In it there are short and instructive stories such as those that are generally found in readers, most of the tales being actual translations and adaptations from stories in the current English readers. We can commend the method of translation and can safely say that the book will prove a very useful one for moral training. There is also a selection of short poems given at the end in the form of an appendix.

Mahapurshan Ki bani, a translation by Mr. Prakash Dev. Printed at the Nawal Kishore Gas Printing Works, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 69. Price—as. 3.

This is an Urdu translation from the Bengali of Pandit Shiva Nath Shastri, M.A., and consists of a discussion of religious topics. Sayings from the Bible and other sacred books have been introduced and discussed. The writer gives his opinion about Ekdevabad, Bahudevabad, Necessity, Free Will and other philosophical and religious topics. The translation is good and as the writer has often referred to the Hindu religion, there has necessarily been a free use of Sanskrit words. We would have much liked an annotation of such words in the footnote for the use of those who know nothing of Sanskrit.

Gyan and Dharm Ki taraqqi, by Mr. Prakash Deva. Printed at the Nawalkishore Gas Printing Works, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 80. Price—as. 4.

This is a translation of the last teachings of the late lamented Brahmo sage Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore. The original is in Bengali and the translation has been idiomatic. The different discourses are headed under the dates on which they were delivered. It goes without saying that they are imbued with religious fire and a skilful exercise of imagination. The sage speaks of the genesis of the world much in the same way in which it is described in the Bible and coming down to India deals with some of its special features giving his views about spiritual culture and other kindred subjects.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Mudra Rakshas, translated into Gujarati by Kishanlal Harshadrai Dhruba, B.A., Head Master, R. C. High School, Ahmedabad. Printed by the Union Printing Press Company, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound pp. 110. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1912).

A review of the Second Edition of this work was published by us in the July issue of 1908, and we are happy to see that it has now passed into a fresh edition. As usual with all the works of this erudite Gujarati scholar, the introduction is the most valuable part of the contribution made by him: it contains so many original statements—the result of scientific research—that unless one elects to go into them *in extenso*, one fails to appreciate them at their true value. For instance, he has tried in the Introduction to

this edition to fit the time when विशाखदत्त, अश्वनिवर्मा, चाणक्यवाक्यायन, दिङ्नाग, वसुवन्धु, उदयतिक्कर, धर्मकोवि, सुवन्धु, and मुरारी flourished, from materials which would indeed tax the knowledge of any Sankritist to reject. He has further come to the conclusion that the पारसीक and यवन, the शक and the गंधार, the हून and the बाह्लीक, mentioned in the drama, were really one and the same tribe, and not different, i.e., the Parasikas were not different from the Yavanas, nor the Shakas from the Gandharas. He says that the यवनानी dialect mentioned by Panini is really the Iranian dialect prevalent in the sixth or seventh century before Christ. The native country of पर्श्वतक is also determined by him in a convincing way. But the most remarkable result of his researches seems to us to be the definite opinion he pronounces as to Chanakya being the author of the कामसूत्र and न्यायभाष्य. He says, so far back as twelve years ago he had ventured intuitively to opine that both the works came from the pen of Chanakya. Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Jacobi both differed from him, and the former placed Vatsyayan—another name of Chanakya—somewhere after the second century A. D. and the latter felt sceptic as to one and the same person being the author of three such treatises on such widely different topics as अर्थ, काम, and न्याय. Possibly it is not known to many that Chanakya was known by eight different names: विश्वगुप्त, चाणक्य, कौटिल्य, भल्लनाग, वात्स्यायन, पन्डितखामी, द्रमिल and अङ्गल. This one fact led Mr. Dhruba to imagine that this author of these several treatises under different names must be one and the same person, and now he has shown by the similarity of several extracts given by him in his Introduction, from the several works, that the identity of the writer is placed beyond doubt. A study of the Introduction is necessary to fully grasp his contention and position. We only repeat our desire, expressed before, that these remarkable researches merit a wider reading public than that of Gujarat and that Mr. Dhruba should not hide his light under a bushel, but contribute articles relating to his researches to well-known English magazines, like the *Antiquary* and others. It is but due to him and them.

(1) *Shrimati Doctor Mrs. Anandibai Joshi, by Sheriprasad Dalpatram Pandit, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay, and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 87. Cloth-bound. Price from Re. 0-2-0 to Re. 0-4-0 (1912).*

There are several biographies of this well-known Indian lady in Marathi, Bengali and Gujarati. The present version, however, follows the work of the well-known Marathi writer of Bengali, the late Professor S. G. Deuskar. The book, it need not be said, is most readable and instructive, and we are of opinion that it should be read by each and every Indian, as it would show that when occasion calls it forth, Indian ladies are not found wanting in grit and nerve. The way in which Miss Johnson, a missionary lady, tried to coerce Mrs. Joshi on board the ship to be converted to Christianity, the way in which the Engineer of the steamer, himself a Christian, taking

advantage of her unprotected position tried to lure her into infamous paths, and the way in which she battled against these unenviable situations, raise her great deal in the readers' eyes. Fortunately, the style is such that even moderately educated persons can read and understand the book.

Bharata na Maha Purusho, the Great Men of India, published by the same society and printed at the same Press, pp. 292. Cloth bound. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1912).

This is the first part of a series, which the society

wants to bring out in connection with the Great Men of India. The present work embraces the lives (1) of Yogiraj Haridasji of Lahore, whose feats in *Yoga* won admiration even from Englishmen, (2) of Maharaj Chhatrasalji, (A.D. 1054) of Bundelkhund, and (3) of Bhishma, of the Mahabharat fame. The object with which the series is projected is fully borne out by this part, as it tells in an easy and pleasant language the life-history of these three remarkable men, who have each left a name and an inspiring example behind them.

K. M. J.

NOTES

A Parable for the sun-dried Bureaucrat.

'No!' said the paving-stone.

'Please!' pleaded the fungus roots.

'I can't be disturbed,' said the paving-stone.

'Sorry!' said the fungus roots.

'Be quiet,' said the paving-stone.

'But we're alive!' said the fungus roots.

'What's that?' growled the paving-stone.

'We *must* grow, make way, please,' cried the fungus roots.

'Nonsense,' said the paving-stone, 'what can you do?—Weak soft things like you! Here I am at the top and here I stay. It is an excellent arrangement. Be content and don't push. You make me very uncomfortable,' said the paving-stone.

'We are in the great plan of things as well as you, and we *must* push,' said the fungus.

And it is on record that they moved the paving-stone.

—E. G. in *The Coming Day*.

British Indians in Trinidad.

India's correspondent at Port of Spain (Trinidad) sends to that paper an interesting account of the proceedings at the dinner given by Indians in the island on November 16 last in honour of the appointment to the Legislative Council of the Hon. Mr. George Fitzpatrick, barrister at-law, who is one of the members of the community. Mr. Ramadeen Teeluck Singh presided, and was supported by a representative gathering. In proposing the toast of the evening, Mr. Madoo said that their thanks were due to

the Governor (Sir George Le Hunte) and to the Colonial Secretary of the island for recommending an Indian for a seat in Council, thus carrying out the suggestion of Lord Sanderson's Commission. Mr. Fitzpatrick, he continued, strikingly illustrated by his career the possibilities open to Indians in the West Indies. He was the first Indian barrister to practise in the Colony, and he had now set another example for all to follow. Mr. Fitzpatrick, in reply, declared that the honour conferred upon him was an honour done to the entire community.

The progress made by the Colony was, in a large measure, to be attributed to the Indians who had done so much for her agriculture. The toast of "India—the Fatherland" was submitted by Mr. G. Adhar and acknowledged by Mr. J. Mahabir. "Prosperity to our Island Home" was proposed by Mr. Sinanan, and Mr. D. Mahabir, in reply, said that it was the Indian who had made Trinidad what it was to-day,

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu.

In December last the *Pioneer* published a biographical sketch of Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu of the United Provinces Provincial Judicial Service. The sketch describes in detail the brilliant academical career of Mr. Basu and his attainments and achievements as an orientalist. He is known to Sanskrit scholars all over the world as the translator and editor of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Bhattoji Dikshita's *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, the contributor to the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series of some of the



RAI BAHADUR SRIS CHANDRA BASU.

most important works, &c. "At his suggestion was started the important and well-known series of the Sacred Books of the Hindus by the Panini Office of Allahabad and to this series he has contributed the translations of Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya and Chhandogya Upanishads, with the Commentary of Madhva, the Vedanta Sutra with the Commentary of Baladeva and two sections of Yājñavalkya Smṛiti with the Commentary known as Mitaksharā and notes from the gloss Balamhatti. All these works have been very favourably spoken of by competent

Sanskrit scholars of the East and the West."

"The study of Hindu Law not only demands a very efficient knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, but also of Hindu Philosophy, Upanishads, the Vedas, the Puranas, and even the Tantras. How carefully Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu has studied these different branches of Sanskrit learning is evident from his "Catechism of Hinduism" which was published in 1899."

His judgment in the Benares Caste case, in which Babu Govinda Das was one of the parties, shows his mastery of Hindu Law. But what is less known is his Arabic scholarship. He possesses a unique first-hand knowledge from the original authorities of both Hindu and Muhammadan Law. "At Ghazipur he had to try a very complicated case of Mahomedan Law. Can the Wahabis pray in the same mosque with the Sunnis? that was the dispute between the litigious parties who sought justice at

his hands. Extensive reading of almost the whole literature of Mahomedan jurisprudence in the original Arabic—for which he had to get books published outside India, in Mahomedan countries such as Egypt and Persia, took him nearly a year to decide this important case. It is a decision which is of great value to Indian lawyers, for it has settled, once for all, a very moot point of Mahomedan Law."

"Although Sris Chandra Basu's great ambition was to achieve a thorough mastery of Hindu Law in which, as shown above, he has remarkably succeeded, the study of

religions has been very dear to him. He has devoted much of his time to the comparative study of religions. Like the great Raja Ram Mohun Roy, he has studied the religious scriptures of the principal faiths of India from their original sources. A thorough master of Sanskrit and Arabic, the study of the Sacred Books of the Hindus and Mahomedans in the original did not present any difficulty to him. But he had to learn Hebrew and Greek to understand the Old and New Testaments of the Christians."

"His creditable knowledge of Latin, French and German shows the interest he has also taken in comparative philology."

It is an irony of fate that such a man should have to rot in the Provincial Service while much younger and much less learned and able Civilians become Sessions Judges and High Court Judges. Under reasonable and equitable service rules, Mr. Basu should have long ago adorned the High Court bench.

State Life Insurance.

We learn from *The Twentieth Century* that life insurance by the State is now in operation in Wisconsin. Its purpose is to provide safe insurance at the lowest cost and with the insured getting all possible benefit. Companies which insure lives for what profit they can make, pay from 30 to 70 per cent. of the first premium to the person who solicits and secures the policy. They pay from 5 to 15 per cent. of subsequent premiums to the person who collects the premiums. This item of expense is removed from the Wisconsin state plan. Every factory inspector, clerk, and treasurer of every county, town, city, and village and every state bank are insurance agents for the State. It is their duty to receive applications and remit the premiums. They are paid no extra salary for doing it. The policy-holder who wishes to be his own collector can forward his own premium and the State will allow him one per cent for collecting. A feature of the Wisconsin state plan is that if the insured fails to pay his premium at any time, the reserve fund will go towards paying the premium until that reserve is exhausted or until the insured resumes payment. The insured may borrow on his policy to any amount not exceeding the

reserve fund on that policy. Moreover, the insured may deposit any sum or sums in advance towards the payment of premiums, and an excess deposit remaining for one year shall draw interest. No policy is written for less than \$500 nor more than \$3,000.

The Civil Service and class representation.

The question of holding the Civil Service examination in India, too, has developed in some British Civilian and non-official witnesses before the Royal Public Services Commission an extraordinary amount of appreciation of the capacity of such races as the Gurkhas, Sikhs, Pathans, &c. They think that all these classes, as well as the backward classes, should be represented in the Services. This may be a mere dodge on their part for keeping out the intellectual Indians from the Civil Service. For nothing has ever been done or proposed to be done by these witnesses to train the Sikhs, the Gurkhas and other "fighting" races to become magistrates and judges.

The Highlanders of Scotland make very good soldiers. We should like to know what proportion of the Indian Civil Service consists of Highlanders.

But the case of the Irish, as given in Mr. F. Hugh O'Donnell, M.A.'s book on "A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party" seems hardly credible. Says Mr. O'Donnell, ex-Irish M. P. :—

"One Indo-Irish grievance was of a minor but characteristic kind, and it continues in worse proportions in the present day. Annoyed at the great numbers of clever Irish students who won their way to high places in the Indian Civil Service by open competition against Englishmen, and irritated by the wholesale defeat which Irish ability in these departments was inflicting upon English rivalry; the British Government at Home, in conjunction with the India Office, determined to exclude the Irishmen by the simple but discreditable expedient of practically confining the choice of examiners at the competitive examinations to professors and tutors from Oxford and Cambridge, by which plan the Government granted an enormous advantage to Oxford and Cambridge students who for years had studied under these professors and tutors, knew their methods, and could almost divine their questions. The students from Ireland, having had no previous acquaintance with the ways of the examiners at once found themselves handicapped to a degree which has practically eliminated the Irish element from the Civil Service of India. It was a foul blow. When we remember the

long and illustrious roll of great servants of the Crown Ireland contributed to India under a system of fair play, the new policy was as stupid as it was base. As I was an Imperialist as well as a Nationalist, I resented the stupidity as well as the injustice of the proceeding. Among other English statesmen, I addressed myself to Lord Salisbury in particular as the man who was best able to influence the administration in the matter. I had in particular a long and somewhat agitated interview with him in the library at Arlington House. Fairminded, honourable, statesmanlike as he was, full of the love of fair play as he was, I found him adamant nevertheless on the subject of securing a predominance to Oxford and Cambridge. He believed that "the tone of the National Universities" was an Imperial asset which deserved to be cultivated. I maintained that the particular method of cultivation was not fair. Lord Salisbury was adamant. To summarise, again, the substance of my final protest and warning, I said: "My Lord, the Englishman has many virtues, but I do not think that excessive sympathy with the other races is one of them. I do not think that the tone of Oxford and Cambridge will supply that sympathy. The day, my Lord, when you will have India staffed from end to end with Englishmen from Oxford and Cambridge, that day English rule in India will stand isolated in the midst of the hundreds of millions whom Oxford and Cambridge will have estranged from England for ever." Lord Salisbury only replied: "Mr. O'Donnell, you speak as a good Irishman, but I believe that when you think of it, you will give us credit for nobler intentions." I bowed and withdrew." Quoted by the *Tribune* from the *Hindu*.

In another place, Mr. O'Donnell writes as follows:—

"Mr. Balfour did not inaugurate, nor did he terminate the mean expedient of excluding educated Irishmen from the higher posts of the Civil Service in India and at Home, which has been such a bitter wrong to Irish places of learning as well as to the cheated students themselves. The Oxford plot for monopolising the public services has been fostered by confederates belonging to both traditional parties. By the facile trick of packing the Examination Boards of the Service examinations with examiners chosen in overwhelming numbers from the professors and tutors of Oxford and Cambridge, the chances of success are raised fifty per cent. in favour of the competitors who have received their training from those professors and tutors. I caused a question to be put in the House of Commons in the Session of 1907 as to the number of examiners from Oxford and Cambridge on one side, and Dublin on the other, at the recent examinations which had resulted in the success of some eighty per cent. of the Oxford and Cambridge competitors for posts in the Home and India Civil Services. The answer of the Minister was:—"Twenty-six examiners came from Oxford and Cambridge, one examiner came from Dublin." Of course, familiarity with the style and methods of your examiners gives an advantage of the most patent kind. Irish Civil Servants have been practically swept out of India, where they used to hold distinguished positions. And in the Home Depart-

ments, all valuable berths are similarly secured for Englishmen." Quoted by the *Tribune* from the *Hindu*.

Newspaper Reading.

Professor Mac-Mahon, of the University of Washington, once read his class in history a severe lecture because he found that not one of them was in the habit of reading the daily newspapers. He declared that every man ought to be 'plucked' who did not keep abreast of the times, and know what was going on in the world. 'There is nothing,' said he, 'which is so certain an index to show whether a man is alive or dead as his newspaper reading. Intellectually he is a corpse who does not keep up with the papers. To be good citizens we must know what is going on about us, and that information must be acquired from the "dailies." This exhortation was provoked by the ignorance of his students regarding the then recent elections in Great Britain.

A Vindication of the Turk.

That Turkey can hold up her head as high as any of the self-vaunting Powers of Europe, most of whom have done and are doing with impunity what she is held in execration for, is the striking assertion of Frederick Ryan in *The Positivist Review* (London), a journal which must be credited with courage and a rare spirit of altruism. Russia, he says, imprisons and kills the flower of her population; Austria robs Turkey of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Italy murders by hundreds the gallant Arabs of Tripoli. But, adds this writer biting, these Powers are Christian and Turkey is Mohammedan, just as in Russia pogroms are permitted, or actually encouraged, because the assailants are Muscovites and the victims Jews. The Turkish massacres in Bulgaria, which King Ferdinand and his allies profess to be avenging as Christians, were mainly caused, Mr. Ryan believes, by the incursions of Bulgarian bands. If Europe suffers and has suffered these massacres to go on since the days of Gladstone, why should she encourage the Christian dogs of war in the Balkans now? "With what face can the Concert of Europe, which has been silent in regard to Tripoli and Persia, pose as the protectors of the Macedonians?" But that the Young Turks are quite wide-awake to the importance of

such questions is shown from the following passage in Mr. Ryan's article :

"There is a very prevalent belief . . . that the Turks, and especially the Young Turks, are antagonistic to all reform in Macedonia and wish to impose a system of unification on the whole Empire. Now, it is certainly true that threats and interference from without in favor of a subject race do not usually have the effect of making the dominant Power more amenable to reason. If France, Germany, and Russia were lecturing England on her sins, and armed expeditions of American-Irish were landing on the Irish coast, public opinion there would not be very favorable to Home Rule for Ireland. Rightly or wrongly, the Turks attribute most of the disturbances in Macedonia to the Bulgarian bands, and maintain that even if massacres have occurred, as recently at Kochania, it is these reckless bands that have given the first provocation. Rightly or wrongly—and probably very wrongly—they have followed the usual way of all peoples in like circumstances and have attempted to meet external pressure—in the case of Tripoli the words might be wanton attack—by internal concentration and the postponement of all reform."

Mr. Ryan then makes a slashing arraignment of the Concert of Europe. As the knout has a metal pellet at the end of the lash, so this writer arms his scourge with a stinging passage from Mark Twain. He writes:

"One of the most revolting hypocrisies of the whole affair is that the precious Concert of Europe—that is to say, the 'Christian' Powers of Europe, to the Exclusion of Turkey—about whose resuscitation some Radical journalists are incomprehensively enthusiastic, includes Italy and Russia. And Russia, as has been mentioned, is one of the two 'mandatories' of Europe: Russia which, on any showing, is an immeasurably less civilized State than Turkey, when the most extreme deductions are made; Russia, whose hands are dripping with the blood of Persian Nationalists fighting for liberty, and whose jails are choked with the flower of her own people. But then Russia is Christian, she is a member of the 'Concert,' she doesn't 'pollute' the soil of Europe. No Collective Notes will pass round the Chancelleries on the state of Persia, or Georgia, or Finland. It might disturb the harmony. And then Italy, another member of the Concert, with her hands red with the blood of the unfortunate, and heroic Arabs of Tripoli, fighting as gallantly as any people ever fought against the most shameless brigandage of modern times. Such are the teachers of Turkey, her moral exemplars in the ways of good government." One thinks of Mark Twain's stinging characterization twelve years ago of the Concert at that time. On New Year's Eve, 1900, he wrote as follows: 'A greeting from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.' 'I bring you the stately nation named Christendom; returning bedraggled, besmirched, and dishonored; from private raids in Kiao, China, Manchuria, and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle, and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies. Give her soap and towel, but hide the looking-glass.' Turkey assuredly can hold her head as high as the highest of her mentors and critics."

But if these indictments be true, it would be necessary for those nations which are foremost in knowledge and power to be foremost also in active humanity and consistency, if the world is to be made better than it is.

The Balkan Allies are committing as great atrocities on the Turkish men, women and children as the Turks were ever guilty of. What is Europe doing?

Russia, China and Japan.

Japan is to work in union with China against the encroachments of outside Powers. China is great, but she is weak, say the vernacular press of Peking and Shanghai. According to the views of a French engineer quoted in the *Croix* (Paris), the Flowery Land is no longer an inert mass of territory enclosed within the Great Wall. Her industrial development within ten or fifteen years has been prodigious. Chinese engineers build the railroads, Chinese arsenals forge the great guns, and at every school for boys there is a military instructor who trains the pupils to use rifles and handle artillery. The merchants and manufacturers of China borrow from the foreigner his latest methods and then get rid of him. As this writer says:

"China is not a country for Europeans to colonize. The Chinese welcome foreigners, learn their methods, improve upon these, and then get rid of the strangers. The time is past when the Chinese can suffer from foreign competition. United among themselves as by a band of steel in the commercial struggle, they labor one for all and all for one, and invariably put the foreigner to rout."

Yet China is weak, her integrity is being threatened by outside foes, says the *Min-li-pao* (Shanghai). Russia and France are waiting to divide the spoil, and even Japan may join the forces of the enemy unless the watchwords be "China and Japan against the world." To quote the earnest words of warning uttered by this Shanghai organ:

"At no time has the condition of China been more critical than at present. The Russians and Mongolians have concluded a convention and, in addition, a secret protocol was issued. The occurrence of this event creates a new situation. This will mean the overthrow of Chinese sovereignty in Urga, the establishment of a Russian protectorate over Outer Mongolia, and the commencement of the partition of China."

"A great problem is now before the Chinese people. Its solution should engage the thought and energy of all the men in China. This is a moment when every man is expected to do his duty and rush to the rescue

of the nation. Whatever discord there may have existed among the different elements of the Chinese people must now be relegated to the background."

More decided is the policy advocated by the *Min-Kuo-sin-wen* (Shanghai). The Mongolians must be compelled to remain in the Chinese Federation as the American Southern States were kept within the Union. This can be effected only by a recourse to arms. Urga, the principal city of Northern Mongolia, now garrisoned with Russian troops, must be attacked, the treacherous citizens who have betrayed China must be chastised. No offer of France or Japan to mediate must be listened to. The machinations of Urga must be defeated by an active war policy. Hence we read:

"Should China be foolish enough to listen to the counsel of France and Japan and indulge in the tempting but empty talk of mediation, much time will be gained by Russia to concentrate her forces in Mongolia. When Russia has firmly established herself in Urga, China will find it too late, even if she be convinced that nothing could save the situation except military force. Mediation is certainly a good thing; but what is the motive of France and Japan in proposing this?"

"Let the Government listen to a wise advice—Fight the Mongolians at once."

The Republican Advocate (Shanghai) thinks that Japan has the whole affair in her own hands and should enforce an Asiatic Monroe doctrine.—*The Literary Digest*.

Education in Russia.

The following statistics, which are taken from the *Anglo-Russian*, should inspire hope in those who think that re-action has set in all round in Russia. On March 20, 1880, the central committee for statistics issued an enumeration of the village schools in sixty governments of European Russia. A comparison of this publication with the latest statistical account of village education (1911) is exceedingly interesting. The village schools in those sixty governments numbered, in 1880, 22,770; in 1911 they numbered 80,382; while the 24,389 scholars inscribed in 1880 had risen in 1911 to 114,701. The number of male teachers had all but trebled, that of female teachers had become *twelve times* as large as thirty-one years ago. Boy scholars were three and a half times, girl scholars six times as numerous as in 1880, and the elementary school that cost 270 roubles in 1880 was in 1911

allowed 727 roubles (two and a half times as much).

Indian Affairs at an American University.

At a public meeting held in Stiles Hall, University of California, to discuss and appreciate the granting of a representative assembly in the Hindu State of Bikanir, Professor DAVID P. BARROWS, head of the Department of Political Science and Dean of the Graduate School, presided. The meeting was well attended. Representatives of several nationalities were present.

Professor BARROWS opened with a lucid and effective speech, in the course of which he said: "There is no fundamental difference between East and West. Humanity is one, and all races need similar institutions for their development. I have mixed with the Filipinos and the Malays on friendly terms, and have found them very interesting. Kipling was a false prophet when he declared that East and West would never meet."

Dr. S. BLUM, Ph. D., of the Department of Economics in the University of California, insisted on the importance of economic and social development as the result of political reconstruction. Representative institutions would be useful if the country developed economic and educational activity in the near future. The Hindu States of India should establish efficient universities to supplement representative assemblies. It was a pity that these states had no universities of their own. Even the advanced State of Baroda lacked this essential requisite of a healthy national life. The Indian people should devote their energies to economics and education.

Professor HAR DAYAL, M.A., pointed out that India's problem would be solved by the abolition of medieval ideals and the introduction of modern institutions. India is grateful to America for the sympathy of this liberty-loving people.

Mr. GOBIND BIHARI LAL, M.A., formerly professor in the Hindu College at Delhi, spoke of the State of Bikanir as one of the most ancient Rajput States in India and an example of the oldest political organisations in the East. Its ruler was loved and honoured as one of the most enlightened princes of India. He was a strong man and

an able administrator and had raised his State to a very high level of efficiency by his personal exertions. The establishment of this assembly would set a good example for the other Hindu States of both courage and foresight. The Maharaja was a profound student of economics and politics, and enjoyed the friendship of the best scholars of the country. He was, he said, very hopeful of the future of this State under his guidance, as he had an intimate personal knowledge of the situation.

Professor A. V. POPE, assistant professor of philosophy, moved a resolution expressing the appreciation of the meeting for the Maharaja's action in establishing the assembly and intimating the hope that other States would follow the example. He said that India badly needed representative institutions. The money of the people should not be wasted, and this end could be realised only through popular government. Education was the best investment of a nation's wealth.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and a committee was appointed to communicate it to the Maharaja of Bikanir.

Mr. Austin Lewis and other speakers expressed keen sympathy with the object of the meeting.

Professor Barrows, in responding to a vote of thanks, said that the British Government in India was one of the most interesting political experiments in history.

Thorough Change in National Character.

We read in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. XXVII, p. 458) that

"On the 15th of November, 1839, Abdul Mejid signalled his accession by promulgating the Tanzimat, or Hatt-i-Sherif of Gulhane, a decree abolishing the arbitrary and unlimited power hitherto exercised by the state and its officials, laying down the doctrine of the perfect equality of all Ottoman subjects of whatever race or creed, and providing for the regular, orderly and legal government of the country and the security of life, property and honour of all its inhabitants. Yet the feelings of dismay and even ridicule with which this proclamation was received by the Mussulmans in many parts of the country show how great a change it instituted, and how strong was the opposition which it encountered among the ruling race. The non-Mussulman subjects of the sultan had indeed early been reduced to such a condition of servitude that the idea of their being placed on a footing of equality with their Mussulman rulers seemed unthinkable.

Preserved merely as tax-payers necessary to supply the funds for the maintenance of the dominant and military class, according to a foreign observer in 1571, *they had been so degraded and oppressed that they dared not look a Turk in the face.*" (The italics are ours).

Yet we find these quondam demoralised non-Mussulman subjects of the Turks now proving more than a match for their conquerors in fighting and organising capacity. What a vicissitude of fortune! What a change in national character!

The Intellectual Standing and Natural Capacity of Different Races.

Mr. John Gray, B. Sc., A. R. S. M., F. R. A. I., *London*, contributed to the first Universal Races Congress held in London in 1911 a paper on "The Intellectual Standing of Different Races and Their Respective Opportunities for Culture." A brief indication of the method of investigation followed by him is given below. He says:—

"There are several methods by which we may arrive at an estimate of the average intellectual standing of a population. Without attempting an exact definition of intelligence, it may be assumed that this mental character is possessed in the highest degree by the leaders of the people. If we could obtain statistics of the number of men per unit of the population who, in each country, had risen above a fixed standard of eminence in literature, science, politics, war, engineering, &c., we could from these data obtain very good numerical values of the intellectual standing of the different peoples. But such statistics could be obtained for only a very few of the most advanced and highly organised nations.

"I have found it most convenient to make use of educational statistics.

"Education, in the Schools and Universities of a country, may be regarded as the means employed to develop to the highest practical limit the natural intellectual capacity of the people.

"The number of pupils and students per unit of the population may be regarded as an approximate measure of the *Opportunities for Culture* offered to the people.

"The number of University students per unit of the population is taken as a measure of the average *Intellectual Standing* of the people. The justification for this is that the majority of the leaders of a people come from its universities, and the average standard of intelligence required of the university student is much the same in all countries where universities exist.....

"Having indicated methods of obtaining, from educational statistics, numerical values, of (1) The Intellectual Standing, and (2) The Opportunities for Culture, it now only remains to find a method of calculating the *Natural Capacity*.

"The Intellectual Standing of a people may be regarded as the product of two factors, namely, its opportunity for culture and its natural capacity to acquire

culture. If there is no opportunity for culture there will be no culture, however high the natural capacity may be. As we have taken intelligence to be represented by the degree of culture acquired in the Schools, it follows, and it is self-evident, that there would be no intelligence (in this case) in a country if there were no Schools. On the other hand, how ever many free schools there might be in a country, there would be no intelligence of the kind acquired in schools if there were no natural capacity in the people to acquire it. The usual condition of things is that a certain percentage of the population has the capacity to acquire the highest intelligence the schools are capable of developing. We may assume therefore that the following is at least approximately true:—

"Intellectual Standing=Opportunity for Culture multiplied by Natural Capacity, and it follows from this, that—

$$\text{"Natural Capacity"} = \frac{\text{Intellectual Standing}}{\text{Opportunity for Culture.}}$$

"Intellectual Standing and Opportunity for Culture can be calculated, as has been shown above, from educational statistics. Natural Capacity is equal to or proportional to the former divided by the latter."

Mr. Gray then gives three Tables of "Order of Intellectual Standing," "Order of Natural Capacity," and "Order of Opportunity" respectively. In column I of the first table he gives the number of University students per 100,000 of the population for many countries. The figures are as follows:—

ORDER OF INTELLECTUAL STANDING.

(1) United States 279.9, (2) Switzerland 200.8, (3) Scotland 178.7, (4) France 106.7, (5) Wales 100.2, (6) British Isles 86.2, (7) Spain 85.9, (8) Austria 82.7, (9) Germany 76.6, (10) England 73.5, (11) Ireland 73.1, (12) Norway 70.7, (13) Finland 70.3, (14) Sweden 70.0, (15) Italy 68.7, (16) Belgium 64.8, (17) Holland 62.7, (18) Japan 62.3, (19) Hungary 50.3, (20) Negroes (U.S.A.) 45.5 (21) Mexico 33.1, (22) Portugal 23.3, (23) Russia 22.1, (24) India 10.4.

The number of University students per 10,000 of all pupils and students in the country is given as follows in column I of the table of

ORDER OF NATURAL CAPACITY.

1. United States 110.2, 2. Switzerland 100.9, 3. Finland 93.7, 4. Scotland 80.1, 5. France 72.6, 6. Mexico 72.0, 7. Portugal 69.9, 8. Spain 67.6, 9. Italy 66.1, 10. Russia 55.3, 11. Japan 52.8, 12. Germany 47.5, 13. Sweden 47.3, 14. British Isles 47.2, 15. Austria 46.7, 16. India 46.7, 17. Ireland 46.5, 18. England 42.2, 19. Norway 41.3, 20. Wales 38.2, 21. Holland 34.6, 22. Hung-

ary 32.7, 23. Belgium 30.0, 24. Negroes (U.S.A.) 24.6.

With reference to this table of Natural Capacity we may observe, that in India the number of colleges giving University education is lamentably few even in proportion to the number of schools, very small as the latter is. If India had a sufficient number of colleges, she would have occupied a higher place in the order of Natural Capacity than she does, higher though it is than those of Ireland, England and Wales.

The number of pupils and students, per 1,000 of the population in all the schools and Universities of the country is given as follows in column I of the table of

ORDER OF OPPORTUNITY.

1. Wales 262, 2. United States 254, 3. Scotland 223, 4. Belgium 216, 5. Switzerland 199, 6. Negroes (U.S.A.) 185, 7. British Isles 182, 8. Holland 181, 9. England 178, 10. Austria 177, 11. Norway 171, 12. Germany 162, 13. Ireland 157, 14. Hungary 154, 15. Sweden 148, 16. France 147, 17. Spain 127, 18. Japan 118, 19. Italy 104, 20. Finland 75, 21. Mexico 47, 22. Russia 40, 23. Portugal 33, 24. India 22.

This shows that India has the least opportunity for developing and showing her capacity, and yet that capacity is higher than that of Ireland, England and Wales.

The percentage of literacy of the population (excluding those below school age) of different countries is given below. United States 89.3, Belgium 78, Negroes (U. S. A.) 55.5, Holland 98, England 99, Austria 61, Germany 99, Ireland 70.6, Hungary 49, Spain 28.5, Japan 95, Italy 51.6, Russia 22.1, Portugal 23.3, India 5.3.

"Loyal" and "Disloyal."

Many Indians and Europeans, in practice, construe the words loyal and disloyal in senses which we consider to be erroneous. The constitutional meaning of the word loyal in British India, as we understand it, is "faithful and obedient to King George V. and to his Government." In law, British Indians owe allegiance to only one sovereign, namely, His Majesty King-Emperor George V.; and, derivatively, to his accredited and authorised representatives on State occasions. With all other English men and women British Indians are, in the words of Secretary

of State Lord Morley, "equal subjects of the King." When, therefore, any English citizen speaks of British Indians as "our Indian subjects," he usurps a right which belongs only to His Majesty, and is, therefore, constructively guilty of disloyalty. Constitutionally British Indians are no more subjects of the English citizens of the British Empire, individually or collectively, than they are of the Chinese. Britishers and Indians are all fellow-citizens.

The inhabitants of British India are also bound to obey the laws of the British Government and all officers of the Crown in the lawful exercise of their powers. But when such an officer acts illegally or gives an unlawful order no one is bound to oblige him, be he the highest or the lowest, European or Indian.

The Duty of Loyalty.

What is the duty of a loyal subject of the Sovereign? Evidently, to give effect to his will in all civic, political, administrative or State affairs. The highest will of the Sovereign and the State, so far as British India is concerned, is embodied in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, with the re-affirmation and confirmation thereof by her successors, King Edward VII and King George V. And what is that will? That the Sovereign will try to promote the welfare of all inhabitants of the Empire, irrespective of race, creed or caste, that there is to be no governing caste in India, and that every inhabitant of India, irrespective of his race, caste or creed, is to be entitled to fill any office for which he may be fit. Neither in the Charter Act nor in the Queen's Proclamation is there any express or implied mention of or the remotest reference to any *corps de elite* composed of British officers or any irreducible minimum of such officers. Whoever, therefore, employs every legitimate means to bring about the attainment by Indians of equal all-round citizenship and prosperity with other peoples living in the Empire, is actively loyal, because he is striving to give effect to the will of the Sovereign and the State, and whoever, be he Indian or European, official or non-official, opposes, directly or indirectly, such equalisation is wanting in loyalty in this respect.

There are many Indians who think that

they are displaying loyalty by asking for only one-fourth or one-sixth or even less of the number of posts reserved for the covenanted civil service and by almost praying to be saved from the "calamity" of more such posts being held by Indians. They are doing nothing of the kind. They are not displaying loyalty; they are displaying, consciously or unconsciously, servility and sad want of faith in the capacity of their people. And they are not only not trying to do the will of their Sovereign, but are actually running counter to it.

A Fixed proportion of posts for Indians and Europeans.

Not only is the suggestion of fixing an irreducible minimum of British officers or a small definite maximum proportion of Indian servants of the State, not the correct thing from the point of view of loyalty; it is undesirable from the point of view of administrative efficiency and may be unjust to either Indians or Europeans or both. For suppose that it is fixed that Indians are not to obtain more than one-sixth of the higher posts. If that means that they are to get just one-sixth, neither more nor less, or a maximum of one-sixth, not more, may be less; it may be that (1) there is a sufficient number of Indians fit to fill more than one-sixth of the posts, or (2) there is not a sufficient number of able Indians to fill even one-sixth. In the first case the arrangement would be unjust to Indians, in the second, it would be unjust to Europeans. And in all cases, administrative efficiency would suffer. For the only arrangement which can make for the highest administrative efficiency would be to employ the fittest men irrespective of race. And we hold it to be *prima facie* true that the people of a country are, *ipso facto*, the fittest to govern that country for its welfare, except sometimes, temporarily, in periods of disorder and anarchy. If others also be fit, let them prove their fitness. If two sets of Europeans and Indians be equal in respect of physical fitness, character, knowledge, and intellectual capacity, Indians are to be preferred. For they know the country, are of the country, are naturally more sympathetic and interested in its well-being; and their wealth and experience will remain in the country.

British officials seem to hold that the best Indian is inferior to the worst Englishman. That, is, to say the least, a very funny idea. But granting its truth, what is the logical conclusion? That all those posts of which the emoluments are tempting to the lowest grade of English men, should be closed to Indians, and that those who now hold them should be dismissed as unfit. Let those who think that every Indian is inferior to every Briton, try to give effect to this logical conclusion. There is nothing like a policy of "Thorough" to bring opinions to the decisive test of events.

The psychology of those of our countrymen who oppose the holding of the Civil Service examination in India and want only a very small proportion of the higher posts has been a puzzle to us. The Charter Act and the Queen's Proclamation have given us some of the natural rights of every people. In 1886 many Englishmen gave evidence before the Public Service Commission in favour of holding the Competitive test in India, too, and expressed the opinion that Indians were fit even to become Lieutenant-Governors and that even if all Civilians were of Indian birth India would not go to the dogs. In 1893, a resolution was passed in the House of Commons in favour of Simultaneous Examinations in England and India. But some of our own big men are so "modest," so overcome by a sense of their unworthiness, that they would not claim their natural rights, their statutory rights, their sovereign-given rights, the rights which many competent Englishmen consider us fit to have and exercise. Surely these our big men are a queer set. Do they really think that Sir K. G. Gupta is unfit for the post he holds? That Mr. R. C. Dutt was unfit? Their fitness nobody will dare question. And yet they are not "sports," not prodigies. Is it impossible for a population of 315 millions to furnish some 1200, 1500, or 2000 men fit to rule districts, and some half-a-dozen to rule provinces? Decades ago, in the course of a debate in the House of Commons, the late Mr. Fawcett observed that it was indisputable that many Natives, capable of governing a province, were fulfilling the humblest duties on salaries lower than the lowest received by the

youngest recruit among the I. C. S. men. Not to speak of the days of Hindu and Mussalman rule, when Indians governed empires and provinces and commanded armies, as ably as any of their contemporaries of other countries, even in the early days of the East India Company many Indians held high authority under it and were looked up to by their subordinate British civilians. Have Indians irretrievably lost their governing capacity under the elevating influence of latter-day British rule? How is it then that in the Native States Indians govern and in many cases govern well?

British Character of the Administration.

It is amusing to find how the parrot-cry of British officials change with the exigencies of the times. In reply to the insistent demand for self-government on colonial lines, Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India said that the Canadian fur-coat (of self-government) would not suit India, and that for as long a period extending into the future as his poor (poor, indeed!) imagination could penetrate, India must remain under personal rule, as opposed to representative government. Now, the British character of an administration, a phrase used by many Anglo-Indian witnesses before the Royal Public Services Commission, really ought to mean such things as no taxation, without representation, government of the people by the people and for them, &c. If the Government of India is for ever to be personal or autocratic as it now is, how can it be called British in character? In India we can be deported without trail or even the formulation of a charge, in England that is impossible. In England every one can demand to be and is tried by his peers. Here that is rather the exception than the rule. Here British-born subjects are tried somewhat differently from Indians. There is no such racial distinction in England. Here very many officials perform both executive and judicial duties, in Great Britain, none. In the United Kingdom there is nothing like the Indian Arms Act. Britons can become volunteers, Indians cannot. In what then consists the British character of the administration? Lord Curzon thought that we poor orientals must be governed, not through

our reason (which we were perhaps supposed not to possess), but through our *oriental* imagination, *i.e.*, by the holding of durbars, elephant processions, display of fire-works, &c; and the Curzonian tradition has not yet died out. This surely is not a method born in the soil of Great Britain and prevalent and successful there.

We need not repeat the comments on the phrase 'British methods' which we made in our last number. Our opinion is that the good features to be found in the administrative methods prevalent in India are not peculiarly British. Other people, including ourselves, can and do use them. What, therefore, Anglo-Indians mean by maintaining the British character of the administration, is that Britons are practically to continue to monopolise all the high posts, thus remaining a governing caste. A demand and a desire like this is neither just nor statesmanlike. It is neither constitutional nor loyal. Indians who yield to such a demand are, we unhesitatingly declare, wanting in active loyalty to their Sovereign and to the fundamental laws of the empire.

The Public Services Commission.

The Royal Commission on Public Services in India will leave India for England on April 19, 1913. They propose to return to India early in the ensuing cold weather season to prosecute their investigations into the services set out in the schedule printed below and into any other services which it may subsequently be decided to include. They accordingly invite all persons, not being members of those services, and all associations or public bodies, who may have any representation to make, to send the same, addressed to the joint secretaries, Public Services Commission, Camp, India, on or before the 10th April, 1913, together with an indication of their qualifications for giving an opinion on the points at issue. Any representations sent might conveniently be made in the form of memoranda under the following main heads so far as they may be suitable in each case:—

- I.—Methods of recruitment.
- II.—Systems of training and probation.
- III.—Conditions of service.
- IV.—" salary.
- V.—" leave.
- VI.—" pension.

VII.—Such limitations as may exist in the employment of non-Europeans, and the working of the existing system of division of services into Imperial and Provincial.

VIII.—Relations of the service with the Indian Civil Service and other services.

IX.—Any other points within the terms of reference to the Royal Commission not covered by the preceding heads.

SCHEDULE.

1. Indian Medical Service and Indian Subordinate Medical department (civil side).
2. Police department.
3. Jail department.
4. Registration department.
5. Indian Finance department.
6. Mint and Assay department.
7. Military Finance department.
8. Public Works department.
9. Railway department.
10. Forest department.
11. Survey of India department.
12. Civil Veterinary department.
13. Agricultural department.
14. Postal department.
15. Telegraph department.
16. Customs department.
17. Northern India Salt Revenue department.
18. Indian Mines department.
19. Pilot Service.
20. Geological Survey department.
21. Educational services.
22. Sanitary department.

As the investigation into the twenty-two services scheduled above will be held next year, we think more time should have been given for the submission of representations. The time given for the submission of representations on the Covenanted and Provincial Civil Services was insufficient. With regard to the next year's enquiries also, people are being hurried and hurried quite unnecessarily. This is highly undesirable.

Individually, few men would be competent to give evidence relating to all the 22 services in the schedule. But even for individual witnesses, it would be rather difficult in the course of a month and a half, in the midst of all their other avocations, to prepare representations on two or three services. Associations or public bodies should, however, as a matter of common

duty, submit representations on all the 22 services, and the memoranda must be under nine main heads. So that, leaving aside sub-headings and minor points, there would be $22 \times 9 = 198$ heads on which associations would have to send their representations. We think that some 7 or 8 weeks' time is all too short for the collection of materials, and the writing out of representations on so many heads, considering the limited resources in men and money of almost all our public bodies. We think, therefore, that, if possible, the period should be extended, one of the Secretaries being left behind here for the receipt and despatch to England of memoranda.

In the meantime all our public organs should begin to write on all these 22 services with the help of expert knowledge. What we say and write may not produce any effect on the men in power, but they would not be fruitless, should they be able to enlighten and educate the public. For, in the long run, even in India, public opinion must triumph. And those, therefore, who guide and educate public opinion, really hold the destinies of India in their hands, so far as such destinies lie in human hands.

Mr. J. N. Gupta's Evidence.

The following rather long extract is taken from the evidence of Mr. J. N. Gupta, I. C. S., before the Public Services Commission:—

Turning now to the charges that are generally made against us, it is of course easy for an adverse critic to find fault with us and make vague allegations that we are lacking in force of character, in powers of organization, in driving power, etc., but if the same critic were asked to point out from the record of his own career, for instance, on what particular occasions he had given any special proof of these desirable qualities and in what cases to his own knowledge his brother Indian officer had failed, I venture to say that the critic will meet with some difficulty. If the Commission consider it worth-while and if they think that it will repay the trouble, I should advise that two or three districts may be selected, where both European and Indian officers have served as District Officers, and the record of their work minutely examined. It will not be sufficient only to refer to official documents regarding the comparative worth of such officer, but we should go further afield and find out how many useful schemes and institutions, e.g., schools, dispensaries, villages, roads, excavation of new tanks, inspection-bungalows, etc., each officer has organized and carried through. Let it also be found out—in how many cases of disputes between rival land-owners and zamindars they have personally interfered and brought about amicable settlements, how many gangs

of "badmashes" and bad characters they have personally broken up, in how many cases of serious crime they have personally supervised, in short how far they have succeeded in making the name of the British Raj loved, respected and feared throughout the length and breadth of their districts, in the remotest hamlets and villages. If such a test were to be adopted, I venture to say that those of us who have held charge of districts will not shrink from a comparison with the record of any European officer. Of a similar vague nature are the assertions regarding the superiority of English officers in point of pluck and dash and ready resources in emergencies. Every District Officer, at least in Bengal, knows but too well that occasions for the display of such qualities are extremely rare in the rather dreary routine of his daily life, and the capacity for patient toil and unflagging industry is what he mostly needs. But even regarding these more brilliant qualities—is it quite sure that if an impartial inquiry were to be made into all the cases where District Officers had failed to take prompt and vigorous action, the balance will be entirely against the Indian members of the service? Does the history of the recent disturbances which occurred in most of the districts of Bengal during the political agitations which followed the Partition of Bengal conclusively prove that an English District Officer is more capable of maintaining law and order in his district than an Indian district officer? Then regarding the clash of sectarian and communal interests, can it be proved that all the English District Officers were able to maintain a more impartial attitude and to hold the balance even between different classes more successfully than was found possible in the case of Indian District Officers? An impartial inquiry into the real facts in each case, may, I venture to submit, result in giving a shock to the preconceived notions of some of our critics. Altogether about 20 Indian officers have joined the Bengal service up to date, and I think the examination of their records will show that as a body they have not fallen short, in point of efficiency, of the average standard of excellence reached by their European fellow-officers.

The Evidence of Bengal Witnesses.

The Royal Commission on the Public Services in India which closed its sittings in Calcutta on Friday last recorded the evidence of 32 witnesses from the Presidency of Bengal. Of the 32 witnesses there were 17 Indians, 11 Europeans and 4 Anglo-Indians. Of the 17 Indians 14 were Hindus and 3 Mahomedans. Among the 17 officials there were 9 Civilians, 7 belonged to the Provincial Service and 1 was a Barrister Sessions Judge. Of the 15 non-officials 8 were Hindus, 4 Europeans, 2 Anglo-Indians and 1 Mahomedan. On the question of the Simultaneous Civil Service Examination the opinion of the witnesses was divided as follows: Of the 14 Hindus, 9 were for, 2 against and 3 expressed no opinion. Of the 4 Anglo-Indians 2 were for, 1 against

and I expressed no opinion. Of the 3 Mahomedans, I was for, I against and I expressed no opinion. Of the 11 Europeans 10 were against and I expressed no opinion. Of the 17 officials 4 were in favour of simultaneous examinations, 8 against and 5 expressed no opinion. That is how the *Indian Daily News* has summarised the Bengal evidence.

Prof. J. C. Bose at Lahore.

At the invitation of the Punjab University, Professor J. C. Bose went to Lahore and delivered three lectures illustrated with experiments. It would be good if the other Universities could persuade him to deliver such discourses, at Allahabad, Bombay and Madras. At Lahore he has generously made over to the University his fee of Rs. 1200 to be given to a research scholar in monthly instalments of Rs. 100. The introductory passage of his first discourse as telegraphed to the papers is worth reproduction.

Dr. Bose opened his address by alluding to the historic journey of Jivaka, who afterwards became the physician of Buddha, making his way from Bengal to the University of Taxila, in quest of knowledge. Twenty-five centuries had gone by and there was before them another pilgrim who had journeyed the same distance to bring, as an offering, what he had gathered in the domain of knowledge.

The lecturer called attention to the fact that knowledge was never the exclusive possession of any particular race nor did it ever recognise geographical limitations. The whole world was interdependent, and a constant interchange of thought had been carried on throughout the ages enriching the common heritage of mankind. Hellenistic Greeks and Eastern Aryans had met here in Taxila to exchange the best each had to offer. After many centuries the East and West had met once more, and it would be the test of the real greatness of the two civilisations that both should be finer and better for the shock of contact. The apparent dormancy of intellectual life in India had been only a temporary phase. Just like the oscillations of the seasons round the globe, great pulsations of intellectual activity pass over the different peoples of the earth.

With the coming of the spring the dormant life springs forth: similarly the life that India conserves, by inheritance, culture and temperament, was only latent and was again ready to spring forth into the blossom and fruit of knowledge. Although science was neither of the East, nor of the West, but international in its universality, certain aspects of it gained richness of colour by reason of their place of origin. India, perhaps through its habit of synthesis, was apt to realise instinctively the idea of unity and to see in the phenomenal world an universe instead of a multiverse. It was this tendency, the lecturer thought, which had led an Indian physicist, like himself, when studying the effect of forces on matter, to find boundary lines vanish-

ing, and to see points of contact emerge between the realms of the living and the non-living.

Memorial to Captain Scott.

Captain Scott with his party perished on the return journey from the South Pole. A memorial cross was erected on the Observation Hill constructed of Jarrah wood which will last for ages painted white with the following carved lettering in black:—

"In memoriam Captain Robert Falcon Scott, R. N., Doctor Edward Wilson, Lieutenant Henry Robertson Bowers, who died on their return from the South Pole in March 1912.

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

No more fitting motto could have been chosen. It condenses in one line the essence of all heroic endeavour in every sphere of life.

The College for the Well-to-do.

It is noteworthy that both the British Indian Association and the Bengal Landholders' Association have disapproved of the proposal to establish a college for the well-to-do classes in connection with the Dacca University. It is to be hoped that the idea of doing good to them by main force against their wishes will not be entertained. The logic and vigour of the memoranda presented by the two Associations seem to show that the landholding classes are neither imbecile nincompoops nor babies. They are well able to take care of themselves.

"The Burmans despise Indians."

The Acting Secretary to the Burma Government said in his evidence before the Public Services Commission that the Burmans despised the Indians, and Mr. Justice Hartnol of the same Province echoed the opinion. We can understand some people of one province being jealous of the people of another province. Such jealousy exists in India, and in Great Britain, too, there is similar jealousy between Scotchmen and Englishmen. But to despise and to be jealous are different things. The Burmans worship Buddha, who was an Indian; they make pilgrimages to Sarnath and Gaya, which are situated in India. The traditional history of the Burmese derives their royal family

from Kshatriya ancestors hailing from India. All these do not incline us to accept without incontestable proof the dicta of men who are interested in keeping all the high posts in Burma for themselves *to the exclusion both of Burmans and Indians*, and who seemed to be rather keen that racial antipathies should not die out.

Lord Islington.

The choice of members of the Royal Public Services Commission rested entirely with Englishmen, the majority are Englishmen, the questions have been framed by Englishmen, the witnesses are suggested or nominated by the provincial governments,* and the President, Lord Islington, seems to have a peculiar attitude. On more than one occasion when some anti-Indian witness found himself in a tight corner on account of the cross-examination to which he was submitted by Mr. Gokhale, Lord Islington stopped further questioning. Questions directly or indirectly bearing upon racial antipathy ought either to have been omitted or disallowed from the first or the truth of the assertions of anti-Indian witnesses ought to have been allowed to be tested by the most searching cross-examination. But the President while allowing such questions to be asked and himself asking some of them and allowing such assertions to be made, stopped cross-examination by Mr. Gokhale on some occasions.

The Hon. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda.

The Hon. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda gave very good evidence before the Commission. Among other things he said :—

It is known, at any rate firmly believed, by the people, that half the unrest that followed in the wake of the partition of Bengal was due to want of first-hand knowledge on the part of the English officer and to his dependance on the reports, often of interested parties, who succeeded in gaining his ear, as to what was really going on in his district. With the educated Indian official it is quite different. He knows himself what the people in his charge are saying or doing, what are their special wants and difficulties, who are the mischief-makers and how the mischief they do can most effectively be undone. He would not be inaccessible to the people and knows that a kindly word spoken to the right man at the proper moment should go a long way in removing a local root cause of discontent and unrest; he would be much less likely

to be duped by the lying reports of interested parties. This was well illustrated during the recent unrest. There was no disturbance in the districts which were in charge of Indian magistrates, whereas the districts which suffered worst from disturbances were all under Englishmen. It is no mere coincidence that the Indian official was in charge of districts which were free from disturbances. Noakhali, for instance, differed in no respect from the neighboring district of Tipperah except in size, and yet it had a most creditable record under Mr. J. N. Gupta in contrast to what happened in Comilla. If an enquiry was made into the matter, the achievement of the Indian official, during the period of unrest, would stand out in bold relief.

Again :—

Is it unknown that the Englishman has not invariably displayed these qualities in emergencies, or can it be said that the Indian has always failed? I can name at least three instances from my district of failure of the English official in emergencies. I can repeat the language of the head of the administration himself in reference to one of these cases when I had the honour of a private interview shortly afterwards. I should mention that it was not a district officer but another European official concerned. What opportunities have been given to the Indian official to show what he is capable of? I find it stated, for instance, that the Indian official is not fit for settlement work. I do not know about other provinces, but in Assam where settlement work is incomparably harder and more difficult than in Bengal, for instance, the settlement officer for over 15 years was a Bengali. It is extremely unjust to say that the Indian official is unfit without giving him an opportunity.

Dr. Thibaut's Evidence.

Dr. Thibaut's evidence is very important for many reasons. It has been said by many European witnesses that if the civil service competitive test were held in India, the secrecy of examination papers could not be maintained.

In answer to Sir Murray Hammick, he said the secrecy of examination papers could be maintained with proper care. He had never previously heard of a case in which an attempt had been made to bribe an examiner. He had heard of cases in which clerks and servants had been approached either for the examination papers or to substitute the covers of answer books. If all the examinations were held in a central place all these dangers would be avoided.

To Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, witness said the case Sir Murray Hammick had referred to concerned a legal examination, and was not a University examination.

It should be remembered that Dr. Thibaut has been Registrar of both Allahabad and Calcutta Universities for many years, and his experience, therefore, with regard to the secrecy of examination papers, is unique.

Two other assertions made by European witnesses were that in case of simultaneous examinations candidates in India would

* The Behar Government omitted the names of Messrs. S. Sinha and M. Haque!

not have proper educational facilities and that the service would be swamped by Indians. Both are practically disposed of by Dr. Thibaut's evidence.

There was nothing to prevent a man attending M. A. lectures at the Calcutta University which would be useful to him in connection with the Indian Civil Service examination. The standard of the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University was very high, as each subject was specialised.

How do you think the standard of the M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University would compare with the M. A. standard of a European University?—I think it would be about equal. So far as book knowledge goes it would be about the same.

Of course the I. C. S. Examination is a test more of book knowledge than of brain power?—Yes.

Mr. Gokhale:—How long would a student who had taken his M. A. degree in mathematics at the Calcutta University have to study other subjects before he could appear for the I. C. S. examination with a reasonable chance of success?—It is somewhat difficult to say exactly. It depends very much on the individual capacity of the student.

Take some of the best students?—Certainly not less than a year.

Therefore he would be 23 complete and possibly more before he could appear for the I. C. S. examination with a reasonable chance of success?—Yes. Of course if a student knew all along he was going to try for the I. C. S. examination he could work up a great deal before the end of the year.

Mr. Fisher: What is the most general age at which a man takes his B. A. degree in Calcutta?—Twenty-one.

Would you say more people took their B.A. degree at 21 than at 20?—Some take it at the minimum age. The average would be 21.

Do you get many students taking the B.A. degree at the minimum age?—A fair number.

How many in each year?—I cannot answer without looking up the statistics.

What would be the normal age for taking the M.A. degree?—Two years after taking the B.A. degree.

As Civil Service candidates have to appear at the examination after completing 22 years of age and before completing 24, and as our best students could not appear here before 23, it shows that the probable number of candidates here would be small.

Dr. Thibaut's evidence incidentally shows that the minimum age limit of 16 for the Matriculation is a great hindrance, so far as appearing at the civil service examination is concerned. Its full disadvantage is not yet apparent; for some of those who will appear even a year or two hence, had passed the Matriculation before the age limit had been fixed.

Some opinions of European Witnesses.

Some European witnesses have expressed

the opinion that for high posts officers should not be chosen from Indian races which do not possess "character and tradition," and that Sikhs, Gurkhas, Marhattas, Rajputs and Musalmans* possessed "character and tradition," insinuating that other races did not. Mr. Gokhale asked one such witness what had been done during all these years to get civilians from these superior classes; and the reply was, it was not necessary to do anything! Beautiful, is it not? While the classes which have hitherto supplied the few dozen Indian civilians are declared ineligible as having no "character and tradition," the classes which have both, need not be tapped, leaving the European civilians in entire possession of the field.

But it is only an ignoramus who can utter the foolish calumny that the majority of Indian races or peoples have no character or tradition. It would be not at all a difficult task to show from ancient, mediaeval and modern history that the people of every province of India have glorious traditions, and that all still continue to produce men of character. Just as in other continents or parts of the world, there have been ups and downs in the fortunes of nations and peoples, ascent succeeding the lowest depth of degradation, so has it been and so shall it be in the case of every province of India.

Again, it has been said that Indians possess less vigour than Britons, and Madrasis and Bengalis have been specially mentioned as wanting in vigour. As we contended in our last number, it is irrelevant to discuss whether Indians as a whole are inferior or equal to Europeans in vigour. The real question is whether it is at all difficult to find Indians equal or superior to the average European in vigour. And vigour is both physical and mental. As regards physical vigour, we will confine ourselves only to Madrasis and Bengalis. Our Madras brethren are quite capable of defending themselves. Hence we shall ask only a few questions. Is Ramamurti a weakling? Or are the many other strong men of Madras who exhibit feats of strength weaklings? Were the Telenga soldiers in the days of Clive weaklings? Is Mr. S. V. Setti, the aeronaut, wanting in vigour? As to the mental

* How logical the division is! Do Musalmans all over India belong to one and the same race?

vigour of Madrasis, it is superfluous to mention the names of the numerous eminent Madras Dewans of Native States, lawyers, High Court judges, jouranalists, professors, &c.

Coming to Bengal, we may say that we need not refer to our past history in proof of our possession of average vigour. The first Indian balloonist was a Bengali, the first Indian lion-tamer was a Bengali, the first Indian lady to "fly" in an aeroplane was a Bengali, the first educated Indian who saw and described Lhasa after crossing the Himalayas was a Bengali; Bengali hockey, cricket and football teams have defeated British teams many times; all but one of those who have been commended by Government for rescue work at the risk of their lives at the recent Sibpur boat disaster are Bengalis. It may be said a few swallows do not make a summer; but at any rate they show that summer has not departed for ever and is to be found somewhere. As to our mental vigour, we think our success as religious teachers, social reformers, administrators, judges, lawyers, physicians, engineers and professors, and as original workers in the fields of literature, science, philosophy, and antiquities, makes a defence quite unnecessary.

Let Madras and Bengali young men, however, take note, let all Indian young men take note that their people are considered lacking in vigour. Let them wipe away the reproach by great devotion to physical culture. We know they are in many places between the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand there is this accusation of want of vigour; on the other, devotion to physical culture exposes them to the suspicion of being anarchists. But where there is a will there is a way. Let them steer clear of rocks. Let them be strong in body, strong in mind, strong in faith in India's strength and high destiny.

Commercial evidence.

European commercial bodies and witnesses have asserted that if some more Indians became magistrates and judges, British capital would cease to flow into India. We think this is an unfounded foreboding. Even if all the district officers and judges were magistrates, British rule would endure, and peace and order would prevail in the land.

It should not be forgotten that the Public Services Commission is dealing with the Civil Services, not the Army Services. Apart from the acquiescence of the people in British rule, which is the most considerable factor, it is not the British civilians who hold India, but the British army and the British-officered sepoy army. The civilians may belong to any race without endangering King George's or his successors' sovereignty. And so long as this is the case, British capital will continue to flow into India. But we suspect the British sojourners in India do not apprehend the cessation of His Majesty's reign so much as that of their own reign.

British capital is invested in many countries where the British flag does not fly. Why then should it be scared away at the sight of an Indian magistracy?

Moreover, the problem should be looked at from the Indian point of view. Has the exploitation of India by means of British capital benefited India? Or, in other words, how much of the wealth obtained by this exploitation has remained in India and in Indian hands, to fructify on Indian soil and be enjoyed and utilised by Indians? Does or does not the foreign exploitation of the mineral wealth of India lead to her permanent impoverishment? Our attitude towards the investment of foreign capital in India must be determined by the satisfactory or unsatisfactory character of the replies to these questions.

Lord Sydenham at the Bombay University Convocation.

At the recent Bombay University Convocation, which, we suppose, is an *educational* function, Lord Sydenham, as Chancellor, delivered a very controversial politico-historical address and, *consistently* enough, concluded it by urging the members of the senate "to receive and welcome all serious proposals for reform even if they emanated from the head of Government, discuss them from an educational point of view and *resolutely keep clear of political method in the conduct of their responsible deliberations.*"

We shall be much obliged if his Excellency feels disposed and competent to say whether in all their educational measures and legislation, Government resolutely keep

clear of political ends. We do not think it bad for either the Government or the people to have political objects in view even in matters which are primarily educational or economic. It is only the bad or retrograde political motive that is reprehensible. We are emphatically of opinion that not only is it legitimate for us to discuss the probable political consequence of any educational project, proposal or measure before the public, but it is our bounden duty to do so, gubernatorial advice to the contrary notwithstanding. Politics is an important part of man's life and is inter-related with every other part.

His lordship discoursed on why Britain conquered (*sic*) India, opined that this conquest was not for conquest's sake, that it was a philanthropic enterprise, that Great Britain was the best possible of all rulers of foreign peoples, &c. "He said that it had been well said that the British people held India on tenure of continuous amelioration. To secure continuous advantage in every direction leading to the moral and material well-being of all classes was the manifest duty of all governments, however constituted, and the sole justification of their existence." We could wish this political sermon had been addressed to all and every European witness before the Public Services Commission; for they have unanimously opposed the progress of Indians in the direction of getting more and more of the higher posts in their own country. We have been for generations treated to the best political ideals; we long for their education to practice at an accelerated pace.

As to his lordship's history, he is undoubtedly aware that the fact of his being a Governor does not make him an authority on that subject. His opinions and theories require to be put to the test of logic and facts, in order that what is true may be separated from what is not. But unfortunately, it is not quite easy to apply this test. For on the popular side there are facts and arguments; on the bureaucratic side, there are facts, arguments, and the Big Stick in the shape of wide-reaching sedition laws.

Referring to education His Excellency said that the startling revelation of the University Commission of 1902 led to the Universities Act of 1903 and 1904.

This created a loud widespread clamour. Opponents alleged that the object was to officialise the Universities. This parrot-cry was taken up by the writers and speakers who had never read the report of the Commission or the remarkable resolution which followed. German and Japan Universities, entirely controlled by Government, were pecuniary efficient.

Can anybody show that the Universities have not been more officialised than they were before; for officially controlled they have always been?

How does his lordship know that "the writers and speakers" referred to "never read the report of the commission or the remarkable resolution which followed"? He was not in India in 1902, or 1903, or 1904. English politicians, unless officially connected with India, or unless they are "white Babus," do not read Indian papers. He was neither. Hence his firsthand knowledge of the period can not be such as to entitle him to pose as a critic of Indian writers and speakers of that period.

His reference to "German and Japan Universities" will raise a smile in Indian lips. Why did he not refer to British Universities? The burden of his address was British superiority over other nations. It would seem, then, that in the matter of Universities the British might be inferior to Germans and Japanese. But there may be another reason. In Great Britain Universities are not "entirely controlled by Government" and therefore, the British parallel would not have served his lordship's purpose. German and Japanese Universities are indeed controlled entirely by the German and Japanese Governments. But in those countries the governments are national; they may not yet have become entirely democratic, popular and representative, but they are in their personnel composed entirely of natives of Germany and Japan, respectively. So that the German Universities, though controlled by government, are yet controlled by men who, being natives of Germany, thoroughly understand the character and needs of Germany and are guided by these considerations; they have not to consult the needs, interests or idiosyncrasies of any other country. Similar is the case with Japanese Universities. Such is not the case with Indian Universities. We hope his lordship will allow that this makes a vital difference.

Lord Carmichael and Dacca students.

Last month, addressing the students of Dacca, Lord Carmichael said :—

Many of you, I suppose, are now about to leave the college and enter on your life's work. I wish you every success. I wonder what careers you intend to follow. I do hope you have thought well about this and made your plans. I cannot help being struck here in India by the fact, which I find very hard to understand, that so many young men look to Government service as the profession which they most wish to follow. I suppose it has its attractions or perhaps it is that other careers are more difficult to enter upon but the number of posts in Government service is very small and must always be small as compared with the number of students who leave our colleges every year; and it seems to me most desirable that students should realise this more fully than they do. I hear almost every day of young men whose fathers have given them good education, who have had a creditable career at the University, but who have gone to their homes and are waiting there in hopes of finding Government employment and who are suffering bitter disappointment because it is not possible to get that employment. I do hope that will not be the case with any of you, but that you have, even though you want Government posts, thought of some second string to your bow. I am glad to see that in the schemes as foreshadowed by the Committee for a new Dacca University this matter has not been forgotten.

In the abstract we agree in thinking that it is unreasonable for our students to expect Government service. But it is not at all difficult to understand why Government service is sought by most. Commercial and industrial careers are few. For this the Government and the people are both responsible, in what degrees we need not here discuss. But are Government posts given to our graduates in accordance with their merits? Even in those provincial, subordinate and ministerial services which are open to Indians, what they call nomination or selection, which is another name for pat-

ronage or favouritism, prevails. And many branches of the public services are practically closed to them. As for the Imperial Services, our boys must not aspire to fill them. So much for the civil side. The army is closed to them. There is no nava career for them. Until the Government has done the utmost possible to provide for our boys, it is not entitled to take them to task in however mild a form, for their hankering after Government service.

His Excellency's reference to the Dacca University Scheme as proposing to give our boys a second string to their bow seems hard to understand. For it does not propose to provide any more careers than the other universities.

The Sixth Annual Exhibition of Indian Art.

The Indian Society of Oriental Art is now holding its Sixth Annual Exhibition, at No. 6 Corporation Street. The collection consists of ancient and modern examples of Indian Art. It is admirable and well worth several visits.

Van Dyck's "Daughters of Charles I."

Poor little ill-fated group, the eldest of whom is to fret her life out in Carisbrooke Castle, at the age of 16, in vain mourning for the father who had known so well how to die like a king! It was of Van Dyck, the painter of this and other portraits of his Court, in a dispute between him and some great noble, that Charles I. so pertinently said: "Of any peasant I can make a Duke, but out of all the Dukes who ever lived, it is not in my power as a king to create one Van Dyck!" Nivedita of Rk. V.



KACH AND DEVAYANI.

By Asit Kumar Haldar.

By the courtesy of Subodh Mallik, Esq.

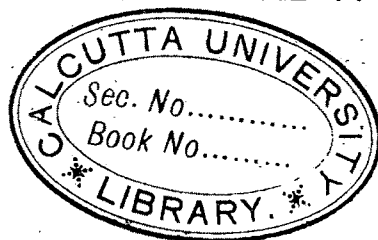
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WESTERN INDUSTRIALISM: ITS LESSONS FOR INDIA

BY WILFRED WELLOCK

IN many respects India is at the parting of the ways. I talk with Indians, read carefully through Indian newspapers, magazines and reviews, and come to the conclusion that a new spirit is coming over India; that a broader horizon is appearing, and that, before long, the general aspect and nature of Indian life will be radically different from what it now is.

Quite naturally I ask myself if all the changes, which I feel to be not likely but inevitable will be for the best, will really make for the true advancement of India. And, must I confess it? I find myself hesitating for an answer. Without doubt I see many things coming which will be of priceless value to India, but I fear I also detect the presence of tendencies, ideas and movements which are bound to produce disaster and decay.

However we may regard or express it, whatever name we may give to the movement, the fact is patent that India is passing through a period of transition, is, indeed, manifesting and developing a new self-consciousness. There is, of course, the movement towards Nationalism, a great, a deeply spiritual, and an advancing cause; but even Nationalism does not explain all the new ideas, tendencies and activities that are taking root in India at the present time. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the cause of Nationalism is but one of the many manifestations of a newly awakened self-consciousness.

So far as one can see, from the outside, that is, there would appear to be no aspect of Indian life into which criticism and the spirit of inquiry are not entering. Not even religion is being excepted. Ancient ideas are being questioned, long-standing customs abandoned. The integrity of the family and of the family patrimony are no longer sacred things to a great number of Indians, and the family, as the social unit, would appear to be fast passing away. More scope is being demanded for the exercise of individuality, while the rights of mind, of the individual for full and free development are everywhere being insisted upon. The desire to live more vitally, intelligently and self-consciously is spreading. And it is for this reason that Indians are bent on securing a more direct control over the government of their country, and are laying so much stress upon education, seriously endeavouring to improve the educational facilities of the young people of their land. It is also for this reason that they are desirous of developing trade and commerce. Partly because more wealth is needed to live this broader, deeper life, and partly because of a desire to produce for themselves, in their own fashion, and in accordance with their own ideas, the works of art which adorn their buildings and their streets, the monuments of engineering skill by means of which the possibilities and facilities of life are greatly increased, the fabrics with which they

clothe and adorn their persons, Indians are bound sooner or later to make a desperate effort to develop the industrial resources of their country.

But having got thus far we come face to face with a very important question: Will India introduce and adopt the industrial policy, methods and practices of the West? Will she assume that the path that has been trod by all the commercial nations of the West must also be trod by her if she would attain commercial prosperity; or in any way benefit by the introduction of Western machinery? To my mind the present moment is an exceedingly critical one for India, a moment that will not only have a profound influence upon her after history, but be a severe test of her moral strength and stability. For the problem confronting India to-day with respect to the development of her industrial life is essentially a moral problem, being a choice between allowing a comparatively few men to make unlimited wealth at the expense of the physical and moral well-being of the many, or insisting on the moral, intellectual and spiritual advancement of the entire nation. And to put the matter quite plainly the policy of Western industrialism is what it is because in the past the nations of the West have made the former of these two choices.

To many, I know, the questions I have just now put will seem absurd, on account of the belief that the course of nations is determined in accordance with fixed laws which are quite beyond the power of man to alter. And then I am quite well aware that in England to-day there is a school of thought, which took its rise, and flourished, towards the close of the last century, which upholds the idea that economic cheapness must necessarily be the determining factor in regard to all industrial considerations, and thus that industrial expansion can only proceed along one given line. According to this school human nature is essentially selfish, being, it would seem, quite incapable, at any rate upon a large scale, of making any material sacrifice for the sake of some great spiritual reward or advantage.

But I most emphatically deny both these contentions. In regard to the first I deny that it is beyond the power of a few stal-

wart and highly moral men to alter the course of a nation's travelling. Consider the Reformation, for instance! In Europe, by the end of the fifteenth century, the Church of Rome had become absolutely corrupt, a source of tyranny and hindrance to progress. The time had come when Roman Catholicism should be dethroned and the monastic system abolished. In the north of Europe, especially in Germany, a few powerful reformers arose; in the south of Europe no such men appeared. What was the result? The peoples in the north were awakened and thus saved from the further effects of a corrupt and tyrannous rule, while the peoples in the south were not saved, in consequence of which they are to-day hopelessly struggling against a most revolting oppression. Moreover, if the course of history is fixed beyond the power of thinking men to alter, how comes it that some nations, at a fairly early stage in their development, attain a large amount of liberty and erect in the midst of their life a number of free institutions, while others never do attain freedom, but are persecuted and repressed until all their finest spirit is crushed out of them?

And in regard to the second contention I deny that human nature is essentially selfish. I think it is far more reasonable and true to say that it is essentially spiritual and social. What strikes me most about humanity, and about history, is the readiness with which men will always sacrifice the material and temporal things of life for the spiritual and eternal. And what nation is there, indeed, that has not at one time or another plunged into war, staked life and property upon a venture for freedom? Is there a nation under the sun that has not fought for its religion and for religious liberty, and has not risked all things, even when it knew that even if it won it would not be one penny piece or one inch of land the better off? As a matter of fact the nation that could not do that would never maintain its place upon the earth, but would soon be regarded as, only fit for vermin by the nations surrounding it. So far from economic advantage being the chief factor in the determination of a nation's history, or even of their industrial policy, I think that one of the most striking and persistently taught lessons of history is that so soon as a nation

begins to concentrate on material and temporal things its decline has begun. And if anyone studying the history of our English industrial development can say that the customs and practices of the leaders of our commercial life to-day do not indicate a marked moral and spiritual decline, then I can only say that it is time I was put in a lunatic asylum.

Morally and spiritually considered there can be no doubt that in regard to certain sections of our society (not in regard to all sections; by any means, for among the working classes I believe there has been a great advance, and that there exists to-day a burning hatred of the ideas and practices adopted by the leaders of our industry), the last few decades have witnessed a serious decline. Indeed, I think it was precisely because at the time of the Industrial Revolution the religious life of England had reached a very low ebb that English industrialism took the form it did. As a matter of fact, up to quite recent years there had not been any advance in the moral thought and opinion of this country from the time of the Puritans. And the fact constitutes a calamity, as just at that time, when the Industrial Revolution was taking place, the greatest need of England was a moral revolution, the development of a new and broader moral code, a more intensely social morality, a grander social and spiritual ideal, as a preparation for the fuller and freer condition of democracy towards which she was marching. But before such a revolution had time to take place, the Industrial Revolution commenced, and once started there was no stopping it or even directing it. It spread, as all revolutions do, like a fever. And it was not until it had done its worst, brought the nation to the brink of social and moral ruin, that the working classes began to assert themselves, and to call for a halt. - The demand for that halt is just beginning to be listened to. In a little while there is some probability that England will come to her senses, and realise that even yet her greatest need is a moral revolution; that her only salvation as a nation and a people lies in a grander and more spiritual conception of life and of society, and that if ever she is to give birth to democracy it will have to be by virtue of a fuller liberty controlled by a more

adequate, a more intensely social morality.

Being thus convinced that if we in England had possessed a finer social morality many of the social evils from which we are suffering to-day, as the result of an unrestrained, thoughtless and inhuman industrialism, would never have come into existence, I feel it my duty to urge upon nations like India, that are just beginning to develop their industrial resources, the necessity of looking at the situation from all sides, and especially of realising the importance of the moral factor; the necessity of teaching in all their schools and colleges the fundamental aims, meaning and purposes of society; the essentially social and spiritual nature of life, and therefore the great need of adopting a high standard of social and commercial morality. If the forces of industry be allowed to go their own way, unchecked by an adequate social morality, there is hardly any doubt whatever that the industrial history of India will be very similar to that of the nations of the West; but if it be checked by moral and social considerations, by social demands that are taught in schools and colleges, and insisted upon in the press, I am convinced that the development of industry can be made a real means of social and spiritual development, of real well-being.

Consequently I regard it as one of the paramount duties of a nation like India, who is preparing herself for some sort of industrial expansion, is to study the commercial history of the great nations of the West with the object of discovering which tendencies have brought disaster and which good. And let it not be thought that the form of industrial life that is to prove permanent, the industrial policy that will be spiritually productive, the real condition of peace and well-being has yet been evolved, and certainly that Western commercialism, so stupendous, so vast and complex, is, for those reasons, either a permanent social form or a necessary condition of social advancement or well-being. Things as stupendous and mighty, and possibly far more worthy have tumbled to pieces ere now. It does sometimes happen that mere bigness and mere complexity do create a sense of the eternity of things. But that is only because to a weak mind vastness

creates a sense of mystery which quite destroys the power of such a mind either to comprehend or to think.

Before any institution or policy can be considered a permanent part of society it must first prove itself compatible with the deep spiritual aspirations and longings of a people. And that the commercial system of the West has not yet done. The entire commercial system of the West is wrong, intrinsically evil, because it is founded upon the idea that it is the right of any person or persons to extract for their own private use, and by almost any means in their power, as much wealth from the community as they possibly can; and no mere modification of details in the superstructure can possibly make it good or even tolerable.

Now I daresay that many Indians, when they think of the industrial life and conditions of England, will conclude that India will never tolerate them, and thus that they need have no fear in regard to the future. But let them not be too certain! Ignorance and poverty can account for a great deal, and many an honest and good-intentioned man has ere now found himself doing things that he would never have believed he either could or would do. I have stated that the Industrial Revolution in England took place at a time when the moral life of the country was at a low ebb. Another important and relevant fact is that it took place at a time when the peasantry of England were enduring tremendous hardship. Labour was plentiful and cheap, and the bulk of the land was in the possession of a mere handful of aristocrats, who not only controlled the land but governed the country with an iron hand. Tariffs were extremely high, while production was limited, so that the profits of the landlords were very great. But the latter were merciless; they raised rents to the highest limit, thus forcing down wages and literally starved thousands of honest and willing workers. It was in the midst of such conditions that the Industrial Revolution was accomplished. Manufactories were established here and there in different parts of the country, and provided work for the workless, the starved and the unfortunate, but at desperately low wages. In a sense, therefore, industry was a God-send, but owing to the extreme poverty in the country, and to a condition

of appalling ignorance, and, as I have said, to a lack of anything like an adequate social morality, an industrial policy was allowed to come into vogue whereby almost any practice, however inhuman and unjust, was so long as it brought in profits, permitted. Being accustomed to poverty and servitude, to reverence those in power and authority, to render obeisance before every form of wealth, the peasantry of England were just the type of people to make what we now know as western industrialism possible. It was thus that thousands of them left the green fields, the quiet country-sides of England to try their chances in the factories and workshops of the towns. Being in the direst poverty they were prepared to undergo much so that they might live at all: and being ignorant of the why and wherefore of things, they soon became the innocent victims of crafty capitalists. The result was that before very long thousands of these people from the open, green country were living in hovels and cellars quite unfit for human habitation; huddled and crowded together in badly built, damp and dingy cottages, like so many cattle or sheep. After a time, of course, and when their intelligence had begun to awaken, the more spirited among them began to protest and to agitate, but before their protesting could become anything like a menace, the industrial system had become firmly established, while the men who were responsible for it had secured for themselves a strong position in Parliament.

Since those early days many improvements have been made, since at one time and another public opinion has become so strong that some sort of modification has been rendered inevitable. But the industrial policy as a whole has remained unchanged, and is to-day a direct cause of much social evil, much unnecessary suffering, as well as a serious menace to society. The effects are evil, as they must necessarily be, seeing that the foundation is immoral. To prove this we need go no further than the class which is supposed to have benefited by our industrial policy. On the whole the wealthy classes of England, to-day, are demoralised, snobbish, vulgar, and morally impotent; they have no moral or social influence in the country, and neither merit nor possess the respect of the nation.

Nemesis has followed in the wake of our industrial "progress" and visited upon those responsible for such barbarism a terrible retribution, having made of them one of the most demoralised and impotent aristocracies that has ever existed. Before long, if present tendencies continue, and the wealthy classes do not arise from their unhealthy slumber, they will be socially ostracised, literally cast out from society, from the swift, full stream of our national life. For without doubt, and in spite of all that they have endured and have submitted to, the English working man does love freedom, and is prepared, if need be, for the direst struggle for it; and now that his eyes have been opened and he has begun to realise what has happened to him, the struggle for liberty will ere long take place.

But what is the liberty that England wants? It is the liberty that Indians must never lose: the right to live as free beings, to fashion lives in their own way and in accordance with their own ideas and ideals. In other words, what England wants is to get rid of the factory system. And if that be so, what India needs to do is to prevent the establishment of the factory system,—that is, on the scale we have it in England. What, in my opinion, we are suffering from in England is the centralisation of industry in towns, in large factories; the control of industry by so few individuals, a mere handful of crafty capitalists. English industrialism is founded upon what is known as the principle of Individualism—the Individualism of the Manchester School of economists. But that order of individualism has utterly broken down, as the existing social and industrial unrest in England abundantly proves. But to what is the failure of Individualism due? To the fact that it rests upon the principle of individual liberty? Decidedly not. Its failure is due, and most conspicuously, to the base and immoral conception upon which that principle rests, the conception, *viz.*, that the object of industry is simply to make unlimited wealth for oneself and one's family, etc., and also that any means to that end are right so long as they can be enforced. What we really want, therefore, is a new moral basis to our individualism; a new social idealism; a broader, grander and profounder conception of life controlling our

commercial life. For, as a matter of fact, what we are really needing is not the restriction of liberty but enlightenment whereby it may be properly used; not the elimination of individualism but the extension of opportunities whereby more people may live as individuals. And it is by purifying Individualism, by making it moral, that we can extend it.

And certainly I do not see why this end cannot be achieved. Great moral and spiritual ideals have prevailed in the past, caused men and women to leave the ways of evil and to strike out into new trends of thought, new habits and ways of life, so why can't they prevail today? There is no limiting the power of public opinion, and I am fully persuaded that there is no moral achievement, however great and stupendous it may seem, that cannot be achieved as the result of hard and determined work, of open and untiring advocacy and exposition. Not a few Indian nationalists, I think, will bear me out in this.

I am firmly convinced that the solution of the industrial problem in England can only, and will eventually be found in the decentralisation of industry and if that is the case, then it seems to me obvious that Indians ought to do all they can to prevent the over-centralisation of industry in their own country. Englishmen are wanting a freer life, liberty and independence, more personal control over their life, their everyday affairs. And how can this be secured except by the possession of land and machinery of their own? Eventually, I believe that even we in England will get back to conditions similar (similar, I say, not the same), to what they used to be in the days of yore, when the people lived on the land, and each man possessed his strip, or his shed containing his loom, at which he could work as circumstances allowed and need determined. Nor is there any real difficulty in the way of realising such an ideal condition as this. Now that land cultivation has become so intense it is not necessary for one man to have very much land in order to make a livelihood, consequently there is really no reason why every family in England should not have its piece of land, and, in addition to a house, an outhouse in which to keep two or three machines, according to circumstances and

necessity. In this way poverty could practically be eliminated, because every family would be almost wholly self-supporting. And once the ideal of self-help and the art of self-expression had been learnt, the people would begin to find new avenues of self-culture in the production of all manner of beautiful things. Homes would be less artificial than they now are, and would be adorned more and more with the products of the skill and labour of their inmates. Also, producing their own cloths, (woven in looms which would be driven by a small motor, or by means of electricity supplied from a local depot), the present tendency of cheapening material would be checked, as the people would take a pride in producing the very best materials, and in their own designs; and this, again, would be a good thing as it would destroy the power of fashion, and cause people to be more self-reliant even in regard to their tastes.

In this way men and women could become the real masters of their lives, truly independent. But they would take full advantage of science and invention so that they might have more time in which to devote themselves to those higher artistic activities which give most satisfaction and pleasure. Also they would be able to have variety of employment, the privilege of spending part of their day in the field, if they so desired, and part of it in the workroom. Moreover, as the people would live in fairly close approximation to one another, it would be quite easy to arrange "centres", or "towns", if you like, where they could meet for discussion, visit the theatre, attend lectures or concerts, purchase literature, or borrow it from the library.

A free, full, self-controlled life is what Englishmen are to-day wanting, and what every spiritually healthy people is bound to want. Such a life would be the most effective means I can conceive of for eliminating the terrible social evils which are so rampant in England, and for ensuring the cultivation of a strong and beautiful national character. Instead of making work hateful it would convert it into a delight, and would, in addition, be the means of making art a more pronounced, vital and influential factor in life.

Of course, I quite admit that not all

forms of industry could be decentralised, as the mining industry, railways, etc., but in regard to these, if each family had its plot of land, the amount of work that each man would need to put in at such occupations would be very small, so that such labour would neither exhaust nor demoralise him, especially seeing that with the introduction of the co-operative idea and spirit, each worker would have some share both in the control and in the profits of that industry.

The English industrial system is wrong, the negation of liberty in the many and the direct cause of countless social evils, for the simple reason that it has a false moral basis. Not until that fact has been clearly and fully realised can any real reform possibly take place. And this truth ought to have immense significance for India. It indicates not only that Indians ought to resist the tendency to centralise industry, but that they ought to attack the inhumanity, the callous disregard of human needs, feelings and wants, which makes centralisation possible. And if in good time a strong moral appeal is made and a serious endeavour is put forth to establish in the minds of the Indian people a new social ideal, ideas of life which are superior and opposed to the ideal of mere commercial prosperity, then the situation in India can be saved, Western commercialism, with all its tyranny and heartlessness, repulsed, and an industrial policy adopted which shall be the means of increasing not wealth only, but peace, good-will, and true well-being.

And such a work can be accomplished through the deliberate cultivation of public opinion. When I think of what has taken place in England during the past thirty years, my faith in the possibilities of public opinion scarcely knows any bounds. To-day England possesses one of the most intelligent proletariats in the world; and yet the great task of enlightening the working classes of this country, the industrial workers and the rural peasants alike has been accomplished in the short space of twenty or thirty years. What with lectures, debates and speeches, a cheap press,—especially the establishment of the half-penny daily newspaper,—the production of the greatest works in literature in neat

handy volumes from sixpence to a shilling, the working classes of England have become enlightened to a degree that even the aristocracy and Middle Classes of our country have little idea of. Only the other day a Principal in one of our Universities said that practically all the serious reading in England to-day was being done by working men.

And certainly, as I have already hinted, it was very unwise to rely too much on the belief that Indians would never fall a prey to the liberty-destroying industrial system of the West, for the temptations of wealth and luxury are great, and one may never know who will not fall a prey to them. If our forefathers of two centuries ago, say, could be shown how the majority of their descendants were living and working to-day I imagine they would be staggered, and would say: "Impossible! this must be a dream!"

Without doubt India must teach her sons and daughters a new social idealism; teach them that life is an art, and show them what the true conditions of well-being are. And both in England and in the East there is great need to strike a heavy blow at that tremendous lie, that foundation principle of Western economics:—that the object of industry is to make unlimited wealth for oneself and one's family. Other evil principles, the outcome of this primary one, and now, as the result of practice, accepted as just and right, are also in need of being attacked and uprooted, for being essentially immoral and anti-social, they are doing incalculable harm in our midst. I will mention three or four: (1) That it is right to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest; (2) That it is right to pay the lowest wages that can be enforced upon a given set of workmen, no matter by what means, and no matter what profits are; (3) That it is right to take the utmost advantage of a monopoly, no matter what the nature of the commodity is, or how

poor the people are who need it; (4) That it is right for one man or a set of men, by reason of a "coup," to reap benefits which obviously belong and ought in all fairness to go to the community at large.

All such matters as these are essentially moral and personal matters, and only the recognition of them as such can prevent the exploitation of the poor, whether of the half-civilised populations of unknown and foreign lands, or of the ignorant, hard-working multitudes of one's own flesh and blood. It is for this reason that I hold that the greatest need of the world to-day is moral enlightenment, the illumination of a deeper spiritual truth. The modern world must be made to realise that there is such a thing as an art of living, and that there exist deep and fundamental principles without which no nation can be either happy or great. We must not be content, as we have too long been in the West, with teaching the mechanical arts and sciences, the means of making wealth, etc., but must teach that greatest of all the arts and sciences, that of living well.

Of all the fevers to which a civilised nation is subject, the fever of commercialism is the most insidious, the most dangerous, the most dehumanising and demoralising. While it rages, the great products of civilisation—liberty, the free institutions of a free people, established through centuries of strenuous effort and hard battling—are in jeopardy, and tend to vanish, spectre like, one after the other, until nothing is left but a memory, the shell, as it were, of a reality that once was. That this is so we need only look at the things that are done in the name of civilisation and by the great and, yea, professedly Christian nations of the West to-day in the realm of commerce. Surely such reflections ought to be enough to make India stir herself and do her utmost to make her industrialism humane, and to keep it under the control of a great and lofty idealism.

UPON MANTELPIECES

EVERY ordinary living room in the house of every ordinary Englishman has its fire-place for defence against the

cold in winter season, and every fire-place possesses what is called a mantelpiece, the essential part of which is a ledge or shelf

fastened upon the wall. This shelf is convenient for holding things, and it is usually the first object that catches one's eye, after the fire beneath it, when one steps out of the cold weather into a room in which a fire is burning. Moreover it is the object which dwells most constantly in front of the gaze of the customary occupants of the living room, for English people, like cats, have the habit of sitting as near to the fire as they can, without scorching their shoes, with their feet arranged upon the fender. When one visits friends in the winter-time in England, one finds them all seated round the mantelpiece, and the first thing one's hostess says to one in the way of welcome is: "Won't you come up to the fire?" You accept a seat by the fire, and your gaze is immediately fixed upon the fire,—and upon the mantelpiece.

These few words are sufficient to show the importance of the mantelpiece in an Englishman's house, but they have breathed not a hint of the variety that is to be found among mantelpieces. There are wooden mantelpieces and stone mantelpieces, there are marble mantelpieces and mantelpieces of slate painted so as to imitate marble. Some lover of novelty in Belgium it was I believe who discovered that slate could be painted in such a manner as to appear like marble in the eyes of persons who had never closely inspected marble. He made a fortune out of his discovery and bequeathed to the West a new industry, because he had found a way of gratifying the tastes of people who desire showy mantelpieces which at the same time are not expensive mantelpieces. Moreover many good folk in the simplicity of their hearts admired this discoverer for his cleverness in producing a resemblance—not to what marble looks like—but to their idea of what marble ought to look like. Some even went so far as to prefer slate with cleverness shining all over it to marble which was merely marble, and perhaps did not shine at all. It had not occurred to them that there is a species of dishonesty about mantelpieces which are more showy than real, just as there is about men when they pretend to be what they are not. It had never entered their thoughts that the hospitable sincerity in the tones

of their voices when they asked their friends to sit with them by the fire, and the warmth of the fire itself, were things too real and too precious to be associated with the suggestion of sham in a painted slate mantelpiece.

There are varieties among the materials; therefore, out of which mantelpieces are made, but in addition to these varieties, there are other varieties in mantelpieces produced by the various ways in which mantelpieces are decorated. The essential part of a mantelpiece, as I have already remarked, is the shelf or ledge which is convenient for holding things. The commonest object to be found upon a mantelpiece is a clock, and considering that the mantelpiece is more often looked at than any other part of furniture of the room, one can understand that the place for the clock is well chosen. Then, besides the clock, there commonly appear ornaments upon the mantelpiece. Consider once more how often the mantelpiece is looked at, and then think of the responsibility which is incurred by the person who chooses the mantelpiece ornaments. Suppose we put upon the mantelpiece a pair of candlesticks which are much too ornamental ever to hold a candle: what will be the consequence to our habits of daily thought of the daily suggestion that ornament is to be preferred to usefulness? Or suppose we put a mirror behind the mantelpiece, in which we see our own reflections too often? Or a potter's jar of which it can only be said that the potter made a mistake when he made it? Or a bronze elephant which merely shows that we were foolish when we bought it? There is difficulty and danger in furnishing a mantelpiece!

I cannot help thinking that it is a good instinct which leads English people to hang a family portrait—if they possess such a thing—immediately over the mantelpiece. This position upon the wall is the most highly honoured position in the room, and the portrait that occupies that position is a highly honoured portrait. If many of my friends came out to India, it pleases me to think that they would find their portraits hanging just upon that part of the wall where my eyes most often rest when I lift them out of a book, or a student's composition exercise, or this essay upon

mantelpieces. I have thus introduced you, reader, to my fireside; and you understand that I know of no more sacred place to which I could invite you. An Englishman's house is his castle, in which he defends his feelings. It is the instinct of an Englishman to hide his feelings and allow no sign of them to be betrayed. Being a practical man, he cannot bear the physical exhaustion which emotions inflict upon him. They hinder his work. He lives for work, and not for art, nor religion, nor philosophy, nor the enlargement of his mind. Why he should live so exclusively for work is a puzzle even to himself; for he knows that there are other worlds besides that of work. The gods, who use him, employ him for a duster, or a broom, or a saw, or a spade, or a plough, or a crane, or a locomotive or anything else of this useful kind. They permit him to have his household gods, which he arranges round his mantelpiece, where few persons but himself shall see them; they permit him to love his home as the dearest thing upon earth—as in fact only the most home-loving of men love their home,—and then prompt him to be the readiest of all men to leave it.

I have been talking about the general laws of mantelpieces, about other people's mantelpieces, with the object at last of coming to the topic of my own mantelpiece. But before I go a step further I must defend myself against the possible suggestion that I wish to hold up my mantelpiece as in any way perfect, or as in any way an example to other mantelpieces of what a mantelpiece should be. I certainly wish to set no examples, and I follow as few as I can, consistently with my but limited power of carving out a line for myself. Undoubtedly I am as sadly lacking in originality of character as the rest of mankind, but in the single article of mantelpieces I do my best to be an exception,—to ascertain my real private liking,—and to set before my fireside-loving eyes (it is cold just now in the Punjab) no objects save such as have related themselves to me by some sort of genuine affinity.

The superb centre of my mantelpiece is adorned by a clay vase which I bought in the bazaar at Lahore. It is a roundish vase, with a flat base, and a broad lip,

covered all over with a black glaze, upon which appears (at about the centre of the vessel) a coloured decoration of bands of dull red and green and gold, enclosing a careless and conventional but absolutely right handling of a design of lotus blossoms, the blossoms being painted alternately yellow and green and white. If anybody showed a wise man the moon, he would say "The moon," and if anybody showed a wise man this vase, he would say "India!" Like the famous jar in the Arabian fable, the jar which contained a jinn, this vase upon my mantelpiece contains a spirit,—the living spirit of India, or at least of the Punjab; but whereas the fisherman in the story drew his jar up out of the sea at no cost to himself save a slight jerk of his arms and a possible rent in his nets, my vase cost me the round sum of one anna and two pice. I keep it upon my mantelpiece not for its use (for it has none as far as I can discover) but for its beauty, which is a different thing from ornament; and for the spirit in it, which is a very thought-provoking guest.

By way of contrast to the vase I have placed on either side of it two little brass bowls with Persian designs upon them, which I bought in Kashmir. They are unmistakably Eastern, and I like them partly for that reason, and partly because I can see the joining which cut through the patterns, where the metal worker has hammered the two pieces of brass in each bowl together. He did not polish up his work until all the human interest was taken out of it. These brass bowls obviously were made by a craftsman and not by a machine.

Next to the brass bowls, upon one side of the mantelpiece is a papier-maché tray, and upon the other side is a candlestick. The papier-maché tray is leaned up against the wall idly, in spite of a useful vocation that might be found for it, because I wish to preserve it from accident, and because I like its rich splash of colour. It is covered over with painted flowers after the manner of the patient Srinagar workmen, and reminds me as often as I look at it of the wealth of flowers upon the higher slopes of the Kashmir Himalayas. For me it is almost like having the Himalayas themselves upon the mantelpiece! But

there is something else belonging to the tray: the spirit of Srinagar resides in it, but not so eloquently nor so intimately as the spirit of the Punjab resides in the vase. As a thing of beauty it is inferior to the vase, notwithstanding that infinitely more labour has been bestowed upon it. The Punjab potter might have made a hundred vases while the Srinagar painter was making this one tray: but the tray is the work of a school of conscious handicraftsmen, whereas the vase was produced by an unselfconscious handicraftsman who belonged not to a school but to a race, whose skill was borrowed by the genius of his race (while he himself was unaware of it) and turned into an instrument of racial expression. The vase is the Punjab, and the tray is only a little bit of Srinagar: but still—admire the tray!

Talking about the tray, reminds me of the shawls of Kashmir. I have no shawls upon my mantelpiece except in the same way as the Himalayas are there: by association. In Srinagar, my wife and I were shown a shawl in which all the colours in the world were blended together in so wonderful a harmony and so intricate a design, that we both fell into a fixed gaze of astonishment in front of it. Would we put it about our shoulders?—the shopkeeper asked. Nay, that were irreverence. Would we buy it? Nay, that were even worse than irreverence. For this shawl seemed to contain the knowledge of the secret of the universe, and yet not to reveal it. The shawl in fact was something more than a shawl, it was a religion; and this religion was to be bought for the trifling sum of two thousand rupees! Since it seemed to be the same religion as my own, however, the religion of art and beauty and humanity and mystery, I did not buy it. But I would advice you to buy it, unless you possess it already.

The next thing we were shown in the same city in which we were shown the shawl, was a papier-maché pencil-box painted by a workman who now paints no more pencil-boxes. The design was of flowers seen into the minutest markings of their petals and veins of their leaves, with a nightingale here and there, surrounded by a night which was a Persian night, full of poetry and moons and stars. This lustrous

night and the flowers visible in it, and the songs of the birds, and the moons, and the stars were all to be purchased for thirty rupees; but for some reason I thought more of the pain of losing thirty rupees when I held the pencil-box in my hand than I did of the pleasure of gaining a night in Persia. The pencil-box therefore finds no place upon my mantelpiece, but like one of those desires of which the value appreciates simply because we have not obtained them, it remains a possession for ever.

The Kashmir shawl and the pencil-box have been what the critics call a digression, but this is one of the most delightful things about mantelpieces, to wit, that when you sit down under one of them and begin to talk, you never know whither the conversation will wander. One topic will lead to another, and you will wind along many a track of the well-trodden universe, always wonderful to the eyes of men, before you find yourselves sitting by the fireside again. In the meanwhile, I hope you have not forgotten the candlestick, which like the tray comes from Kashmir. It is a simple clay column standing upon a broad base as every candlestick ought to do, so that no slight accident can overturn it, and the part that holds the candle might hold instead of the candle, oil and a wick, if I preferred that method of illumination. This upper part of the candlestick is in fact shaped like the little clay lamps that are burnt all over Lahore on Dewali night, but the hollow of it is half covered over with a circular rim upon which are stamped circular patterns of a primitive yet pleasure-giving appearance. No doubt these patterns have been used over and over again upon candlesticks and other articles made by the potter, and numbers of people, during many generations of men perhaps, must have had pleasure in them. The potter copies Nature in this, that when he has invented a good pattern he does not mind repeating it. These circular whorls on my candlestick bear a resemblance to a particular species of snail-shell which is to be picked up in the ditches in England. The snail-shell was invented by Mother Nature in the days when she had just hit upon the creation of her molluscs. She designed many snail-shells with her prodigal fingers, but this

particular snail-shell pleased her so well that she continued to make it and preserve it and would suffer no alteration in it during age after age, busy as she was with the invention of ten thousand other creatures, until at last she found herself with man upon her hands. Even today while her brows are knit with anxiety over her human problem, she continues to delight and amuse herself with her snail-shell, and it is probable that she will still be snatching moments to play with it when her heart is filled with the happiness of the distant Golden Age.

I have described the central and midway adornments of my mantelpiece; it now remains to speak about the two ends. At one end of my mantelpiece I have placed a tall wooden hookah with a clay bowl, which I bought in Islamabad, and at the other end I have placed a cast in plaster of Paris,—a low relief portrait of the head of a scholar.

There is nothing particular about the hookah, except that its straight lines present a pleasant contrast to the oval form of the tray. It is ringed with circles of colour,—black and red and yellow and green,—like everything of wood which is made at Islamabad. I keep it upon my mantelpiece not because I wish to smoke it (I possess scarcely sufficient courage), but because it reminds me that I have been to Islamabad, and because friends remark when they come into my study: "You've bought a hookah." "Yes," I reply, with a much-travelled air, "I bought it in Islamabad."

And the plaster cast? Few people who recognise a wonderful thing when they see it, fail to look for quite a long time at the plaster cast. It is the portrait of a scholar, and it would be difficult to say of what it speaks most eloquently,—whether of knowledge, or dignity, or will. I knew the scholar, and I knew these things in him, and I knew also his spirit of festal mirth, and friendship and genial tenderness; all of which may be felt in the portrait. He is reading a book with attention, you see, but with an expression about the eyes and the brow and the mouth which suggests reserves of comparison and judgment. It may be a book printed in almost any European language, living

or dead, for he was a master of tongues, and in the manipulation of his own English he possessed a skill and a power which made one think that Wisdom herself was speaking in audible tone and visible form.

He used when a boy to visit an aunt who kept a large garden. In the garden grew fruit-trees laden in the proper season with all kinds of fruit. The boy was allowed to wander in the garden, but was forbidden to touch apples or pears or peaches, anything at all save the humble gooseberries. Peaches are a rarity in England, growing only on the sunniest and warmest walls. The boy was fond of peaches.

One day at the dinner table the aunt spoke as follows to the nephew: "You are a good boy. I saw you in the garden just now looking at the peach trees, and you did not pluck a single peach. Here are two peaches for you" (pushing a plate towards him) "because you did not touch my peaches." The boy was filled with burning indignation, and exclaimed (pushing the plate away from him): "I don't want a reward for not stealing, and I won't have your peaches!"

He refused to have them: an obstinate boy: and yet, he was fond of peaches. I admire him for refusing, because it was his character; and I admire him for not plucking the fruit in the garden. Other boys, I know, would have plucked the peaches, and I should have admired them scarcely less heartily. There are all sorts of boys, and most of them good sorts.

But when it comes to men, few men are so good as was this scholar. The strength of will which was evident in him in boyhood increased to distinguish him from the mass of men all through his long, busy, toilsome, and often tragic life. He bore the bludgeonings of chance like the poet Henley bore them. And through everything persisted his scholarship (his house was full of books and contained practically every best book in the literature and scholarship of at least half the world), and through everything kept on growing his wisdom, and that pure essence of kindness which brought to her door humble people with humble human woes, and busy people with complicated worldly or

business problems,—the men of affairs seeking out the scholar for consultation and enlightenment,—a thing of seldom occurrence!

The scholar possessed a few intimate friends as true as steel: you can imagine for yourselves what kind of men and women would be chosen for friends by such a man as he. One of these friends, who was an artist, hammered out of a sheet of bronze a portrait of the scholar. He

did it with incommunicable feelings, guided by his recollections of what his friend looked like, for the living presence had left the friendly circle before the portrait was begun. It was a truthful portrait, beaten out of the bronze, and plaster casts were taken from it. It is one of those plaster casts which stands upon my mantelpiece.

P. E. RICHARDS.

SOCIAL SERVICE IN INDIA

BY P. O. PHILIP, B.A., OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF INDIA.

"Feel for the wrongs to universal ken
Daily exposed, woe that unshrouded lies;
And seek the sufferer in his darkest den,
Whether conducted to the spot, by sighs
And moanings, or he dwells (as if the wren
Taught him concealment) hidden from all eyes
In silence and the awful modesties
Of sorrow;—feel for all, as brother men!
Rest not in hope want's icy chain to thaw
By casual boons and formal charities;
Learn to be just, just through impartial law;
Far as you may, erect and equalise;
And, what ye cannot reach by statute, draw
Each from his fountain of self-sacrifice!"

—WORDSWORTH.

OF the many benefits that India in common with the East has derived from the impact of western ideals and civilisation on those of the Eastern, the new ideas concerning the duties we owe to society and humanity which the East is rapidly assimilating and putting into practice are perhaps the most important and far-reaching. Time was when men of light and leading in our country did not think it worth their while to bestow any attention or kindness on their less fortunate countrymen. It was argued that one was a Pariah and another a Brahmin, one in health and another in ill-health, one in degrading moral surroundings and another in healthy atmosphere as the result of the working of the inexorable law of Karma; and it was believed that it was futile to attempt to effect any change in the existing state of things. Consequently the sorrows and sufferings, the ignorance and the moral degradation of the submerged

millions of our land were looked upon with unconcern or at best with feelings of helpless resignation. The appearance of the Christian Missionary on the scene as the friend of publicans and sinners and as the benefactor of the outcast and the low-caste, the leper and the blind meant the introduction of a new force in the thought and life of Indian society. The missionary like his divine master has often to carry on his work in the face of misunderstanding and opposition; but no one with an unprejudiced mind can deny that he has succeeded in introducing the leaven of his master's spirit in the inert mass of Indian life, and it is only a question of time when the whole lump will be leavened. Witness, for instance the remarkable change that has recently come over the educated Indians in their attitude towards the depressed classes. Who even thought that the depressed classes considered as untouchables and condemned by the traditions and sanctions of the past to a life of social degradation would be sought after, educated and made to feel and realise their heritage in the common wealth of mankind and that by the representatives of the very people who were once instrumental in keeping them in the depressed state? And yet this is what is being done in a very small measure but with a large promise for the future by the handful of workers connected with the Depressed Classes Mission Society of Bombay. So also the spirit which actuates many young

men in different parts of India to band themselves together under able and wise leadership for the promotion of education and social reform has its origin in and derives much of its strength from the new heaven above referred to. Then again the helping hand that is stretched out by the people of one province to those of another on occasions of famines and floods and similar disasters; the widespread sympathy shewn by the people of India on behalf of their unfortunate brethren in South Africa; the organised attempts that are being made to prevent cruelty to children in our big cities—these and other activities tell us in an unmistakable way that we are living in an age of general awakening about the duties and responsibilities we owe to our fellowmen. Living as we do in such an age of promise of great opportunities for service with fields white unto harvest but with practically no labourers to go out, is it not our duty, nay our privilege, to do what we can towards reducing the sum total of human misery that we see around us? Is not the situation one which should call forth all that is noble and good in us for bringing what little sunshine and happiness we can into the lives of many of our race who are the victims of selfish intentions and aggrandisements, groaning under the weight of sin and disease, of poverty and ignorance? If our hearts are not moved by compassion by the sight of the people around us, we may ask ourselves whether we have in us any humanity, any heart or feeling for others.

Now let us consider very briefly some very important questions about social service—what social service is and what it is not; how it could be sustained and what its motive power should be.

By social service no one means a going to the highways and by-ways with heaps of coins and distributing them free to every one who asks for them; neither does it consist in establishing feeding houses in different poor centres and giving food free to multitudes every day. Such actions may often be done with a sincere motive for alleviating human misery. But as long as they are unaccompanied by any attempt to find out and deal with the real cause of the misery we are so anxious to alleviate we are only doing a social disservice and

not any social service. Such acts of indiscriminate charity instead of improving the condition of humanity in any way will only help to foster in society the evils of idleness, disinclination to work and many other evils. One of the former Maharajas of Travancore thought that he was doing a great act of social service by establishing feeding houses throughout his state. He restricted the benefits of such feeding establishments to a particular caste, and he sincerely believed he was helping that caste by doing so. But to-day no one deplors the evils which such an institution has fostered in that community more than the enlightened members of that very community; and be it said to their credit that they were among those who sincerely worked for its abolition. Indiscriminate charity though done with the best of motives and holiest of intentions can never be considered as social service. Those who give money and other gifts to every one who asks for them without taking the trouble to enquire whether what they give will go to supply a real need or only to confirm him in his habits of idleness and vice are far from helping the society they are so very anxious to help.

What then is social service? Social service means serving society. Society is composed of individuals and individuals are grouped into families and communities and nations. We find that in this world of ours the interests of one individual often clash with the interest of another, of one family with those of another family and of one community with those of another community and in the competition that ensues we find that men are not guided by principles of righteousness and truth and justice. If individuals and families, communities and nations will not in economic and other competitions allow themselves to be governed by base motives of selfishness and greed but on the other hand be actuated by motives of selflessness and consideration for others there would be an end to half the troubles that we have in the world to-day. A large share of the misery and degradation we see around us can ultimately be traced to the selfishness of man. Selfishness can be described as going just a little bit off that perfect balance of the Golden Rule. A man who does not as he would be done

by; a man who does not love his neighbour as himself, is selfish. In other words he is using some part of society for his own individual profit without regard to what the effect is upon society itself. Here you find a man reduced to penury. You approach him and try to get into conversation with him. He has a tale of woe to narrate to you. He was once the proud possessor of lands. He was generally keeping his expenses well within his income; but he runs into a small debt for the sake of meeting the expenses connected with the marriage of his daughter. The inevitable demands on his income do not enable him to pay back the debt. He has mortgaged a portion of his lands to the money-lender and he has agreed to pay a high rate of interest on the amount borrowed. The interest accumulates year by year until at last the money-lender is able to dispossess him of all his properties and to turn him and his family out to a life of destitution and poverty. Such tragedies are being enacted every day in almost every part of India; and is it not sad to think that the greed for money on the part of a few wicked money-lenders is responsible for much of the misery and poverty and starvation we find in many a home?

A good deal of the misery we see around us is also caused by ignorance. Ignorance on the part of the people about the elementary principles of sanitation and health, lay them open to the devastations of disease, ignorance of the elementary rights of citizenship and humanity keep them and enable others to keep them in a depressed down-trodden condition. Ignorance about the evils of intemperance makes them a prey to drink and other vices; and ignorance of the art of reading and writing deprives them of one of the greatest blessings which man can have, *e.g.*, knowledge. We need not consider here the much debated question of suffering. Whatever may be the explanations offered to account for its existence, whether these explanations satisfy us or not, we cannot deny that suffering is a hard and terrible fact we have to face at every turn in this world of ours. Suffering is as old as man himself. Whether in days of old, in the days of the *Illiad* and the *Ramayana* which some people enchanted by distance love to depict as good old days, or in the

prosaic modern age, the age of electricity and the aeroplane mankind has been more or less in the same plight. Selfishness and ignorance have been the great disturbing factors in human society. They have been operating from the very dawn of history as forces tending to prevent man from realising himself from becoming what God intends that he should become. Here we lay our finger on a circumstance which has always operated as a fruitful source of the large amount of misery we have always with us. From what has been said above it will be evident that anything which tends to reduce the sum total of human ignorance and to weaken the motive for selfish action will also tend to reduce the sum total of human misery. But at the same time it should be remembered that our schemes for dispelling ignorance, our well-planned systems of education cannot by themselves promote the social welfare of mankind. Such schemes should be co-ordinated with efforts to redeem man from his moral depravity and to strengthen his character. Education whether literary or technical unless accompanied by efforts to build up a strong character will not be of any great value in the keen competitions of life. Living as we do in an age of economic competition, individuals who have only a faultless knowledge of particular subjects or industries are not the ones that are likely to succeed. Individuals of knowledge, of value we no doubt want. But more than them we want individuals of value and character. If men should become capable factors in the competition of life they should be first and foremost men of character. Professional qualifications have only a secondary place. If so much is granted it will readily be admitted that efforts which are carried on with the sole intention of enriching the knowledge of the people, of making them well versed in the three R's, of teaching them the most improved and scientific methods of agriculture or industry cannot be called social service. Such efforts will become acts of real social service only, when a change for the better takes place in the life and conduct of the people, only when they are trained to love truth and righteousness and to hate all forms of evil. Let us suppose we have a village of the depressed classes. They do not know to read and write. They

are addicted to drink and other vices. They are dirty beyond description and they are in a state of abject poverty. A man gets interested in them. He acquires a large piece of land, builds for them neat little houses. He teaches them to read and write, and he gives them the most up-to-date training in one or two profitable industries. If at this stage he leaves them to themselves believing that he has done all that he could possibly do for them, there is no doubt he is sadly mistaken. Soon he will be sorry to find that all his work of educating them, of improving their earning capacity and of comfortably housing them have been like ploughing the seashore. The evil habits and tendencies left unreformed among them will assert themselves; the savage in them left untamed is sure to make its appearance and "their last state will be worse than the first." There is a story, told of a social worker in one of the Pacific islands. He was working among cannibals. He was able to persuade them to put on clothes. He taught them many of the habits of civilised life and the art of reading and writing; and it is said that after some years he wrote home about his work in the following terms. "My people now put on coats and trousers. They live in neat little bungalows, they dine on tables and they know how to use spoon and knife and fork. But they still eat human flesh." The author of the story perhaps meant it to be understood only as a parable; but it is a parable which teaches us clearly the dangers arising from a neglect of the elementary principle of social service stated above. A study of the lives of the famous social workers of the world tell us that those who in the midst of all their varied acts of kindness and mercy cared first and foremost for character and worked for the development of personality and for drawing out and enriching all that is lovely and true and noble in man were the very persons who were able to do the most abiding kind of service for mankind. The name of the late General Booth of the Salvation Army so well known throughout the world as one of the greatest of the social workers will be perpetuated in history as one of the benefactors of humanity not because he clothed thousands and fed tens of thousands but because he was instrumental in introducing

a regenerating, uplifting force in the life of the most hopeless and degenerated sections of humanity. So also William Wilberforce, Booker T. Washington, Dr. Barnardo and other social workers speak to us in no uncertain tone through their life and work of the existence of a power for good which is able to overcome evil. All the activities and achievements with which their names are associated would not have been possible were they not dominated by an unshakable faith in the ultimate victory of goodness.

We have next to consider what the motive power of social service should be and how it could be sustained in the face of difficulties and failures. Social work undertaken from motives of emulation or from fear of being left behind the times cannot be expected to have in it the vitality necessary to meet and overcome difficulties. We find that many schemes of social reform and social service ushered into the world with the best of intentions die a natural death as soon as the first burst of enthusiasm with which they were started exhausts itself. To enable us to persist in loving our fellowmen and in serving them in the face of many things which make it hard for us to do so, in the face of facts which make us despair of success, we need surely something more than a desire to imitate or excel others. Those who constantly come in contact with men of all sorts and conditions by seeing more of the dark than the bright side of human life are likely to lose their faith in humanity. How is it possible to love those who are unlovely, to suppress the feeling of hatred that comes upon us when we see things that are hateful in those for whom we work? This is a feeling which ordinarily overtakes one who seeks to serve his fellowmen in any way, and the objection underlying this feeling seems to him very real and forcible. But is our feeling towards our fellow-creatures as simple as this objection suggests? Is it not true that most men have in them qualities we can love even when the hateful qualities predominate? And do not self-interest and self-love often make many things hateful to us which are not hateful in themselves. When we think of a fallen criminal or a confirmed drunkard do we not say "He also was once an innocent child and who knows what he might have been had he been placed

in better surroundings and under more wholesome influences?" We save a man from drowning even though we know he is a great criminal. We save him simply because he is a man. Feelings like this that we detect in us tell us that there is a kind of love which we bear to our fellow-creatures which transcends both the love of the whole race and that independent love of each individual which appears impossible when we consider that different individuals exhibit opposite qualities. This is "the love not of all men nor yet of every man but of the man in every man," and it is a matter of experience that such a love for the ideal of man in each individual exists in us. The actual discovery of noble qualities, in particular human beings gives rise to this feeling; and it is strong or weak in us in proportion as we have known many or few noble human beings. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that men whose lot it has been to live among the mean and the base should lose faith in humanity as such and should be inclined to believe that the happiness or misery of such a paltry race is wholly unimportant. On the other hand those who have been from childhood acquainted with the fair side of life, who have seen noble acts of self-sacrifice and self-forgetfulness are in a position to understand and appreciate the good and the noble in man. Our belief in and estimate of human nature will be determined by the degree of acquaintance we have with its best specimens. More than high ideals and noble truths and more than the mere teachers and preachers of ideals the example of at least one who has shewed by actual life the heights of love and self-sacrifice to which man is capable of attaining, is what is wanted to elevate this feeling of humanity in us to the level of a dominating passion. Precepts of love and brotherhood and lofty teachings are valuable only in so far as they make us feel it right to be humane and desire to be so. But they could never inspire us with an enthusiasm of humanity—an enthusiasm which is secure from the temptations to injure any human being whether it be ourselves or others and which is eager to benefit and bless all men to the utmost of our power. When giving precept of love and self-sacrifice, an example must be placed

before the eyes of those who are called upon to obey them, the example of one who gave every inch of his time and every particle of his being for the welfare of mankind and who stands out as an ideal of man noble and powerful enough to raise the whole race and to make the humblest members of it sacred with reflected glory. A man bound fast by ties of affection and veneration and personal fellowship to a person who is thus the express image of love will learn to look upon the meanest of mankind with feelings of reverence and hope, as capable of being rescued by love and transformed into lovely and amiable human beings. To him, every man, no matter how degraded he is, is invested with the importance derived from the mere fact of his being a member of the human family, with untold possibilities of development. Nothing short of a personal devotion to such a being of love and goodness on intimate terms of faith and fellowship can urge us to love our fellowmen in spite of all their unloveliness and degradation and to serve them in the face of disappointments and failures. For social service or for the matter of that any service to be real and true it should be the natural expression, the outflow of a life lived in fellowship with such a being of love. All the great social workers of the West have been drawing the inspiration and the power necessary for carrying on their wonderful work in the slums and the persons, among the fallen and the degraded, in veritable dens of sin and impurity from the One who stands forth in all history as the Representative of men, identifying Himself with the cause and with the interests with the pain and with the sufferings of all human beings in a manner unsurpassed by any one else before or since. Many of these great workers have found it possible to conceive for Jesus Christ an attachment the closeness of which no words can describe. If it is possible to approach them and ask them what it is which enables them to do the great things they are doing defying the tremendous forces of evil and weakness we have in the world to-day, they will unhesitatingly point to the spirit of Christ which has so possessed and absorbed the man within them and say "I live no more; but Christ lives in me." India has

also many things to learn from Jesus Christ, who, in the eyes of many in this land, is still for various reasons the despised Nazarene he was among the men of His own time. But if ever India stands in need of understanding the great moral and spiritual forces made available to mankind in the person of Jesus Christ who claims to have come to the world that we "might

have life and life abundant," it is to-day when many in India are interested in social service, when efforts are being made to ameliorate the condition of our fellow-countrymen and many in our land are feeling as never before that

" 'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant,
'Tis life not death for which we pant,
More life and richer that we want."

A SARASWATI YATRA

[*Students' Pilgrimage*]

BY MYRON H. PHELPS.

INDIA has an immense asset in the way of health, strength and inspiration towards the highest ideals of life, the untold value of which, especially to her vast student population, her people do not know; and there is no country on the face

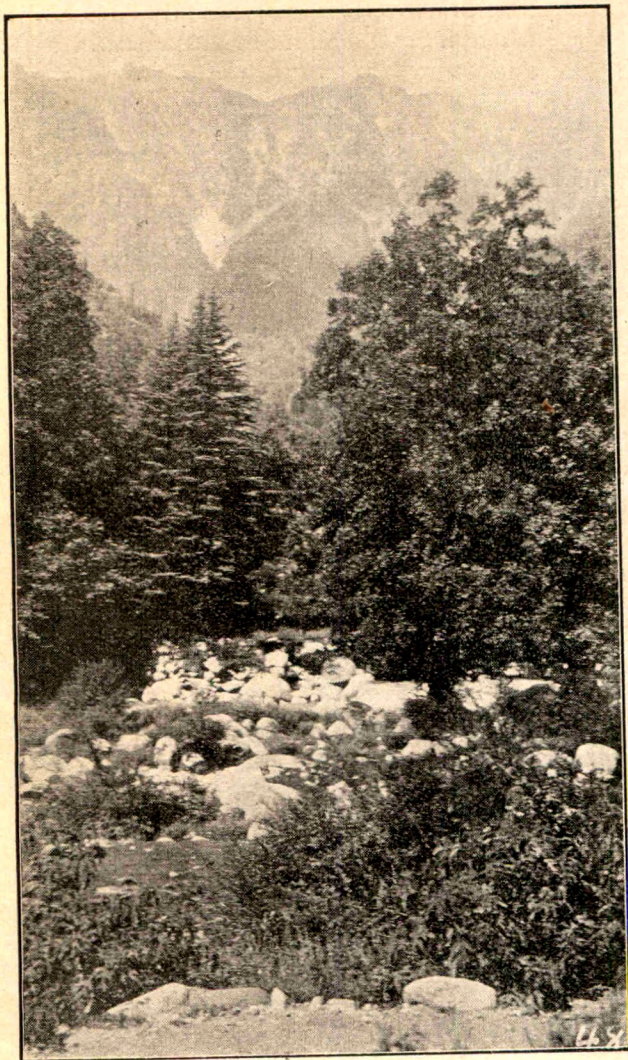
up the strength and virility of a people. It ought to be known as such to every Indian youth and educator who loves his country. Here one may come into contact with nature in her noblest forms, and draw from touch with the earth, the air and



Below Minali; in the valley of the Bias.

of the earth which more sorely needs these sources of strength, to assist in the great work before her of building up national character. It is the great natural reserve of all the elements which go to make

her other inexhaustible treasures, the strength and insight which are needed to do well the work of the world. Yet one may wander all summer among these glorious mountains without seeing a single



Minali valley ; a scene in Kulu.

shred of evidence that the young men of India have any knowledge of the heritage which they are neglecting.

It is not so in the West. Mountain-, and, where possible, mountain camp-, life is recognized as the ideal means of re-creating exhausted nerves and brain, and every attractive country-side in England, and every mountain region in America and continental Europe, is a lodestone during the summer months for the brain workers, and those who are preparing to do the brain work, of those countries. Switzerland, the Austrian Tyrol, the Italian Alps, the Black Forest of Germany, the Highlands of Scotland, the mountains of Wales, the Adiron-

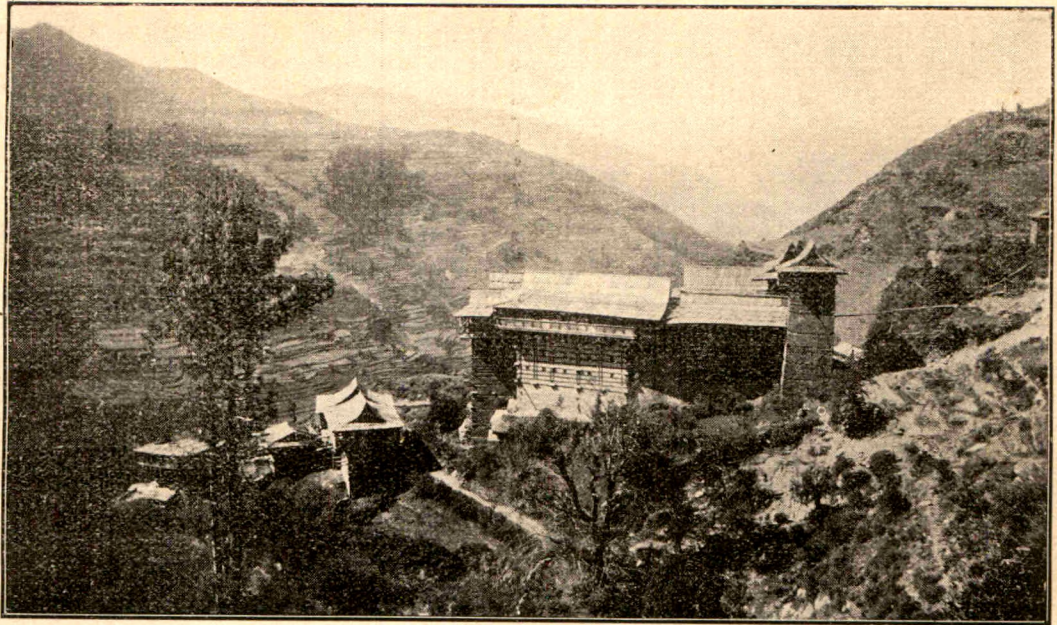
dacks and White Mountains of America, are actually alive with students for three months of the year, while the grandest and noblest mountains of them all, treasure-houses of beauty, strength and inspiration for all generations, are actually as little known to the college boys of India as though they graced some other planet.

The mountains, and especially mountain travelling, are invaluable to the student, because they compel him to take pure air and abundant exercise, which alone can supply vigour and fertility to the brain; because they stimulate the imagination and soften and enrich the mind by bringing it into association with supremely beautiful things; because they raise the mind a step nearer to the Creator of all that is beautiful and true. There one is cut off for the time from the pettiness of human affairs, and his nature has the opportunity to expand under the broadening influence of the world-geist, as the Germans say—the world spirit forces which are relatively universal. That your ancient ancestors were moved by these influences is shown by the abundance of references to the Himalyas which are found in your sacred books. Here they located Kailasa, the abode of the gods; and if one sees those glorious heaven-piercing snow-clad peaks, dazzling and refulgent in their splendour, one

cannot wonder that the imagination of your fathers associated them with their deities.

I know however of at least one college in India—and I hope there are more—upon which all this wealth of beauty and health and inspiration is not lost. I mean the Gurukula at Hardwar, which in this as in many other things has revived the better traditions of the past; and we cannot withhold our respect for the movement, and the men, who have brought into existence this center of normal and healthy educational influence.

Last fall the Gurukula college boys took a "Saraswati Yatra" among the Himalayas in which I had the good fortune to be their guest, and it is with the object of briefly



A Himalayan Palace.

describing that mountain trip and giving some sort of an idea of some of the beautiful and grand things which we saw, that I am now writing; in the hope that the latter, and the demonstrated ease of reaching them, may attract the attention and inspire the effort of others.

The route chosen was from Pathankot to the Kulu valley and thence to Simla. There were 25 in the party, 19 college boys, the Asst. Governor of the Gurukula, myself and four servants. We set out from Pathankot on the 31st of August, reaching Simla on the 1st of October, having then walked a total of somewhat over 350 miles. Our baggage was carried by eight mules. Generally the day's march was about ten or twelve miles. Rarely it reached 15, and I think the longest was 22. It was not therefore the race for distance record into which such enterprises sometimes degenerate, but was wisely kept within the limits of pleasant exercise, providing sufficient leisure and leaving sufficient strength for thought and the culture which thought amid such surroundings gives.

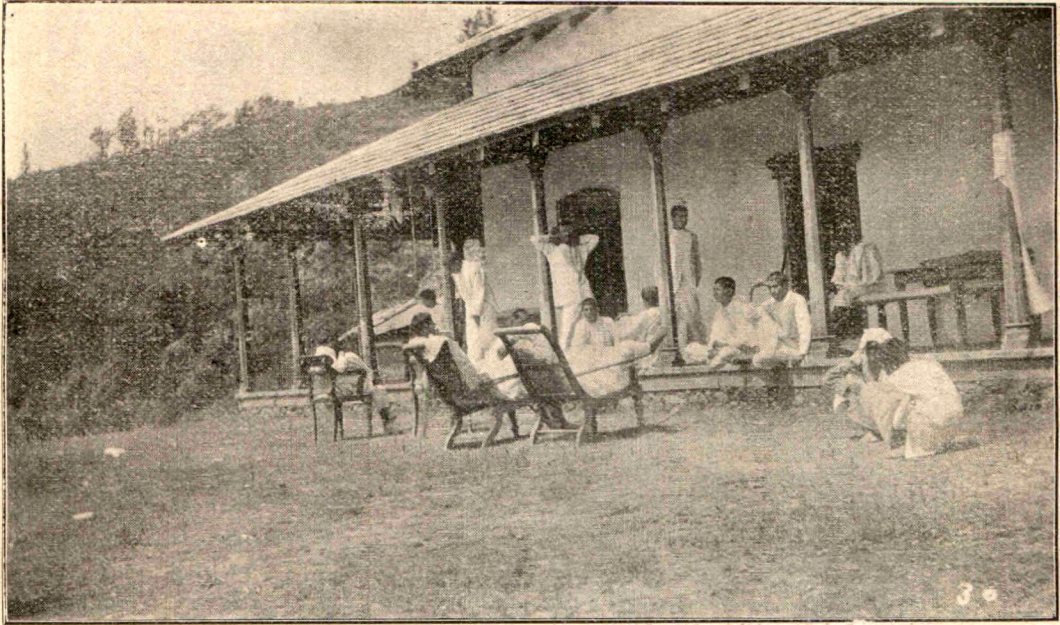
Our lodging was furnished by Hindu temples, Arya Samaj rest-houses and mandirs, school houses and occasionally dak-bungalows, while meals were prepared by our servants from provisions which we were

able to procure at each halting place, with the exception of one or two places to which provisions had to be carried.

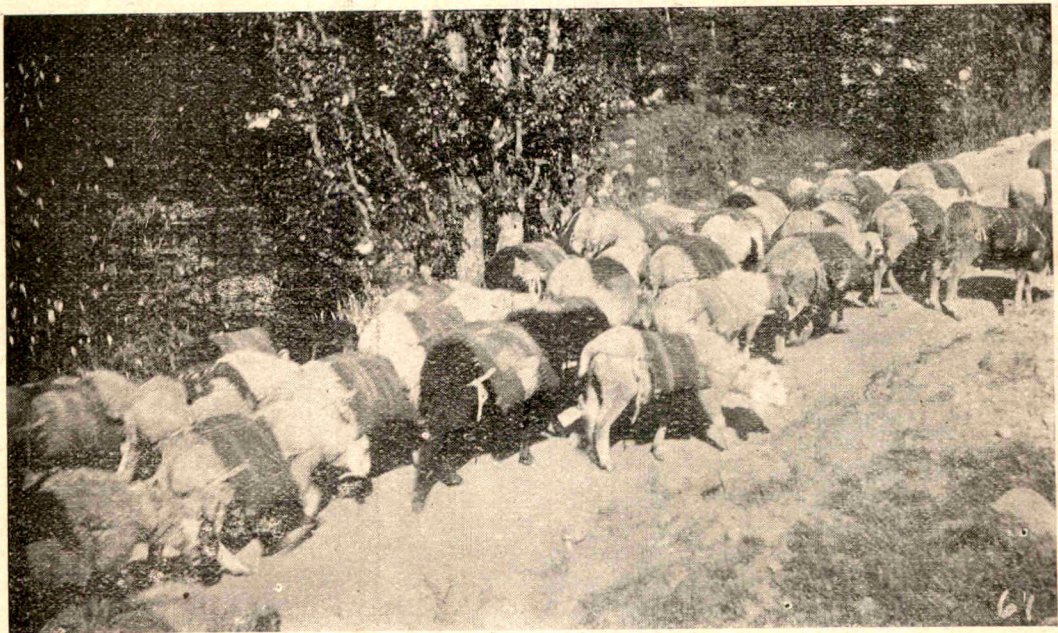
The cost of the trip will seem, I think, remarkably low, even in India, it being, exclusive of railway fares, somewhat under eight annas per day each. Of this expense some Rs. 250, went to the muleteers, which item could be for the most part eliminated if each boy carried his own luggage, an entirely practicable thing to do, as I know, having followed that plan myself, when in college, for two vacation tramps of about 300 miles each. It is frequently done in America.

Of the notable places visited, Dharmasala was the first. It is a fine hill station and is reputed to be the cheapest of such resorts in India.

Further on we passed through the very beautiful rice fields and picturesque gorges of Baijnath. Kangra, that ancient seat of Indian art, lies a short distance east of our route, but we were unfortunately unable to visit it. Beyond Baijnath we entered the more mountainous country of the Mandi State, some parts of which, as near Bhadwani, are superb. Then our route for some two weeks lay up, and returning down, the valley of the Bias, through the renowned Kulu country. This



The Gurukula in the Mandi State ; at the Bhadwani rest-house.



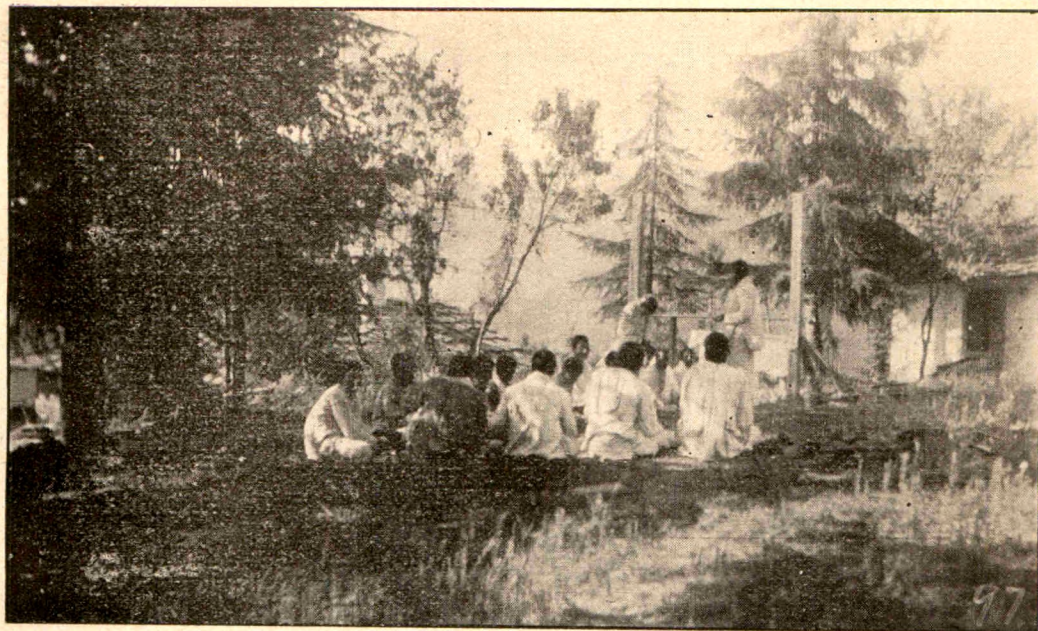
Some of the freight carriers of the Himalayas.

I think must be one of the most beautiful valleys in the world. I doubt whether I have ever seen its equal.

Here are the fruit orchards which have made the name of Kulu famous. The apples produced here are un-surpassed,

so far as my experience goes, in east or west.

The source of the Bias is in Biaskund, in the Rohang pass, which leads into Lahaul, and through which lies the Ladakh and Tibetan road. This pass has an



At dinner after the day's march.

altitude of 13,500 feet, and from it we had a brief survey of the snowclad high peaks of the Himalayas, filling the earth and rising to heaven in majestic, radiant grandeur.

From the Bias our march lay through fine and picturesque, but less interesting, mountains until we came to Narkanda, also a veritable abode of the gods, if those abodes are determined by natural grandeur and beauty. These grand scenes were our companions during most of the remaining 40 miles to Simla, where we were again plunged into that devastating maelstrom of "civilisation" which for far too brief a period it had been our blessed fortune to escape.

I cannot close this brief sketch of a mountain holiday without a parting tribute to my companions in that delightful and all-too-brief experience. The Gurukula and the work which it is doing for the country is too little known. It is on such occasions as these that the fine quality of that work becomes evident; for in the intimate association of such simple, natural and sometimes strenuous life, the fundamental elements of habit and character are revealed.

Two things stand out prominently in my recollection—the discipline and physical hardihood which enabled these boys to rise

each day at the appointed hour, whether 3 or 4 or 5 in the morning, silently and swiftly prepare for the march, set out quietly and without confusion within some thirty minutes, and then walk *barefooted* over those rough and rocky roads for hours without concern; and the moral development and training evinced in the free and intimate comradeship and affection among themselves, the respect for elders and the kindness towards inferiors, which were always in evidence. Their speech was gentle and affectionate towards each other and kindly towards others; and on the entire trip I did not hear a single cross or excited word.

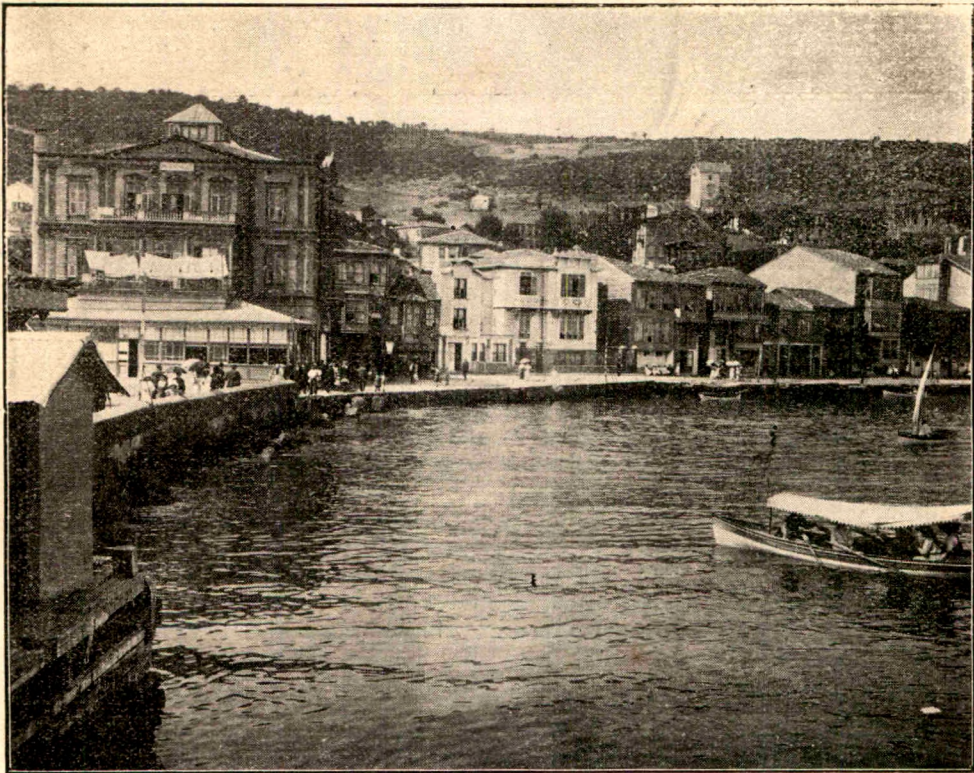
This trait of character would perhaps not commend itself to those of the West who appear to think that skill in fighting and the art of self-defence, and the mental and moral attitude which results from the training of these faculties, are accomplishments with which the ideal boys' school should endow its pupils. But this I take to be one of the false ideas of an essentially false civilisation. The development of kindness, love, gentleness, generosity and consideration for others is, I believe, a far higher ideal. It is higher because it makes for spiritual growth, the ultimate aim of all life, and not for spiritual degradation.

THE TURK AND HIS GREAT CAPITAL

BY SUNDARA RAJA.

THERE is no city in the world that has so much romantic and historical interest as Constantinople and there is no individual as important in the history of the world as the Turk. There can be no sudden catastrophe or cataclysm, anywhere in any part of the world that has

had it not been for the Turk. In short Europe owes its importance to that great individual, who set foot on European soil, in all majesty and pomp, in April 1453, and who from then until to-day has played a peculiar and all-absorbing part in the world's history.



The Port and some fine buildings of Constantinople.

not a direct or indirect bearing on either the Turk or his great capital. The history of Europe would be devoid of its most interesting and sensational chapter had it not been for the history of the Turk. Diplomacy of the west, that sugar-coated barbarism, would be of no special interest

His remarkable and marvellous achievements of the fifteenth century, his valour and prowess in crushing finally a deep-seated and age-long civilization, and last, but not least of all, his startling victory over Constantine the Great in that ever memorable siege of St. Sophia, form



Mosque of St. Sophia.

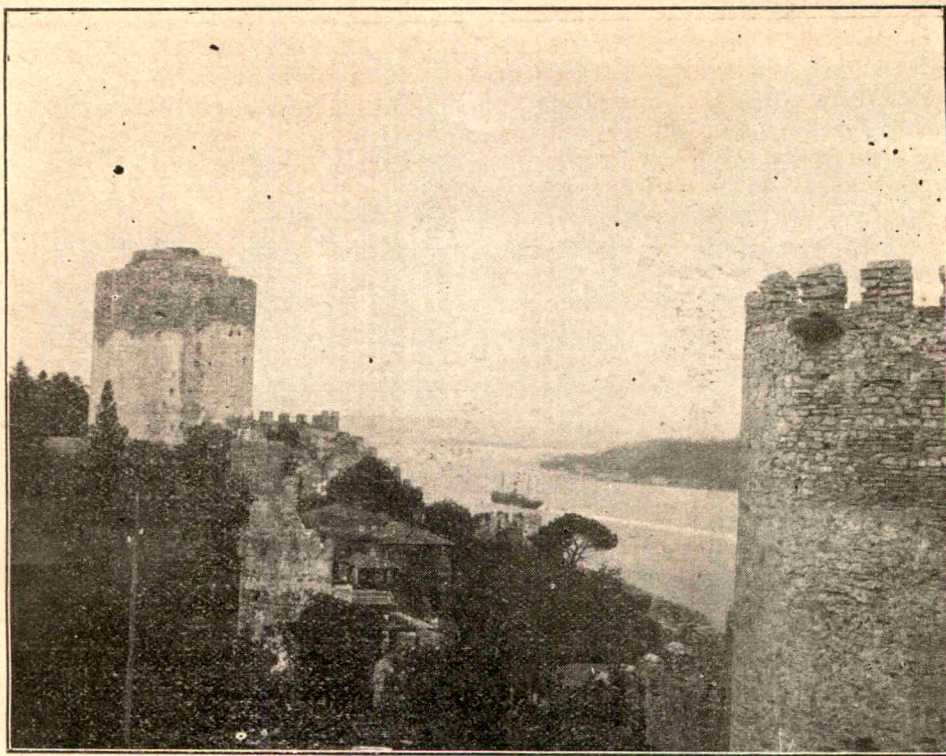
illuminating chapters of history and I am not concerned here with these past achievements. The pregnant words of Mohamed the second, the first conqueror of Constantinople, have become part and parcel of prophetic sayings, and the ancient history of this chivalrous, formidable conqueror, is known to all. I am only concerned here, with the Turk of today, who has only recently emerged out of a heroic struggle with ambitious invaders, with no stain on his historic reputation, even though his possessions have been taken away from him by force. I am speaking here of the Turk, who is much maligned, on all sides, and stigmatised as "cruel" and "intolerable."

The overthrow of the regime of Abdul Hamid threw the veil from the face of the Turk and exposed him to the gage of the world. That was, in fact, the first instance when the Turk came to be known as a Turk. The stupendous revolution, headed by that veteran soldier, Enver Bey, showed to the world at large the inherent tendencies of the average Turk. It showed that all the tales that were circulated by interested writers proving the "cruelty" of the Turk, were unfounded and that he was as much sensitive to freedom as any other individual in Europe. It showed beyond

the least shadow of a doubt, that the Turk was progressive, enlightened and advanced.

But Europe was not prepared to recognise these unpleasant facts, repugnant to their tastes, and went on as before, applying that fatal instrument, which strangles without shedding blood, and by a series of strokes, at different times, brought about the predicament, which the Turk is so ably confronting to-day. All the resources of a clever diplomacy had been well nigh exhausted and all material and martial resources have been fully applied. The Turk was cheated all round, thrashed, betrayed, and disappointed. But he stands today as firm as he ever stood. He has sacrificed a good deal of his territories, but withal he is alive. Wars after wars, battles after battles, have been waged incessantly against him, but the Turk is not killed.

What is the underlying force that has saved the Turk? What is that which leaves him untouched in spite of all the ravages of time and history? This force is nothing else but himself—that rigid and unfailing individuality that defies all calamities. The Turk is alive because he is a Turk. His character, his disposition, his nature are all Turkish—and this is the secret of his immortality.



The Bosphorus.

Some things in the world are immortal—the poem of Shakespere, the music of Wagner and the Turk. He is confronted with the onrush of a new tide of civilization, as he was faced, centuries ago, by a then new civilization. Things around him have always been new to him and this is more than you and I can say. He is always as he was, unmoved, and he will be as he is. This is not stagnation, as one is apt to think, but a firm and fixed steadiness. He laughs at all innovations as the parent laughs at the doll-play of his child. The Turk adapts things to his advantage and not himself to them. Things come and go leaving him where he was and when I see the Turk, standing in the same plane as his renowned ancestors, it is as if I have dreamt myself into the Middle Ages.

The Turk has quickly absorbed the spirit of modern civilization and there is no European or Asiatic to vie with him in politeness. The Japanese are no doubt a proverbially polite nation, but to them politeness is a sort of superstition. There is a vast difference between politeness

enforced by religion and politeness inborn. The Turk is polite by his inherent nature. It is born and bred in him. High or low, rich or poor, it is present in all. Whether in the grand Vizier or in the poor boatmen it does not relax its hold. The Turk is geniality personified. He enjoys a hearty laugh at a clever joke, and chuckles with delight at a strange humour. But he is quite severe like a bull dog when he has a passage-at-arms with his opponent. Meek and silent he undoubtedly is at home—and you will find him seated outside his home in an easy chair with a cheerful countenance. But in moments of seriousness he outties the Sunday clergyman.

One thing above all deserves mention about the Turk—his plain and simple democratic nature. He is by far the best democrat in the world. There is not the slightest whisper of aristocracy, privilege, and other evils of the most Christian countries. The Turk does not recognise any of these conventions. The Caliph is the head and all others are his subjects. No distinction of a hereditary type mars Turkish democracy.

The poorest and the humblest Turk can aspire to be the Grand Vizier, as the humblest American can aspire to be the President of the United States. The boatman who plies the tiny boat at the Bosphorus could reasonably aspire to be the Grand Vizier.

Constantinople is not strictly speaking a Turkish City. There are only 384,910 Turks out of a total population of 873,565. But the Turks' presence is strongly felt, for is not Constantinople the seat of his Empire? Where would he be but for the city of Constantine? When one remembers this strange phenomenon, there is a pathetic interest attached to this sublime city. The loss of Constantinople means the Turk's final

annihilation. The Turk would become something new and the Turk as a Turk would perish once for all.

"Pardádári mi-kunad dar kasr-i-kaisar ánkabut,
Boomi nubat mi-zanad bar gumbad-i-Afrásiáb!"

"The spider has woven his web in the Imperial Palace; the owl is singing his watch song in the towers of Afrasiab!" repeated the great Mohamed the Second as he reflected on the instability of human greatness, when he was seated in the splendid court of Constantine. I only trust that there will be no need to give vent to similar reflections in any of the capitals of the great powers.

CADET TRAINING AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

THE United States of America does not believe in a large standing army. It has adopted a policy of keeping a small well-trained army as a nucleus and to depend in times of crisis upon her citizen soldiery. The policy was adopted from a three-fold reason. When the United States wrested her liberty from England there was a strong popular feeling against standing armies, and this antagonism to the system has not yet abated. The other two reasons are the location from a strategic point, and the abundance of natural resources. Since the Spanish-American war, however, the insular possessions have come to the United States, and a larger army and navy have become a pressing necessity.

The United States has until recent years depended entirely upon the small regular army, the state militia and volunteer enlistments. The regular army is officered chiefly by graduates from the United States Military Academy at West Point, which is one of the leading and most thorough institutions of its kind in the world. The states militia has as officers men who rise from the ranks and are possessed of various degrees of efficiency. The volunteers are led either by regularly trained officers or by men of no previous military training. It will thus be seen that the United

States is in need of a body of men trained in tactics who would be able in case of war to train others in military science.

This fact was forcefully illustrated during the Civil War which lasted from 1861 to 1865. There were in the seceding states a considerable number of graduates from West Point and the Virginia Military Institute. Not only did these graduates rise to the chief commands of the Confederate army, but the Confederate army was much better handled during the first part of the war, and though fighting against a more powerful and wealthier army, was able to prolong the rebellion for four long and bloody years.

The war authorities were quick to see the advantages of having a body of citizens learned in the arts of warfare and a unique method was adopted to train young men along those lines. After the close of the Civil War one hundred regular army officers were detailed to report at the leading educational institutions and to give training to the male students in military tactics. The schools desiring this course of study were required to furnish an armory or drill hall, while the Federal Government furnished the instructor, the rifles, belts, ammunition and other necessary equipment. This system has been gradually expanded

until it is to-day one of the leading features of American Universities and Colleges.

The United States is divided into four divisions and there are at present about thirty schools in each division giving instruction in military tactics. The largest bodies of cadets, perhaps, being found at the large mid-western Universities of Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska, where the work is required of all first and second year students in the colleges of engineering and liberal arts. The work prescribed is practically the same at all schools, the army drill manual being used as a text, and can best be described by stating the methods employed at one of the leading schools. The Cadet Regiment at the State University of Iowa has been selected as an example for the purposes of this article because of its high rank and marked efficiency. Some schools are larger and some few are better equipped, but the University of Iowa received the highest mark of her Division during the school year of 1910-1911 and shared the honors with another school during the year 1911-1912. This rating is made after an inspection by an officer detailed by the War Department at Washington, D. C.

An officer from the regular army, usually a graduate of the United States Military Academy, is detailed for three years by the War Department to take charge of the instruction. This officer is termed the Commandant and is responsible for the training of the cadets. All first and second year male students in the colleges of Engineering and of Liberal Arts are required to take the work, and failure to obey this order means expulsion or suspension from the University. A large Armory, well lighted and equipped, is provided by the University, and all requisite arms and ammunition are furnished by the United States government.

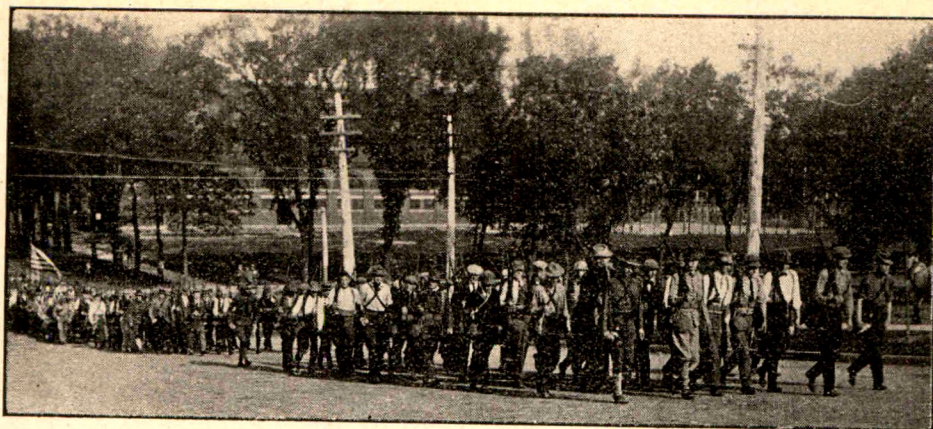
The present instructor or Commandant, as he is called, is Captain Morton C. Mumma, of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry. He graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1900 and has seen service abroad. He is also one of the best rifle and pistol shots in the United States Army and represented the American Nation on the Palma team, which won the world's championship in rifle shooting in 1907. To assist Captain Mumma in the

work, the War Department has detailed Sergeant-Major Wm. De F Rahming of the 11th U. S. Cavalry.

The three hundred and fifty cadets at Iowa are organized into a full regiment of three battalions. Each battalion is divided into two companies of about fifty or sixty men each. In addition to the six companies, the battalion and regimental officers, there is a band of forty pieces under the instruction of a competent bandmaster, a hospital corps composed of advanced students from the College of Medicine, an Engineering corps, and a Signal corps. The latter is composed of students who are also members of the Iowa National Guard. Thus the cadet regiment is directly aiding the state militia by sending out each year men trained in this special line.

The officers of the regiment are all taken from the advanced students, who have received their training in the ranks. As an example of the class of officers that are in charge it might be stated that a goodly number of the cadet officers immediately get commissions in the National Guard upon leaving school. The highest cadet office is the Colonel. This was held last year by Mr. Clifford Powell, who had spent six years with the regiment, drilling his first year as a private, rising gradually until at the end of his third year he was Captain and Commissary. During his fourth year he was Major of the first Battalion, then Lieutenant-Colonel, and finally Colonel. During the past year Cadet Colonel Powell has been in direct command of the regiment and he handles it with the ease and accuracy of a regular army officer. Next in rank is Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Van Nostrand, who has just recently passed the examinations for the regular army. Others of ability and capacity might also be mentioned.

The year's work usually begins in the first part of October. The new men are arranged according to height and assigned to one of the six companies. After being taught the elementary movements and marchings, each cadet is given a rifle and is taught its use and the Manual of Arms. The regiment drills three hours each week, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 4-30 to 5-30 P.M. During the winter months one of the three hours is devoted



Starting for the Annual Encampment.

ed to theoretical work or lectures upon some interesting military topic, given by an authority on the subject. The cadet officers are also required to attend classes and are taught such subjects as rifle fire, trench building, camp, camp sanitation, map making and the solution of tactical problems.

During the year a portion of each drill hour is devoted to calisthenic exercises, a practice which is of great value to students who are required to remain indoors a considerable portion of each day. In the spring of each year each cadet is required to spend a half day on the National Guard Range in rifle practice, firing from the 200, 300, and sometimes from the 500 yard mark.

The most enjoyable time of the year for the cadet is the four days' camp which is usually held during the latter part of May at West Liberty, a small but beautiful town sixteen miles south-east of Iowa City.

The regiment proceeds early on the first day by special train to Downey, a midway station, where the cadets disembark. After being supplied with blank ammunition, one battalion starts on its march from Downey, to West Liberty. The other battalions start in pursuit an hour later and a sham battle is held wherever the cadet office decide a good defence can be made. Many interesting events happen to the scouts who are sent out by each battalion in an attempt to locate the other.

After the sham battle, the bugle call is sounded and the cadets eat their first meal in the field. This meal has been carried in

eth knapsacks all the way from Iowa City, as there is no place on the march where food can be prepared.

After the noon meal the regiment is re-assembled and marched the remainder of the way into West Liberty and on to the camp grounds. Here the Engineering corps has preceded the regiment and the camp is staked off into company streets, and the cook tents and the officers' tents are already pitched. Rifles are stacked and in an amazingly short time the tents are pitched and the cadets are comfortably sheltered.

After the tents are fixed the men make a rush for the bath tent, where, after refreshing themselves, they attire in their full dress uniforms of cadet grey and await the bugle call for supper.

One of the most interesting sights is the mess. The negro cooks in their white aprons and the long lines of hungry cadets holding in their hands a tin plate, knife, fork, and spoon waiting to be served.

After supper one company is placed on guard and the remainder of the regiment is relieved from duty until "Taps" are sounded, when each man is supposed to be in his tent in bed. Most of the cadets wander up town and renew acquaintances formed the year previous.

The camp life is strictly military. The cadets are up at five in the morning and after exercise and a warm breakfast, the camp is thoroughly policed and put in good order. This is followed by drills, from the unit of the squad up to the regiment. On Sunday chapel service is also held. At twelve dinner is served and the



"Company, FIRE!"

Governor of Iowa, the President of the University, and the leading military men in the state review the cadets as they march by in straight unbroken lines, with the band playing and with colors flying. Honors and Commissions are then presented to the deserving ones and the Cadet Colonel dismisses the regiment for the re-

men are free from then until three to entertain friends or visitors.

At three o'clock a review is tendered the distinguished guests in camp, and at four-thirty occurs the regimental parade. In the evening the band gives a concert on the main street of the town and the scene is a lively one as the grey clad cadets pass by, saluting their officers and greeting their friends.

Many athletic events are also held at camp and the rivalry between the companies is very keen. The military competitions are also held at this time, though the prizes won are not presented until later.

The camp also furnishes a great amount of innocent amusement. The sentries love to arrest an officer who is returning late, tramps who wander into camp are court martialled and sentenced by the cadets to be shot, but the sentence is usually commuted if the tramp will promise never to enter again; and the new cadets are sent to the tents of the officers for various imaginary instruments called the "banana seeder," "the long rest," "the rifle report," and "the pie stretcher."

On the fourth day camp is broken and the grounds are scrupulously cleaned, after which the regiment returns by special train to Iowa City, where it arrives late in the afternoon, a tired and sun-burned, but happy aggregation.

The year's work officially closes on Governor's Day in the second week in June. The

remainder of the school year.

In connection with the cadet regiment is the Rifle Club, which has a six range gallery inside the Armory. The Iowa club last year won the National Championship in indoor rifle shooting, and this year it won the Western Intercollegiate and the National Rifle Association Championships, but lost the National Intercollegiate Championship by two points to the Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Such in brief is the military training given to Young America at all the schools where such work is maintained. Strict discipline and military fundamentals are taught. And in some schools, instruction in artillery is also given.

The value of such a system is at once apparent. It teaches lessons in hygiene and requires an erect carriage. It teaches the cadet to obey orders and to give proper respect to constituted authority. It teaches men to be clean, orderly, and systematic. It also lessens the necessity for a large standing army, as the cadets when they go home are competent to train a considerable body of men on short notice, in the rudiments of military science. It furnishes at a comparatively slight expense, not a standing army, but a free and intelligent standing reserve.

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A.

Iowa City, Iowa.
U. S. A.

ON READING THE TRANSLATION OF GITANJALI

(Written at Shantiniketan, Bolpur.)

"When I go hence let this be my parting word that what I have seen is unsurpassable."
Gitanjali, 96.

Soft as slow-dropping waters in a pool
 Kissed by the moon at midnight, deep and cool,
 Whose liquid sound upon the ear doth fall
 Fraught with enchantment brooding over all,
 Such was the spell which held my soul in fee
 Entranced on hearing first *Gitanjali*.

But deeper far than that deep spell of sound
 A still hushed Presence all my spirit bound,—
 'Put off thy shoes' it whispered, 'from thy feet :
 'Here in this inner shrine prepare to meet
 'Thy Lord and Master face to face, and know
 'How Love through all His universe doth flow.

'Love in the joy of world-embracing light,
 'Love in the blade of grass with sunbeams dight,
 'Love in the baby's smile of new-born bliss,
 'Love in the star-crowned infinite abyss,—
 'That Love which men do count an idle tale
 'Now face to face behold within the veil.

'Weary at heart with this world's restless strife
 'Here find the peace of everlasting life,
 'Nor dream that Death can stem the tide of Love
 'Which flows around, within, beneath, above :
 'Death is itself Love's consummating bliss,—
 'The bridal chamber and the Bridegroom's kiss.'

Silent within the temple of the soul
 I worshipped, and beheld Life's vision whole,—
 No false mirage seen in ascetic mood,
 But, as when first God made it, very good :
 Each door of sense unbarred, and open all
 To greet His advent and accept His call.

Singer, who from thy spirit's height dost bend
 To call me by the dearest name of 'friend*'
 Here, as a poor love-token, at thy feet
 I lay this garland (ah ! how all unmeet)
 Weaving its verse an offering to thee
 With heart-obeisance for *Gitanjali*.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

JESUS CHRIST AND BIRSA

ALTHOUGH Christ was an Oriental, Christians are now for the most part of the West. Hence they are constantly liable to misunderstand what their master really was. Great painters have represented him as an Italian baby in the arms of an Italian mother. With scarcely less naïveté, many of the numerous lives of Jesus published in the nineteenth century depict him a pious German or English pastor. All the scenic accessories are described with scrupulous scholarship, but the character of the central figure is that of the Western religious reformer, not that of the Oriental. But it is as an Oriental that Jesus must be understood if he is to be understood at all. He must not be compared with Wesley or even with St. Francis of Assisi but with men of the East who have had aims like his. Such men have arisen from time to time even down to our own days. One of the latest was Birsa, of whom an account was given some months ago in the "*Modern Review*." When I read this account, it seemed to me that it threw great light on the life of Jesus, as I now propose to shew by a detailed comparison.

For the life of Birsa, I rely on two sources. The first is an account given in the "*Wide World Magazine*" for October 1910 by Mr. Lusty, who was living in 1895, the time of Birsa's earliest exploits, in Chota Nagpur, only fourteen miles from the little village Chalkad where they occurred. The second is an article in this Review, June 1911 by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy. Mr. Roy has consulted Mr. Lusty's article and has used as well the report of the proceedings at Birsa's trial and other contemporary official reports. Thus the authorities for the life of Birsa are the best possible. This is not the case for the life of Jesus. It is true there are four gospels, to which the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John have been attached, professing to give an account of his life.

But the fourth of these has, it is now generally admitted, no historical value. Of the other three Matthew and Luke use Mark as well as another source consisting for the most part of sayings attributed to Jesus. Each of the two has also matter of its own. While they may contain some genuine traditions, the earliest and best authority for the life of Jesus is the gospel of Mark. As Dr. Burkitt, the Norrisian professor of divinity at Cambridge, puts it:

"We may attempt to enrich and fill in the bare outline given in Mark, but Mark must remain throughout the basis and foundation of the whole. If the outline given in Mark be not historical, the extant material does not allow us to construct any other."*

But Mark was not an eye-witness of the facts he relates, and so we are naturally led to inquire whence he derived his information. Abdullah ibn Al Mubarak, one of the oldest of the traditionists, says "Al isnadu min ad'din" "the isnad belongs to religion," that is to say, a story about the Prophet must not be related without the chain of witnesses going back to his time. The early Christians however had a lower standard of literary honesty. Matthew and Luke do not mention the documents they use, and this has only been discovered by comparing them with one another and with Mark. The same method cannot be applied in the case of Mark, since this is the oldest gospel now existing, but here too internal evidence shews that older materials have been used. M. Loisy, the great Roman Catholic scholar, says:

"It appears incontestable that the second gospel

*These conclusions, though they now seem obvious, have only been reached after a century of controversy. It is not likely the Hindu or Mahommedan reader will care to follow all this controversy, but he may like to know the results. Two books may be recommended which have the great merit of being very short: Paul Wernle "*The sources of our knowledge of the life of Jesus*" and Crawford Burkitt "*The earliest sources for the life of Jesus*".

nas been composed by the same methods as the first and third: while for them it is a source, it has itself sources and has not acquired at once its final form."

As for what these sources are, the layman must rely on the judgment of experts, and unfortunately the experts do not agree. Some, on the authority of a single early Christian writer, suppose the second gospel to contain traditions derived from Saint Peter. The dates assigned to the gospel do not differ very widely and it must at the earliest have been written more than thirty years after the events it relates. Thus even where it is based on the recollections of eyewitnesses, allowance must be made for the defects of human memory.*

We will now compare the two lives in detail, quoting from our authorities, and, where it seems necessary, adding a few comments.

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF BIRSA.

"It was during the month of July, a week or two after the commencement of the rains, that this precocious young man was walking with a companion in the jungle, when the two were caught in one of the violent thunderstorms which not infrequently occur at this period. After one unusually vivid flash of lightning, Birsa's companion, whose eyes happened to be upon him at the moment, made a remark to the effect that when the flash occurred his friend's countenance, instead of its usual brown colour, had appeared to be white and red". Lusty, *Wide World Magazine*, Oct., 1910, p. 38.

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF JESUS.

"And after six days Jesus taketh with him Peter and James and John, and leadeth them up into an high mountain apart by themselves, and he was transfigured before them, and his raiment became shining exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them. And there appeared unto them Elias with Moses: and they were talking with Jesus." Mark IX, 2, 3, 4.

One is at first inclined to reject the story of the Transfiguration altogether, but the example of Birsa shews that there may be some truth in it. Of course no reliance can be placed on the details. It must be noted that the transfiguration of Jesus did not occur at the beginning of his career like that of Birsa.

BIRSA'S FIRST MIRACLE.

"A mother brought her baby to be cured of some trifling ailment. The new prophet solemnly breathed

* With these everyone is familiar, but an interesting example is Hume's 'Autobiography' written shortly before his death, which often disagrees with statements made in his letters.

on it, counted up to ten (in English) over its head, and pronounced it well. The mother's imagination did the rest. The child was well from that moment". Lusty, p. 39.

JESUS' FIRST MIRACLE.*

"There was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit, and he cried out, saying, Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him." Mark, I, 25-26.

Exorcism, or the casting out of unclean spirits, was practised both among the Jews and the pagan Greeks. It had indeed become a regular profession, but the professional exorcist was not much respected. For this reason exorcisms performed by Jesus have been unwelcome to later Christians beginning with the author of the fourth gospel, who omits all mention of them. They are however as certain as anything in the life of Jesus can be. Possession by an unclean spirit is not a disease recognized by modern medicine, so that it is difficult to know exactly what it means. In a case I saw three years ago in the hills, it seemed to be a little dyspepsia with a good deal of pretence. Dr. Trench, a former Archbishop of Dublin, makes the interesting remark, that a man of apostolic insight would perceive that many modern diseases are due to unclean spirits. This is undoubtedly true. Apostolic insight, in which European physicians are so lamentably deficient, is common among the Kulu peasants. They can diagnose possession by an evil spirit without any difficulty.

Jesus' second miracle bears a closer resemblance to the one related of Birsa.

"Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever and anon they tell him of her. And he came and took her by the hand and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them." Mark, I, 30; 31.

INCREASING POPULARITY.

"Birsa. "From scores of miles around pilgrims flocked to him, being content to camp out in the rain-soaked jungle, defying fever and dysentery, with no shelter by night or day but their bamboo umbrellas, to be within sight of his wretched little hut, and gain an occasional glimpse of him as his caprice should grant the boon." Lusty, p. 39.

* The first miracle attributed to Jesus in the fourth gospel, the turning of water into wine, is, it need hardly be said, pure fiction.

Jesus. "A great multitude from Galilee followed him and from Judæa, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumæa, and from beyond Jordan; and they about Tyre and Sidon, a great multitude, when they had heard what great things he did, came unto him." Mark, III. 7, 8, 9.

WANT OF FAITH.

Birsa. "The miracles of healing were continued and their frequent failure was attributed to a lack of faith on the part of the patient." Lusty, p. 39.

Jesus. "He could there do no mighty work, save that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk and healed them. And he marvelled because of their unbelief." Mark, VI. 5, 6.

IMPENDING DESTRUCTION OF UNBELIEVERS.

Birsa. "At last Birsa aspired to the gift of prophecy, and announced the approaching destruction of the world. He was so unwise as to name a near date for the catastrophe. He made his disciples' flesh creep with tales of fire and brimstone which should destroy everything and everybody except the village of Chalkad and those who trusted him and remained in the vicinity of his presence."

Jesus. "Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand." Mark, I. 14, 15.

"And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you that there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power." Mark, IX. 1.

In Matthew the same prophecy is made except that the last clause is replaced by "till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom."

This "coming" would be attended with fire and brimstone as in Birsa's prophecies.

"Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot; they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but the same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven and destroyed them all." Luke, XVII. 28, 29.

The Christians continued to entertain these hopes after the death of Jesus.

"The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power." 2 Thessalonians, I. 7, 8, 9.

"He shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels and in the presence of the Lamb." Revelations, XIV. 10.

The word "he" here means all who conformed to the official state religion of the Roman empire. Jesus was not the first to preach the kingdom of God. He was the disciple of John the Baptist who before had preached in the wilderness of Judæa, "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is

at hand." But the idea is two hundred years older and goes back to the time of the great national revolt of the Jews against their Greek rulers. The kingdom of God was the complete realisation of what had been only imperfectly achieved by the national dynasty of the Maccabees. It was a kingdom in which Palestine would be freed from the yoke of the heathen and purified from the contamination of foreigners. All the commandments of the Jewish law would be strictly observed and all imitations of Greek customs sternly repressed. The kingdom could only come by the direct intervention of God, but this does not mean, as is sometimes said, that the Jews themselves were to remain passive. Three thousand angels fought for the Muslims at the battle of Bedr, but the Muslims did not merely look on and leave all the fighting to the angels. In the end of the world

"The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his Kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." Matthew, XIII. 41, 42.

The "things that offend" were the Roman rulers, and Greeks, and Jews who had partly adopted Greek culture. After this extermination the strictly pious and orthodox Jews would have a good time: "then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

TEACHING OF BIRSA.

"The people were told that their money would be useless, that in a short time all their rupees would melt into water." "The crops, it was asserted, would be useless, for the end of the world would come before they would be gathered. Birsa therefore commanded that everyone should leave his house open, and his goods at the mercy of anyone who cared to take them, and should lose his cattle to feed upon the growing crops." Lusty, p. 39.

TEACHING OF JESUS.

This is given more fully in the other source used by Matthew and Luke than in Mark. Although this source no longer exists, it can be approximately reconstructed by a comparison of the two gospels which use it. I quote a summary of its teaching by an eminent Anglican theologian, Dr. Armitage, the Dean of Westminster.

"The doom of the nation is pronounced; its fate is imminent; there is no ray of hope for the existing constitution of religion and society. As to individuals

within the nation the despised publicans and sinners will find God's favour before the self-satisfied representatives of the national religion. In such a condition of affairs it is hardly surprising to find that the great and stern Teacher congratulates the poor and has nothing but pity for the rich; that he has no interest at all in comfort or property. If a man ask you for anything give it him: if he takes it without asking do not seek to recover it. Nothing material is worth a thought; anxiety is folly; your Father who feeds His birds and clothes His flowers will feed and clothe you."

With this may be compared the appreciation of the great Roman Catholic theologian, M. Loisy:

"We are told to lose life in order to gain it, to hate father, mother, wife, children, brothers and sisters, for the sake of the work of the Kingdom; to sell goods and give them to the poor. We are required not only to be free from avarice and temporal cares but to abandon the wealth and the occupation of this world. The comparison of the disciples with the birds of heaven and the flowers of the field shews that the intention is to forbid or dissuade from labour itself, not merely from anxious care for bodily needs."

The interpretation the modern Christian in general puts on the teaching of Jesus is that we are not to be too anxious about the future. Such a proposition has the merit that it cannot be disputed by any human being, but it is certain that the multitudes who gathered round Jesus or Birsa would not have come to listen to mere platitudes.

CLAIMS OF BIRSA

"They (the people of Chalkad) adopted the belief that Birsa was an incarnation of the Deity; and he began to be known as "Birsa Bhagwan." Lusty, p. 29.

CLAIMS OF JESUS

"And Jesus went out, and his disciple into the towns of Calarea Philippi: and by the way he asked his disciples, saying unto them, Whom do men say that I am? And they answered, John the Baptist: but some say, Elias; and others, One of the prophets. And he saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ. And he charged them that they should tell no man of him."

Unlike Birsa, Jesus did not become God in his life-time. Such a claim would have been repulsive to Jewish monotheism, and was only advanced after his worship had spread among Gentile converts. While alive Jesus was only the Christ or Messiah. What this word means can be best explained by stating that it is practically, though not etymologically, equivalent to the familiar Mahommedan word Mahdi. Ever since the insurrection of Judas, some twenty years earlier, Galilee had been the centre of Jewish

fanaticism, and the appearance of a Messiah in Galilee meant exactly the same thing as the appearance of a Mahdi in the Sudan. The Messiah came "amongst men to restore the world to obedience to God's law, to reprove the careless Jews and to destroy the infidels."*

In the "Psalms of Solomon" written a hundred years before Peter's confession, the Messiah is described as the "son of David," a king who is to reign over Israel and to

"Cleanse Jerusalem from the heathen that tread it under foot, to cast out sinners from thy inheritance; to break the pride of sinners and all their strength as potter's vessels with a rod of iron; to destroy the lawless nations with the word of his mouth; to gather a holy nation and lead them in righteousness."

Such a political programme, however attractive to Jews, would naturally meet with opposition from the "heathen" and the "sinners" and it is easy to understand why Jesus proceeded with caution. Doubtless he had talked over the matter with Peter beforehand. Some critics have remarked that Jesus does not appear to have been surprised at the confession of Peter. Probably he was not: nor do we think Julius Cæsar was surprised when Antony offered him a crown. These little scenes are not so spontaneous as they seem. Peter's adhesion was followed by that of the rest of the twelve apostles, but Jesus thought the time had not yet come to put forth his claim publicly, and enjoined on them strict secrecy.

The orthodox and traditional Christian view is that Jesus when he called himself the Messiah used the word in a different sense from the Jews. In estimating the historical value of this traditional view it must be borne in mind that

"The Christian Church grew up in obscurity under conditions that were by no means favourable to the preservation of accurate historical reminiscences of its earliest beginnings. By the time the Christians began to preserve in writing the record of the origin of their religion, deep and ever widening gulfs had intervened between them and the events."

Even before Saint Paul, the disciples had chosen Jerusalem, where Jesus only spent the last week of his public career, for the

* Description of the Mahdi in Sell's "Faith of Islam" with the substitution of "Jews" for "Muslimans."

† Burkitt, *Earliest Sources*, p. 8.

centre of their activity. It was hardly possible in Jerusalem itself to preach a Messiah who would "cleanse Jerusalem from the heathen." After Saint Paul, the Messiah of the Christians became the Redeemer who dies for the salvation of all mankind, not of Jews only. "He died for all." He became entirely different from the Messiah whom the Jews expected and even now expect.* All the gospels, even the earliest, were written under the influence of these new ideas and naturally give only a distorted representation of the events they relate. But there were two facts so notorious that they could not be suppressed. Jesus *had* called himself the Messiah. Now it is safe to assume that a word is used in the sense it bears at the time, not in a sense it cannot be proved to have borne till afterwards. When Jesus claimed to be the Messiah he must have given the word the same meaning as all other Jews of his time. Again, Jesus was crucified by the order of Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor. If he had been only a religious teacher he would no more have committed an offence against the Roman government than a religious teacher would now against the English government. I read in the article "Sudan" of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica":

"In the autumn of 1903, Mahommed-el-Amin, a native of Tunis, proclaimed himself the Mahadi and got together a following at Kordofan. He was captured by the governor of Kordofan and publicly executed at El Obeid."

This is all I know about Mahommed-el-Amin, but I feel sure from the character of the English government that he was not put to death merely for his religious opinions. The Roman government was no more inclined to religious persecution than the English. All creeds were tolerated in the empire. If Jesus had been merely accused of questions of Jewish law the charge against him would have been contemptuously dismissed. Like a contemporary Roman governor, Pontius Pilate

* "The Jews dispersed among the nations, never forgot Zion, the land of Israel, and awaited the Messiah to reappear and reassemble the Jews from various countries in which their fate has dispersed them, lead them back to Palestine and re-establish a Jewish kingdom.....The orthodox Jews of to-day expect yet that the Messiah will come at any time." Fishberg, *The Jews*, p. 469.

would have said to the Jews: "If it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters." We know that Jesus proclaimed himself the Messiah and got together a following in Galilee. He was captured by the governor of Judaea and publicly executed at Jerusalem. Amidst a mass of fiction so much is certain; and we may be sure that Jesus was put to death not for his religious belief but for treason against the Roman government.

To understand the history of those times we must bear in mind the intense hatred which the Jew entertained for all foreigners. They were called by him Goyim, and in that word he combined the aversion of the Musulman for the Kafirs and the Hindu for the Mlecchas. The Goyim were regarded with contempt as idolaters and with loathing as impure beings who eat forbidden food. It was not that the Goyim had done anything to provoke hatred. Under the wise and tolerant Roman government the Jews had no reason to fear any such persecution as had occurred in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. But the mere presence of the heathen in the Holy Land was considered a pollution. In the kingdom to be established by the Messiah "no stranger and foreigner shall dwell with them" (the Jews). The strangers would, as in the time of the Maccabees, either be killed or driven out, or else circumcised and compelled to submit to Jewish law. "Then shall Jerusalem be holy and there shall no strangers pass through her any more."*

With regard to the attitude of Jesus to the gentiles, the gospels contain two inconsistent sets of sayings. In the one, he shares the exclusive Jewish prejudices, and in the other, he is as free from them as Saint Paul. These two groups of sayings cannot both be genuine, and there is no difficulty in deciding which should be accepted. Christianity spread among the gentiles and so when we meet with a saying hostile to the gentiles we may feel sure that it cannot be a later invention but must be derived from a sound tradition. In the earliest of his letters St. Paul complains of the Jews "forbidding us to speak to the gentiles that they might be saved." It is clear then

* Joel, III. 17.

that later Christians could have had no motive for inventing the saying in which Jesus is represented as doing the very thing of which St. Paul complains; "Go not into the way of the gentiles and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not." But when Pauline doctrines are put into the mouth of Jesus, we may well doubt if this is not a misrepresentation. The doubt becomes a certainty when we find that during the bitter controversy between St. Paul and the Jewish Christians neither side shews any sign of being acquainted with these alleged sayings of Jesus. St. Paul taught that: "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek; for the same Lord is Lord of all and is rich unto all that call upon him," and in support of this teaching he quotes from the Jewish prophets, Hosea, Isaiah, Moses. If he had known anything suitable in the sayings of Jesus, it is incredible that he would not have quoted it too. The argument from silence, often a dangerous one, is in this case conclusive. Further we know that those who had lived in the closest intimacy with Jesus, and formed the inner circle of his disciples, including his own brother wished to compel "Gentiles to live as do the Jews." It is clear then that any saying in which Pauline views are attributed to Jesus must be the fabrication of a later time.* The real Jesus, like his fellow-countrymen, detested the Goyim. On one occasion he calls them "dogs" and when he tells his disciples not "to give that which is holy to the dogs" nor to "cast pearls before a swine" he must have meant preaching the kingdom of heaven to the Gentiles.

VIOLENT METHODS.

Birsa.—"A second sub-inspector was sent with more police, but Birsa, waxing bold, ordered his bedstead and the rest of his baggage to be thrown into

* So in the Hadith the views of a later generation of Musulmans are attributed to Muhammad. As an example of fabrication we may take the words interpolated by Matthew in the story of the healing of the centurion. "And, I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven." These words do not belong to the source used by Matthew and Luke, since they are not found in Luke, and if they had been in the source, Luke with his Pauline sympathies would have had no reason for omitting them. They must be the invention of Matthew. Compare Matthew VIII. and Luke VII.

the river and the *daroga* was glad to escape with his life."

Jesus.—"Now there was there on the mountain side a great herd of swine feeding. And they (the devils) besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And he gave them leave. And the unclean spirits came out, and entered into the swine and the herd rushed down the steep into the sea, in number about two thousand; and they were choked in the sea. And they that fed them fled, and told it in the city and the country". Mark, V. 11-14.

Of course the story about devils entering into the swine is absurd as it stands. And yet it seems probable that there is some truth at the bottom of it, for these stories about devils belong to the oldest narrative and have always been rather scandalous to later Christians. Now suppose such a story were told me in Kulu, where there is still a firm belief in "devils" or *bhut*, I should imagine that something had happened to frighten the pigs. The explanation seems to be that Jesus and his fanatical followers had deliberately driven the swine over the precipice. The presence of pigs in the Holy Land was to them hateful. We read a little earlier that he and his adherents had crossed the lake from the other side in boats. There were probably a considerable number of them and this accounts for the flight of the pig-keepers without any resistance. We read further that the people of the country "began to beseech him to depart from their borders." It is easy to understand that people did not like "miracles" involving a destruction of their property, but the fact that they "beseech him to depart" instead of arresting him or driving him out forcibly, can only be explained on the supposition that he and his followers were prepared to fight. I admit, however, that the whole story is doubtful and that this explanation of the destruction of the pigs is conjectural. Later on, we shall meet with an undoubted instance of violence.

A German scholar writes:

"To hope for the kingdom of God in the transcendental sense which Jesus attaches to it, and to raise a revolution, are two things as different as fire and water."*

One sometimes thinks that German scholars, in spite of all their learning, fail to see things which are obvious to any one who has lived in the East. The example of Birsa shews that hoping for a "trans-

* Johannes Weiss quoted by Schweitzer in "The Quest of the Historical Jesus," p. 239.

cidental" kingdom and attempting to raise a revolution are intimately connected. After Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, the Jews had for many years been content with passive expectation of the Messiah, but since the time of John the Baptist there were some of them who wished for a more active policy. This is the obvious meaning of the saying: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."*

SENDING OUT APOSTLES.

Birsa.—"He also appointed "Prachars" or preachers of his own to disseminate his religious and political cult among his fellow tribesmen." *Modern Review*, June, 1911, p. 548.

Jesus.—"And he ordained twelve that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach." Mark, III. 14.

The appointment of "Prachars" by Birsa belongs to a later stage in his career, to the time after his release from his first imprisonment. Of course an exact chronological correspondence cannot be expected, and we have not attempted to follow a chronological order.

The instructions Jesus gave to his apostles when he sent them out to preach may be found in Mark, VI. 7-13 and more fully in Matthew, X. He seems to have expected an almost immediate result from the mission for he said to them "ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the son of man be come." In this however he was disappointed, for the apostles returned to him without having accomplished anything except the casting out of some devils. Sensible Jews had no reason to be discontented with Roman rule, and in spite of their dislike of the Goyim were not inclined to attempt to replace it by the "kingdom of heaven." They might hate the Romans in secret and wish for the time when "their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their sockets, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth,"† but they did not intend to risk their own

lives in attempting to realise this delightful prospect.

PROPHECIES OF BIRSA.

"They remembered Birsa's recent prophecy that even though the Government might capture him and send him to prison he would transport himself bodily back to his home at Chalkad on the fourth day from his arrest, leaving a log of wood at the jail for his substitute." *Modern Review*, June 1911, p. 547.

PROPHECIES OF JESUS.

"And he began to teach them that the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed and after three days rise again."

It is very doubtful how far these prophecies of death attributed to Jesus are historical. They are first recorded long after the events which are said to be their fulfilment. It is clear they cannot have been so definite as they are made out to have been in the gospels, for in another passage we are told that the disciples did not understand them. Probably they were hypothetical like Birsa's. We may suppose that Jesus had moods of hopefulness and moods of depression with gloomy anticipations of the future.

THE MARCH TO JERUSALEM.

We now come to a part of Jesus' life, to which there is nothing parallel in Birsa's, for Birsa did not attempt to march on Ranchi.

"And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was going before them: and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid." Mark, X. 32.

It was near the time of the Passover when Jews from all quarters came to Jerusalem as Hindus come to Allahabad for the Magh Mela. This was always an anxious time for the Roman authorities, since at any moment there might be an outburst of Jewish fanaticism. Along with Jesus there went up a crowd of turbulent Galileans most or all of whom were his adherents. He was now in very much the same position as another Messiah who arose sixteen centuries later, Sabbatai Sebi. This Messiah too was at first recognized only by a small body of believers who kept their faith a secret, but afterwards by means of his "miracles" he won crowds of followers. The Rabbis (*ulema*) of Jerusalem were however bitterly hostile to him. So it was with Jesus. We are told "the common

* Matthew, XI. 12. The saying is omitted by Luke, but it is not likely to have been invented.

† Zechariah, XIV. 12.—Jesus deliberately applied the prophecies of Zechariah to himself, so that the chapters of this prophet from the ninth onwards are most important in shewing what his aims really were.

people heard him gladly."* It appears from the sequel that his claims to be the Messiah, at first a secret of the twelve, had become widely known. But the learned classes, the scribes and Pharisees of Jerusalem, had opposed him even in Galilee.† They were men who had received some education, although only on Jewish lines, and were probably a little less credulous about "miracles" than the masses. Besides they must have had a clearer conception of the strength of the Roman government.

THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

"And when they draw nigh unto Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany at the mount of Olives, he sendeth two of his disciples, and saith unto them, go your way into the village that is over against you: and straightway as ye enter into it, ye shall find a colt tied whereon no man ever yet sat; loose him and bring him..... And they bring the colt unto Jesus, and cast on him their garments and he sat upon him." Mark, XI. 1, 2, 7.

Jesus rode on a colt in order to shew to the multitude that he applied to himself the words of Zechariah:

"Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass even upon a colt the foal of an ass." Zeck, IX. 9.

This prophecy, which is quoted by Matthew, must have been familiar to the Jewish crowd and they understood at once the significance of Jesus' action.

"And many spread their garments upon the way; and others branches, which they had cut from the fields. And they that went before, and they that followed cried, Hosanna; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David: Hosanna in the highest."

The treason was open and undisguised and we may be sure that as soon as Pilate heard the news he determined on the arrest of Jesus, as any Roman or British governor would have done in his place. At the same time he cannot have wanted a combat between the Roman garrison and the followers of Jesus, for this would have led to much bloodshed and inquiries from head-quarters. We shall see that the method he adopted was exactly similar to that adopted in the arrest of Birsa.

Certain German critics have disputed

* Mark, XII. 37.

† Mark, III. 22; VII. 1.

the historicity of the Messianic entry, but if anything in the gospels is historical this must be. It was witnessed by many people, probably hundreds, including the companions of Jesus. If Mark cannot be trusted when he reports a matter of such public notoriety, clearly he cannot be trusted when he reports incidents only known to a few. The phrase "Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David" could not have been a later addition, for it has no significance for the theology which regards Jesus as the saviour of the world. A little before the entry into Jerusalem Jesus was addressed by a blind beggar as "the son of David." In the Epistle to the Romans, which is older than the gospels, it is said that he "was born of the seed of David according to the flesh" and we need not doubt that this claim was made by Jesus himself. Of course an obscure Jewish carpenter could not really trace back his ancestry for twenty-eight generations, but at a very early date genealogies were fabricated for him.

ATTACKS ON RELIGION.

Birsa.—"His first move after his release from prison was to occupy the old Hindu temple at Chutia. The object of this visit was probably to assert his claim to the Chota-Nagpur Raj of which Chutia was an ancient seat. Some of the Hindu images in the temple, Birsa and his followers wantonly desecrated." "Modern Review", June 1911, p. 548.

"The modern Munda belief, he declared, was degenerated. To offer sacrifice in the customary way was wrong, and not in accordance with primitive usage. "Wide World Magazine," October 1910, p. 46.

Jesus.—"And they came to Jerusalem, and he entered into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and them that bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money changers, and the seat of them that sold doves; and he would not suffer that any man should carry a vessel through the temple. And he taught and said, unto them, Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations? but ye have made it a den of robbers." S. Mark, XI, 15, 16, 17.

This forcible interference with the religious customs of Jerusalem shews that Jesus must have been at the head of a body of followers prepared to fight if necessary. His action wounded the priests in the most sensitive part of all religious organisations, the pocket. We are told:—

"The chief priests and the scribes heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, for all the multitude was astonished at his preaching." Mark, XI, 18.

Jesus fully returned the hatred of the priests as is shewn by the way in which he addresses them: "Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgment of hell?"

THE CALL TO ARMS.

"Birsā then told us to make bows and arrows and *baluas*, as we were greatly oppressed. We all said we would make them and Birsā said that he had given a similar order at the other meetings in different parts of the country, and that everyone was making arms who belonged to his religion."

Deposition of Ratan Munda, quoted by Mr. S. C. Roy, in *Modern Review*, June, 1911, p. 550.

Jesus. "And he said unto them, But now he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet: and he that hath none let him sell his cloke, and buy a sword." Luke, XXII. 36.

There is every reason to believe that this is a genuine saying. According to Saint Luke it was uttered on the evening on which Jesus was betrayed, but to the actual date assigned by Luke no importance can be attached, since dates and occasions* often differ from those of the other gospels. It seems probable that the words were spoken in Jerusalem sometime during the last week, and were addressed not to the twelve only but to the whole body of disciples. The Passover was near at hand and soon the Galilaean pilgrims would return to their homes. If a blow was to be struck, it must be struck quickly. For some reason or other Jesus had hesitated after his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Perhaps he hoped to gain adherents among the Jews of Jerusalem by his preaching, or perhaps he looked for some supernatural aid. It is difficult to understand the state of mind of these Messiahs and prophets. A few years later one of them named Theudas said that he would cleave the river Jordan by his word, and a little after him, another, an Egyptian, professed to be able to make the walls of Jerusalem fall. If we can believe the Gospels Jesus too sometimes talked about coming in clouds with great power and glory.

Arrest of Birsā. "A sepy—one of the two who had been sent to reconnoitre—indicated the house to us by a motion of his hand, but without venturing to speak. In a moment the hut was surrounded by a line of bristling bayonets. Meares

and I, accompanied by two or three sepoys, including the two who had seen Birsā and could recognize him, went silently into the courtyard. So far no one had discovered our presence. There were two huts, one on either side. In which would he be? We had no means of knowing. Meares tried one of the doors. It yielded and in an instant we were inside the hut. Upon a string bedstead in the middle of the floor lay a sleeping form. 'That's he' cried one of the sepoys, excitedly. At the words Birsā opened his eyes and sprang to his feet, while Meares rushed upon him and seized him. Then began a struggle. 'Kapi lagaoepi! Kapi lagaoepi!' ('To arms! to arms!') shouted Birsā; and in an instant, as though conjured up by his command, seven or eight men sprang up around us, flourishing their axes with deadly intent. But the police were too quick for them. Scarcely were the weapons raised before they were wrested from the hands which held them. Meanwhile Meares stuffed a handkerchief into Birsā's mouth to stop his cries; but he struggled like one possessed. Wriggling, kicking, biting, he was borne out into the courtyard, where the handcuffs were snapped upon his wrists. For the moment, at any rate, the prisoner was ours."

Arrest of Jesus.

"And straightway, while he yet spake, cometh Judas, one of the twelve, and with him a multitude with swords and staves from the chief priests and the scribes and the elders. Now he that betrayed him had given them a token, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that is he; take him and lead him away safely. And when he was come, straightway he came to him and saith, Rabbi; and kissed him. And they laid hands on him and took him. But a certain one of them that stood by drew his sword, and smote the servant of the high priest, and struck off his ear. And Jesus answered and said unto them, are ye come as against a robber with swords and staves to seize me? I was daily with you in the temple teaching and ye took me not." Mark, XIV. 43-49.

In comparing the accounts of these two arrests we must bear in mind that they are written from different points of view. If we had an account of the arrest of Birsā written by one of his followers, or of the arrest of Jesus by one of the "multitude with swords and staves" the resemblance would be still closer. However we notice that in both cases the arrest is effected at night and by surprise. The followers taken unawares are seized by panic and offer very little resistance. "The uproar had aroused the sleepers, but, seeing Birsā overcome, they were too much impressed and too frightened to do anything to assist him" says Mr. Lusty. "They all left him and fled," says S. Mark. According to Mr. Lusty there were about five hundred of Birsā's disciples in the neighbourhood. It is not stated how many were with Jesus but that there were more than the twelve may be inferred from

* Thus the passage "the king of the gentiles have lordship over them" is also assigned by Luke to the last evening although according to Mark it was spoken on the way to Jerusalem.

the incident of the young man who fled naked leaving his linen cloth. His adherents then in Jerusalem were numerous and for that reason he was not arrested in the temple. There was *some* resistance, for one of Jesus' followers struck off a man's ear, a fact inconsistent with the popular conception of Jesus as a peaceful religious teacher.* Birsa was unknown to all except two of the party sent to arrest him. So too Jesus was apparently unknown to all except Judas. Yet for the previous week he had been daily teaching and disputing in the temple. This indicates that the "multitude" must have consisted of soldiers of the Roman garrison, who were excluded from the temple as Goyim. Obviously such an arrest could not take place without his approval and the soldiers must have been sent by his orders.

The gospels lay the blame for the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus on the Jews and attribute to Pilate only a reluctant assent. But we must distinguish between what the writers of the gospels or their informants actually saw and what they only inferred. The last chapters of Mark probably give correctly the facts witnessed by a companion but the inferences are of no value. There was bitter hostility to the Jews at the time when the gospels were written. Saint Paul says they "both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove out us and please not God and are contrary to all men." On the

other hand, at that time, the Christians were often protected by the Roman authorities from ill-treatment by the Jews. The official persecutions of Christianity belong to a later period. Hence the gospel narratives are not unfriendly to the Roman government but shew intense dislike of the Jews. It is very doubtful then whether the view that the condemnation of Jesus was forced on Pilate by the clamour of the Jewish multitude correctly represents the facts. For that matter even in our own time everyone who has lived in India knows that the blame for unpopular acts is often put on the wrong persons. If this occurs even in journals which are published from day to day and week to week, it is much more likely to occur in books which are written several years after the event. We must consider the intrinsic probabilities of the case. Imagine Birsa had made a triumphal entry into Ranchi at the head of a large body of followers and called himself the king of the Mundas, it is certain the authorities would have arrested him as soon as possible. The Roman governor might have paid very little attention to what Jesus did in distant Galilee but must have determined on his arrest when he entered Jerusalem.

According to the gospels there was a double trial of Jesus first before the high priest and afterwards before Pontius Pilate. But the first trial was absolutely useless and irrelevant, since the charge of blasphemy on which he was condemned by the high priest was not advanced against him in the second trial. Besides from the Jewish point of view there was nothing blasphemous in the claim to be Messiah since the Jews have for many centuries expected a Messiah. A man who falsely claimed to be Messiah would be for Jews an impostor but no more a blasphemer than Perkin Warbeck was. The conclusion is that the whole story of the first trial is fictitious. It cannot be the narrative of an eyewitness for not one of the companions was present. The story of the second trial is probably in part fictitious also, but one fact about it was too notorious to be concealed. Jesus was crucified as king of the Jews, that is to say, as a political pretender, not as a religious

* Each of the later evangelists has sought, in his own way, to embellish the bare fact related by Mark. Their attempts form an instructive example of the growth of fiction. Matthew adds: "Then saith Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Or thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels? How then should the scriptures be fulfilled that thus it must be?" Luke adds: "But Jesus answered and said, suffer ye thus far. And he touched his ear, and healed him." John adds: "Now the servant's name was Malchus. Jesus therefore said unto Peter, Put up the sword into the sheath! the cup which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" The mention of the servant's name by John does not indicate personal knowledge. Later still, Christians invented the name of the soldier who, according to John, thrust his spear into Jesus' side; of the father and mother of Mary. Sale in his notes to the Quran gives many examples of this invention of names by Musulman commentators.

teacher. "And the superscription of his accusation was written over, **THE KING OF THE JEWS.**" Another fact is that Pilate offered to release one of the prisoners and the multitude chose Barabbas rather than Jesus. Barabbas had taken part in an insurrection and some of his associates, it is said, had committed murder. It was a mere accident that none of the associates of Jesus had committed murder, for a blow with a sword that cuts off a man's ear is obviously intended to be fatal. For Pontius Pilate the two men were both rebels against the Roman government, and it is not likely he cared much which he released. If Barabbas had been crucified instead of Jesus and been believed by his followers to have risen again, the consequences to the world might not perhaps after all have been very different. We might still have had a religion of the cross, only it would have been connected with the name of Barabbas. The actual life of Jesus, of which so little is known, has no more to do with Christianity, than the life of Ghazi Miyan with his worship in Northern India. It is as easy to say of one man as of another that he is the word which was with God in the beginning. The assertion escapes all verification.

LATER HISTORY OF BIRSA.

"In November 1895 Birsa was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for two years and a half." "On the occasion of the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of the reign of the Empress Victoria, Birsa Munda was released from jail some time before the expiry of the term of his sentence." Then follows the incident of the Hindu temple already quoted. "For nearly two years after this.....the Bhagwan did not stand out prominently before the public." In the year 1899 he once more emerged from his temporary eclipse, and added "dangerous political tenets to his innocent religious teachings." Apparently early in 1900 "Birsa was traced to the bordering District of Singhbhum and brought to Ranchi under arrest. During the pendency of the case the Bhagwan departed this life in the Ranchi jail." Modern Review, June 1911.*

According to Mr. Lusty "The movement which he (Birsa) had so turbulently initiated did not immediately die out. Many people retained their belief in him for years, but no further disturbances took place" Wide World Magazine, Oct. 1910.

It would be interesting to know what were exactly the beliefs of those people

* I have followed Mr. Roy's account. He has corrected Mr. Lusty's account in some details.

and whether they looked for the second coming of Birsa.

LATER HISTORY OF JESUS.

"For I deliver unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas; then to the twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep; then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles, and last of all as to one born out of due time he appeared to me also." I Corinthians, XV. 1-8.

Saint Paul's account of the resurrection is the oldest. Other details are given in the gospels but they are mutually contradictory and of no historical value. We may accept as true that some time after the death of Jesus Saint Peter started a report that he had seen him and then other people thought they saw him too. In the absence of any trustworthy details it is impossible to explain these appearances. Saint Paul's own vision seems to have been an hallucination without any objective basis.

After the death of Jesus, the hopes of his followers assumed a modified form. Their Messiah was no longer on earth, but they expected he would come from heaven in a very short time.

"For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we even be with the Lord".

This was a harmless belief, not likely to lead to rebellion, and in fact the Christians held aloof from the insurrection raised about a hundred years later, by another Messiah, Bar Cochebas.

With reference to the Quran, Noldeke remarks:

"An unbiassed European can, no doubt, see many things at a glance more clearly than a good Moslem who is under the influence of religious prejudice."

It is equally true, with reference to Christianity, that an Indian, especially a Hindu can see many things at a glance more clearly than a good Christian. For this reason I have written this paper for Indians who approach these questions with a fresh mind.* The points brought forward are

* There is however some doubt whether they can be properly understood by anyone but a German. Dr.

not subtle, technical points that can only be decided by scholars; otherwise, I should not have been bold enough to deal with them. They lie on the surface and require for their appreciation no more than good sense and freedom from the prejudices of a Christian education. The view here put forward is not in the least new. It is the view of Tacitus expanded and justified. Apparently it is the view of Gamaliel, the Pharisee, who makes no distinction between Jesus and the "prophets" Judas of Galilee and Theudas. Naturally during the centuries in which Christianity prevailed, a dispassionate study of the life of Jesus was impossible. But in the 18th century, Reimarus* shewed conclusively what were

Schweitzer makes the interesting remark: "When, at some future day, our period of civilisation shall be closed and completed, before the eyes of later generations, German theology will stand out as a great, a unique phenomenon in the mental and spiritual life of our time. For nowhere save in the German temperament can there be found in the same perfection the living complex of conditions and factors—of philosophic thought, critical acumen, historical insight, and religious feeling—without which no deep theology is possible." *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 1.

* Reimarus was born in 1694 and died in 1768.

"The Aims of Jesus and his disciples." Now, more than a hundred years later, it is gradually being recognized that Jesus was not a benevolent clergyman with an interest in social reform. His object was not to teach morality to future generations but to announce that "the time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand." Even the writers who admit this however, are too dominated by current prejudices to see, as Reimarus saw, that Jesus did not adopt an attitude of mere passive expectation. They cannot perceive that Jesus was no more content than the prophets Judas of Galilee and Theudas, than the Messiahs Bar Cochebas and Sabbatai Sebi, than Birsā in recent times, to wait patiently for the action of God. It is repulsive to European prejudices to admit that Jesus added "dangerous political tenets to his innocent religious teachings." But I believe this will be the opinion of every impartial Indian who examines the question.

HOMERSHAM COX.

He was a professor of Oriental languages at Hamburg. His book was brought out ten years after his death by Sessing. Dr. Schweitzer gives an account of it.

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

IT was in the year 1898 that the last chapter of the once mighty Spanish colonial regime was ended. The treaty of Paris wiped away the last vestiges of the Spanish overseas dominions from the map of the world. The story of four centuries of illiberal policy towards the dependencies ended at last mutely but loudly proclaiming to the world that extreme compression always results in explosion.

Among the last remnants that passed out of Spanish hands, is the beautiful Archipelago of the Philippines. After many years of subjection to intolerable oppression, after many years of honest attempts at reform, the Filipinos raised at last in 1896 the standard of revolt against their Spanish master. About two years of vigorous campaign went on, with but a brief respite in the middle.

The Spaniard was ready to yield. Just at this juncture a new figure enters into the field. The American eagle which had been hovering above with its piercing looks, stoops down with electric speed. An accident caused by the Spanish to an American ship through a mistake, served as a pretext for declaration of war with Spain. A single master-stroke sufficed to kill the scorched snake; the treaty of Paris was concluded. Spain sold the birds in the bush in a lucrative bargain for 20 million dollars (1 dol. = 3 Rs.) and America bought them.

To the Philippines it was a complete disappointment. They expected to establish a republic. But America claimed sovereignty over them by virtue of the sale. In the short but noble struggle which followed, Might was declared Right.

The twentieth century opened with the firm establishment of American domination over the Islands.

The occupation of the islands by the U. S. A. thus foreboded no good relations between the rulers and the ruled. Dame Liberty's honest devotees refused to be reconciled to this unjust piece of aggression. About 12 years have elapsed since the establishment of American rule. The story of this period is however a noble effort to make full amends for the deprivation of freedom. The year 1913 may see the culmination of this generous policy if the democratic party under the Presidency of Dr. Wilson grants them independence as it has pledged itself to do in its platform. I cannot go into the many-sided activity of the American rule during this period. Only one I may attempt to discuss, however inadequately.

During the $3\frac{1}{2}$ centuries that the Philippines were under Spanish rule, constant efforts were made in the name of Catholicism to Christianise and civilise the people. With Christianisation was closely associated the programme of education. Both were therefore left in the hands of the Roman Catholic priests and religious orders. The history of education in the Philippines on any extensive scale really begins however only in 1863 when a decree of the Spanish monarch denounced the inauguration of a more liberal policy towards the natives. Under this decree a pretty large number of primary schools were opened; and a mighty programme was set out, though little work was done.

The history of Spanish education in the islands, however, essentially suffered from two faults. The system of education was run on old and antiquated lines of teaching; and no effort was made to introduce modern methods of education. We cannot perhaps be very severe with Spain in this respect, for the simple reason, that Spain herself, since the days of the Great Salamanca, was never the educational centre of Europe.

The close association of the Church with the State and the complete supervision of Education by the Church, produced another grave fault. With all respect to the noble efforts of the religious orders in the Christianisation of the native popula-

tion, we cannot but conclude that the influence of the Church as an educational factor tended more to shackle the mind than to enlarge it.

With the establishment of American rule in the Philippines, a radical change came over the educational history of the islands. The end of the first decade of the American administration, finds the islands in a state of educational efficiency, which no other dependency in the world can boast of. America has done for the Philippines within a space of 10 years what by centuries of domination, has not been effected by the European nations. I can but barely indicate here the main features of their policy and the achievements thereof.

Keeping aside the university of Manila which provides higher education in Arts, Medicine, Agriculture, Forestry, Engineering, Law, Fine Arts, Pharmacy, and Veterinary Science, the educational policy of the islands is directed towards three ends:

- i. The spread of a general and wide-spread education among all the people.
- ii. The imparting of a high technical and industrial education to the Filipinos.
- iii. The manufacture of an efficient corps of Filipino teachers equipped with sound education on modern lines for the discharge of their work in the schools.

Among these three, the second has been given special attention; and the whole educational system has been built with this object in view. To the Filipino boy school or college education is not by any means an avenue leading to official distinction. Education comes to him and is received by him as a means of developing the economic resources of his country and not as a stepping stone to a long and perhaps ignoble period of official serfdom.

- i. The spread of general education:—the precollegiate education covers a course of 11 years, divided into, 4 years of primary course, three years of intermediate, and four years of secondary. The Islands are divided for purposes of educational administration into 38 divisions, every division being under a division superintendent. In each of these divisions there is a High School provided. The divisions are again subdivided into groups of Municipalities. Every group has, one or more intermediate schools. Every municipality

is provided with some primary schools, which not unusually contain one or two grades of the intermediate course. In addition to the schools in the Municipalities, are established what are called the Barrio or hamlet schools in the villages surrounding the town. This class of school is the unit in the organisation of the educational system. It is the school which reaches the mass of the people even in the remote country places.

Before attempting to give any idea of the extent of the general spread of education, I may say a few words, concerning the courses taught in the schools. We notice, all through the School curriculum, the great anxiety felt by the Government for the industrial regeneration of the land. Besides the ordinary routine of reading, writing, language, Arithmetic, Geography, and Hygiene, the primary course includes a distinct and important element in the shape of industrial education. The nature of the industry to be taught, depends very much on the nature of the locality, and the materials available there. In the first and second years about 30 minutes' time is assigned to industrial work every day. In the third year, the time varies from 45 to 60 minutes; while in the fourth year, 60 to 100 minutes of industrial work is done every day.

During the first year, the industrial work is broadly divided into two branches, the manufacturing and the industrial. Every student is required to choose one of these courses. Under the wide discretion allowed to the division Superintendents, may be taught in the case of the manufacturing industry,—the making of mats and bags from buri, caragomoi, and other similar fibres; the making of fans, trays and picture frames from a combination of buri or caragomoi, with bamboo or rattan; the making of small baskets and book satchels from caragomoi, buri, cocoanut fibre, cocoanut mid-rib and rattan, with nito and irao for furnishing and decorating.

In the second year, besides Hand-weaving and Gardening, directed on a better scale, a student may choose any one of the following courses: (1) wood-working which consists of:—polishing coconut shells, making canes and pictures frames, making rulers, spoons, dippers etc. (2) Clay modell-

ing: cubes, spheres, cylinders, pyramids, animals, etc. (3) Lace making on simple patterns (for girls).

In the 3rd year, the student is expected to be sufficiently able to make well some serviceable, artistic, and usually saleable article; and no credit is given to him unless he gives evidence of knowledge of the technique of the art and familiarity with the materials, out of which the article is made, and their preparation. Any two of the following courses may be chosen: (1) Hand-weaving: making of all kinds of mats, slippers, hammocks, fish-nets and hats. 2. Basketry. 3. Gardening. 4. Wood-working, framing of hyloplates, repairing desks, windows, doors, tables, etc; making lace-bobbins, hat-racks etc. 5. Bamboo and rattan work. 6. Loom weaving. 7. Pottery. 8. Sewing. 9. Lace-making.

With the fourth year, the student finishes the primary course. The industrial work of this course is designed to be so practical in character, that the year's work will in some measure prepare every boy and girl for earning a living or making a home. A large number of courses are offered of which any two may be chosen; viz., 1. Hand-weaving 2. Basketry 3. Gardening 4. Poultry raising 5. Wood-working 6. Bamboo and Rattan work 7. Loom weaving 8. Pottery 9. Domestic science: cutting and making of Garments; elementary cooking: Household sanitation (10). Lacemaking 11. Embroidery.

After graduating from the primary school, the student may continue his work in the intermediate course; or he may seek admission into the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, for purposes of specialisation. About this special school, we will have occasion to speak later.

The intermediate course has been specialised into 6 different lines as follows: 1. General course, 2. the course in Teaching, 3. the course in Farming, 4. the Trade course, 5. the course in House-keeping and household arts, 6. the course for Business. The courses are intended to help students of limited means in securing a training that will directly prepare them for a useful life.

Besides giving instruction in grammar and composition, reading and writing, arithmetic and drawing, in common, the various courses impart instruction in their

special branches. The student in the general course learns more of Geography, History, Music, Physiology, etc; those in Farming are instructed in plant life and farm work; the trade course deals with shop-work; and the course in domestic science specialises in cooking, needle-work and weaving, ethics, hygiene, and physiology. In the course for business is taught type-writing, book-keeping, geography, history, and government.

The secondary course is directed more on general lines and as a preparatory course to the College. Consequently it is more academic in character consisting of History, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and Languages.

Having thus taken a cursory glance at the courses taught in the schools, I may attempt to state without criticism or comment, a few incontrovertible facts indicating the spread of education, and the results achieved thereby.

The total population of the islands number a trifle more than 7 millions. The population of the school-going age has been roughly estimated at 1,215,666, nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the entire population. It is admitted that this figure is not by any means an accurate one. But for practical purposes we may accept this figure as fairly correct, without claiming any pretence to mathematical precision.

During the official year 1910-1911 the islands maintained 4121 primary, 245 intermediate, and 38 secondary schools; numbering among them the annual enrollment of 5,82,115; 24,974; 3,404; and an average monthly enrollment of 4,33,047; 20,952; 2,890 respectively. The total number of schools is thus 4404, having an annual enrollment of 6,10,493 and an average monthly enrollment of 446,889. It is thus evident that about 50.1 per cent. of the school age population have been drawn to the schools.

The Government spent during 1910-1911 about 6,900,000 pesos or about 10,350,000 Rupees on education. It means an expenditure of 15.46 pesos or nearly 23 Rupees on the average for the education of every student at school. It means a tax of Rs. 1-6-0 on every head in the Philippines for purposes of education. These figures are startling enough. Bureaucrats of the type

of Sir Arthur Lawley will doubtless shrug their shoulders at such monstrous burden on the innocent and ever-desirable-to-be-ignorant peasant.

The fact is that when the question of education is discussed, the Government of the Philippines does not shed tears on the possibility of increased taxation. Even at its first session, the Philippine assembly hopelessly lost its head and unstintingly appropriated about 1½ million Rupees, for the construction of school-buildings, for a population forming less than $\frac{1}{10}$ part of India's 'teeming millions.' Both the rulers and the ruled appreciate that the future of the country lies in the education of her children and both have earnestly set themselves to the task.

As a clear demonstration of this policy the Philippine Government has consistently maintained that no considerations of poverty should deter a Filipino boy or girl from prosecuting any branch of study. Consequently it has been very early ruled that every boy and girl are to be provided at the expense of the State not only with a free and liberal education but also with all the books and other necessary equipments thereof. Rigorous supervision of the class teacher serves as an efficient check, against all destruction of the books, granted to the students, through mutilation or gross carelessness. No plea save that of vis major or act of God can excuse any student for the loss of a book. Again the possibility of any misappropriation by the officials is wisely provided against by a careful fixing of responsibility and close supervision of accounts.

Reference has been made in the last para to 'Girl.' Yes—in the Philippines 'Girls' also read. In respect of co-education of boys and girls, the Philippines stand perhaps pre-eminently supreme in the Orient. Out of a total number of 484,689 pupils on the rolls in the month of September 1910, no less than 186,489 were girls, against 298,200 boys, giving thus a rough proportion of 2 to 3.

General spread is not the only feature of this educational system. Industrial training along the lines indicated by local conditions, has been an essential feature of public education in the islands. The various kinds of industry that have

been put on the programme of instruction have already been detailed. Of these however, wood-working is one of the first industrial subjects to be introduced and developed. Beginning with the Philippine School of Arts and Trades in 1901, it spread gradually through all the provincial schools.

'Instruction for construction' has always been the ideal which the upbuilders of the Filipino education set before themselves. Not that mere theoretical exercises are wholly discarded; but that greater insistence on utility and the commercial side of the work has been the governing factor of their policy.

During the last few years, the primary trade schools have rapidly increased in number amounting to nearly 236 with a total equipment of 33,015 pesos or 50 thousand Rupees producing a commercial out-put of about 31 thousand Rupees annually. Out of a total of 17343 pupils enrolled in the 4th grade 10356 pupils took shop-work during the official year 1911-1912.

Nor should we omit to say a few words about the Trade Schools of the intermediate course. These schools are rapidly increasing in number consisting now of 14. The total appropriation for the 12 Schools of last year, was nearly 116000 Rupees (773 69.97 pesos). The total amount of manufactures turned out during the past year was 53978. 98 pesos or about 80 thousand Rupees worth, yielding a profit of (15965.48 pesos) 24 thousand Rupees to the institutions if we exclude the salaries of teachers.

These are some of the facts. I have not by any means given an adequate idea of the Schools. But I believe that it does not require any great stretch of imagination to understand the nature of the system, which these figures represent. The High manual skill which the Filipino by his inherent nature possesses, is given an intelligent direction, both by reason of the general cultural education, and the superior expert teaching.

ii. The technical education :—

Having thus rapidly glanced over the general educational scheme we will try to consider for a while the chief Industrial School of the Islands. First organised in 1901 the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, at first offered instruction only in two courses, *viz.*, iron and wood-working.

During the last 10 years it has rapidly developed into a flourishing institution imparting instruction in 11 courses and having on its rolls no less than 543 pupils.

The minimum qualification for admission of a student, is the satisfactory completion of the primary course. Students who have done higher work in the provincial intermediate schools, are also admitted and are given credit for the work they did. As usual no tuition fees are charged. The average entrance age is about 17 years. It is interesting to note that admission to the institution is conditional on the promise to follow a trade upon graduation. But this promise is however only a moral understanding and is not enforced by means of any legal sanction.

The entire course covers a period of 7 years during which the School attempts to give in addition to the special instruction in Arts and Trades, the essentials of both the intermediate and secondary academic courses.

The special courses are about eleven in number and will perhaps bear enumeration. 1. Normal industrial course, 2. Preparatory Engineering course, 3. Drafting, 4. Cabinet making, 5. Building construction, 6. Wheelwrighting, 7. Machine shop practice, 8. Stationary engineering, 9. Automobile operation, 10. Blacksmithing, 11. Ceramics.

The courses are designed primarily to train young men to earn a livelihood by following a trade. Even at School the commercial side of the work is greatly emphasised. Last year about 33,134. 43 pesos or nearly 50 thousand Rupees worth of work was done. This handsome return not only paid the price of the raw materials employed, but also permitted a good return to students working outside the regular class hours or during the vacations. Last year about 5000 Rupees have been so distributed. This is a pretty decent return considering the total number of students is only 543.

This is in outline the scheme of the industrial education. Great efforts are being made to improve and standardise its efficiency. A beautiful and high class monthly—the Philippine Craftsman—keeps the interest of industrial discussion afloat. Vigilant Inspectors of Industries, serve to standardise the level of instruction in the

various provincial schools. Conferences of teachers stimulate a continual interest in them towards a high level of efficiency. Occasional industrial exhibitions not only promote a very healthy spirit of emulation among the different schools, but also serve as rare and yet most valuable pieces of public instruction. In the annual carnival of 1911, the educational exhibit occupied the largest space and commanded the greatest attraction. The sales and orders of the exhibits amounted to about 17 thousand Rupees.

It is yet perhaps too soon to expect any material advance in the industrial position of the islands. But one thing may be safely asserted, that the majority of boys and girls eat and wear what they have produced with their own hands. Signs are not also wanting to foreshadow the great results of the future. The hat exports of the islands increased from 621,475 in 1910 to 1,025,546 in 1911. Doubtless the Schools have much to do with the rapid increase. Many other instances may be given, had not limitations of space restricted my freedom.

iii. I will close this paper with a few remarks on the teaching staff of the islands. The Government almost at the beginning of the occupation of the islands imported a body of 750 American teachers for purposes of imparting English Instruction. The progress of Education has been much hampered during the early years of the occupation owing to the lack of Filipino teachers. But such men as were available were taken advantage of. Conferences and assemblies of teachers, especially during the vacations, have been promoted by the Director of Education. These resulted not only in establishing better relations between the American and Filipino teachers, but also served as an educating factor to the latter. The assembly at Baguio, first established by Dr. D. P. Barrows, the then Director of Education (now Head of Pol. Sc. Dept. in the Univ. of Cal., U.S.A.) has been of great value; and has proved highly successful in the realisation of these ends. Professors from the American Universities are invited to give

a course of lectures on special topics in this assembly. In 1910 and 1911 courses in several industrial subjects, including lace-making, embroidery and minor industries, were provided.

The assembly of 1911 was visited by two distinguished lecturers from the University of Chicago, Dr. John Paul Goode and Dr. Francis W. Sheperdson, who gave a series of lectures on commercial, geographical, and economic subjects, and on American History.

The Philippine Normal School was established in 1907 and is the normal centre in the islands for the manufacture of teachers. This school now attempts to impart instruction through correspondence courses also for the benefit of those teachers who may not be able to leave their class rooms.

Another recourse for the manufacture of teachers was the system of Pensionades. Under this system about 209 have been sent to America during the last 8 years. In the year 1907, the islands, having hardly $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the population of India, maintained about 183 students in America at a cost of more than 3 lakhs of Rupees.

These are some of the means by which the Government attempts to improve the educational staff of the islands. At the present day, there are 8403 Filipino teachers against 683 American teachers—a pretty efficient corps.

I have but barely sketched out the main outlines of the educational system, while I have not attempted even to say a word about the University. Personal contact with the present and the previous directors of Education in the islands, during whose regime most of the reconstruction was done, inspired me to speak a few words to my countrymen. These words might be of some pertinence, especially after the defeat of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Bill for free primary education. If I have indicated, however faintly, on what ground we stand, my task is done.

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PROBLEMS OF OUR EDUCATION*

There has been a most remarkable development in educational ideas in our country during the course of the last few years. A dissatisfaction with the present educational institutions has given rise to more than one practical scheme and structure which are attracting the attention of our people. The Hindu and the Moslem Universities are on the fair way to progress, the Dacca University Committee have submitted their Report while the old Universities as well are taking the stock, adapting their equipment to modern needs in the newly aroused educational enthusiasm of our people. Societies for imparting free education have been also started in different parts of the country. Night schools for day labourers have been opened and the devotion of enthusiastic young men and students in the cause of mass-education has been unique in the history of education in our country. In the midst of these educational advances it is no wonder that new educational theories have also been springing up. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., has been writing for several years on the subject of education, and his educational works are to-day a healthy and stimulating force in Bengal. Himself a devoted worker in the cause of education, he is guiding several institutions in Bengal in which he has found scope for illustrating his educational theories. These theories have been summarised in a neat little volume of the author, entitled *Siksha-Samaloचना* which has been published of late. According to the author, the object of all education is to develop originality of mind, a love of bold and independent thinking,—a trait so seldom to be met with in the minds of average educated Indians. He seeks to cultivate this trait in the mind of the student through his inductive method of teaching, in the modern languages, in the sciences and other branches of general learning to some extent. The system has been given a fair trial and has established itself in the west. But Professor Sarkar has for the first time applied this method comprehensively to the various branches of study and also to the teaching of an inflexional language like Sanskrit. His scheme of teaching Sanskrit without grammar is very suggestive and deserves careful consideration at the hands of every educationist. The student in his system begins with the sentence as the unit of thought and expression, not with words and roots. He has not to commit to memory the definitions of grammar, or the declensions and conjugations of the roots; and is thus free to learn the language much sooner than his peer in the indigenous *cols* or in the public schools. To all students of Sanskrit, the method will, indeed, prove very instructive. It is hoped that the author will find other schools than his own which will try his methods and principles of teaching.

As an exponent of the inductive method, again,

the author does not believe in the text-book system and rightly insists that what one should learn are not books but subjects. Boys should show the results of study not periodically, after the lapse of a year or of several months, but every day in the session. Examinations must be daily and the terms of academic life as well as the system of rewards, he says, should be not by years or months, but according to subjects or portions of subjects studied. The author's scheme is thus a corrective of the wrongs of education such as is given in our public schools to-day. A student who has to prepare for an examination must perforce overload his memory with vague general notions so as to have only a superficial knowledge of the subjects. The system of 'cramming' is further promoted by the fact that in our matriculation schools the boys began to learn subjects in a language of which they have not at the time acquired a practical knowledge. Professor Sarkar, therefore, rightly insists that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction. Where the vernacular is poor and inadequate to the standard, he hopes that the educationists of our country will devote their full energies to develop and enrich the vernacular within a short time by the system of patronage and endowments on the protective principle. In Bengal the *Sahitya Parishad* has recognised the importance of his scheme of fostering and protecting vernacular literature. We can only hope that its efforts in this line will be attended with speedy success.

In Professor Sarkar's programme, the elementary courses are more comprehensive than those followed in our secondary schools. No student is left without the knowledge of the rudiments of all the natural sciences as well as of national history and literature. His inductive method enables the students to follow these different subjects with no difficulty. As to technology and applied sciences, he has pointed out that their courses should be so planned as to utilise the economic resources, and meet the local needs of the people for whom the institution is meant. This conception of a separate educational institution to meet the requirements of a particular locality is bold enough in India. But in the more advanced countries in Europe and America, an educational organisation is meant to satisfy local needs, representing a distinct and characteristic type of technical and university education. A self-sufficient educational equipment for each district, with its typical forms of rural education, handicrafts and industries, is a desideratum in India, and will restore the importance of the part played by our ancient teachers in building up the civic life of the people. A district committee of education, with its own professors, teachers and inspectors thus working unaided and unfettered by an extraneous organisation will command more respect and confidence than our present day educational staff who seem to have absolutely no concern with the

* *Siksha-Samaloचना*, by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., author of *Siksha Bijnan*.

particular social and educational interests of the locality. The adoption of what might be called an educational decentralisation scheme can alone give an important status and independence, to our teachers, which will be far more effective in infusing life and vigour into educational work than any amount of official control, supervision and inspection, or raising of the standard of education.

The most important characteristic of Professor Sarkar's programme, however, is the system of moral education. In this direction more than in anything, it represents a reaction against the insufficient moral education of our schools to-day. According to him, moral education is to be imparted not through moral lessons, but through special arrangements by which the student is made to develop the habits of self-sacrifice by undertaking various works of philanthropy and social service. Among these, the author has noted the work of teaching in the free evening schools for the diffusion of mass-education, of organising circulating libraries for the middle classes, or of collecting money to defray part of the expenses of the school. In all these undertakings the teacher is to be their guide and responsible head, the mutual confidence between pupils and teachers being thus the keynote of moral education. The author has suggested in this connection the system which he calls 'conscription in the field of education', according to which it is obligatory on each student brought up under the educational institution to devote at least a portion of his life to the work of spreading education among the people. No system can be more fruitful than this when a people has not passed even through the pioneering stages in the work of education. It is interesting to note that the Negro leader in America, Mr. Booker Washington, built up his organisation for the education of the Negroes through the help of his first band of students in Tuskegee, all of whom pledged themselves bound to work for the cause of Negro-education. If Mr. Gokhale's scheme of compulsory education is to succeed in India, we must have in every district a band of enthusiastic students of our Colleges and Public Schools who would voluntarily devote themselves for one or two years to the work of spreading education in our villages.

In the last chapter of the book Prof. Sarkar deals with a very important question, the place of religious education in a Scheme of Studies. One great defect of the school system is that it stamps out individuality, whereas real education should give to society the free activities of every individual. Hence the plea from time to time for education by nature. This educational theory is a reaction against the commonly recognised type of schools, a protest against the introduction of the military principle which checks the spontaneous development of the student, and turns an educational institution more or less into a soldiers' barrack. In a sound system of education, the teacher must have before his mind not the school-discipline and the school books, but the child itself as it is by nature. Discipline and schools are for children, not children for them. Rousseau was one of the first to say this. He based education entirely on a study of the child to be educated. Fröbel and Pestalozzi developed Rousseau's theory and succeeded in establishing the theory of child development in pedagogics. To develop the child-mind, we must exercise the child's own mind. This exercise, Fröbel says, arises from and is sustained

by its own activity; the more the activity of the mind—"self-produced, self-maintained, and self-directed," the better is the result. Thus "each man must develop from within, self-active and free in accordance with the eternal law. This is the problem and the aim of all education in instruction and training; there can be and should be no other."

When the natural powers of the child instead of being aided are fettered by the routine work of the school system, the effects are very harmful. Modern pedagogic literature in Europe is characterised by this keynote running through it all, viz., the desire to let the child live his own life and settle his own system of values. In a recent book it has been remarked:—"In the best of schools, the machinery of formal lessons cannot but be artificial—the standing reproach against teachers is that they teach not for life, but for school... Character is a make-up of many qualities, but some of these at least are due to the spirit of independence. After all is said, character can only be *my* character: if it has not been formed by me, if I am not allowed choice, at least in details, if I cannot say Yes or No, then the virtues are merely borrowed: *and the out-come is not character but an understudy.*"

A greater violation of this important psychological truth can hardly be found than in the attempt to include religious education within the scope of the School-System. Religion more than anything does not admit of standardization. If mechanical ideas are introduced into this field, we have only the mockery of religious education. Thus, as Prof. Sarkar rightly points out, what passes for religious education in the European and American Schools is mere learning in ethics, psychology and theology, and intellectual study of the theory and origins of religion. The true religious education which develops the mystic sense for the perception of the Infinite is the outcome of a strenuous life of *Sadhana*, in the course of which truths are revealed as the student rises from a lower to a higher spiritual plane. Such development of the soul and the due subordination of the body to the mind can only be regulated by the great spiritual masters who know the inner workings of a particular mind. Such teachers work for nothing. The mutual love between masters and pupils is thus the basis of spiritual progress. Where this relation of confidence is wanting the spiritual instincts cannot grow and develop. We are thankful to Prof. Sarkar for emphasising the significance of this Hindu pedagogic ideal. In this utilitarian age, when the art of living is forgotten, when machinery is killing souls and mechanism is destroying spirituality there clearly rings out the message of India to humanity that the human spirit can only come to its own under a pedagogic ideal and system of training that are still living among the Indian people. The mysteries of human psychology and the infinite possibilities of development of which the human mind is capable can be learnt not through psychological treatises or theological discourses but are realised as the soul soars along the limitless vistas unfolded by the impulse from a divine Master. And after all the highest system of education is not that which brings outward efficiency or success. This aim can be well realised by the mechanical school system. Like machinery producing an infinite number of commodities of the same grade and pattern; the system of day schools and boarding schools fashions characters

according to a uniform mould. It is indeed most suitable for the training of the average mind, but does not develop to the full the inner self of every individual. Thus though it is highly efficient, it is not conducive to the highest art of living. But if the end is not mere efficient living; if the purpose of teaching is to bring more out of man rather than to put more into him, the highest ideal will be realised not by mechanical practice but by the Hindu pada-

gogic system in which the relation between masters and pupils is one of personal love, devotion and confidence. Responsibility of one single individual for the development of a man's soul is thus the basis of the highest form of training, and as long as the school does not imply this direct responsibility, it will not be found true to the highest ideals.

RADHA KAMAL MUKERJEE.

THE QUR'AN

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. WEIL'S ISLAMITISCHE VOLKER;
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QUR'AN is the Arabic name for the Muslim Bible, or the collection of messages delivered by Mohamed in the name of God, in his capacity as an inspired prophet—messages which, according to him, were now transmitted by the angel Gabriel and now directly revealed to him in visions or in dreams.

Unlike the Bible the Qur'an is not a book arranged according to chronological order, or according to the nature of its contents. It is a motley collection of hymns, prayers, dogmas, sermons, fables, legends, laws and temporary ordinances, with reiterations and contradictions. This is due to the fact that Mohamed did not personally collect the revelations announced by him during a period of twenty-three years. Probably he did not wish them all to be preserved, for a great number of them dealt only with matters of passing importance. So many changes had he effected in his laws and in his teachings that he possibly feared to hand them all down to posterity. Finally he wished, until death, to keep himself free to make necessary additions and alterations. After his death all the fragments of the revelations were put together, even those that were revised or repealed.

Verses of the Qur'an, scattered in all directions and recorded on parchment, leaves, stones, bones and other rude materials or those that were preserved in the memory of his contemporaries—all, indeed, were collected together and divided into chapters—large or small—without any

regard to chronology or their contents. Thus arose the Qur'an with all its imperfections as we know it.

Only by a careful examination of the life of Mohamed and the language of the Qur'an are we able, to a certain extent, to fix the date of its individual *Suras*. With the help of the Arab biographies of Mohamed, of which some go back to the second century of the Hegira, we are able to determine the dates of those sections of the Qur'an which refer to historical events. Where such is not the case the determining factors are the form and the contents of the revelations. In the beginning Mohamed appears as a reformer, later as the founder of a new religion, and finally as a ruler and a law-giver. In the first period he was entirely carried away by an overpowering enthusiasm. His language is rhythmical. It bears a true poetical colouring. In the second period cool calculation takes the place of excited imagination. He is rather rhetorical than poetical. His language is sober and well-reasoned, and it springs forth no longer as before from the heart with warmth and spontaneity. In the third period the language falls absolutely flat. It is insipid not only when laws are laid down, directions issued, or accounts of wars related, but also when he describes the omnipotence of God, the beauty of the world, the terrors of the day of judgment, and the splendour of paradise.

Abu Bakr was the first to collect the Qur'an. The reason for the collection is

id to have been the death of many literate persons in the war against the false prophet Musailamah and the fear that soon there might be none left who understood or knew the Qur'an by heart. A certain Zaid Ibn Thabit who had served as secretary to the prophet was commissioned to collect the revelations. When he had done his work he made it over to the Caliph, from whose hands, on his death, it passed on to his successor, Omar, who in turn left it to his daughter Hafzah, the widow of the prophet. Zaid's work was nothing more nor less than a transcript of the scattered fragments, regardless of any order or division into chapters. This collection was not the official version, for there were other fragments still in circulation which differed more or less from it and which led to disputes as to the correct reading of particular passages. To put an end to this position of affairs, fatal alike to the laws and the unity of the faith, the Caliph, Uthman, ordered a fresh redaction of the Qur'an—its basis being the collection under the Caliph Abu Bakr.

On its completion the Caliph sent a copy to all the chief cities of the provinces, and ordered the destruction of other versions which differed from it. The division of the Qur'an into 114 chapters dates from the time of the Caliph Uthman, but as already mentioned the division was effected without reference to its contents or to any chronological order.

As regards the arrangement it was chiefly designed with a view to its length—the longer sections being placed in the beginning, the shorter at the end. Since then Uthman's Quran has passed for the authorised version of the divine revelation, and although later readings came into existence, differing from each other, owing to further copies having been made—these can be traced back to the defectiveness of the Kufic writing which remained in use for several centuries and in which not only the vowel signs were wanting but also the diacritical marks which serve to distinguish letters similar to each other.

As to its contents, it is, as already mentioned, of a very mixed character. It includes not only the whole of his teachings and his legislation, but also a considerable portion of his life, an account of his

temporal and spiritual warfares, as also the history and the sayings of the prophets that had gone before him.

If we would arrange the Qur'an chronologically we must begin with those revelations which deal with the mission of Mohamed, his spiritual wrestlings, resulting in the conviction that he is truly called by God to fight against the superstition of his people and to enthrone, in the place of idolatry, the worship of one all-powerful, all-knowing God who punishes the wicked and the unfaithful frequently enough in this life, but always for certain in the next, and also rewards the good and the faithful. To this may be added his attacks upon his opponents who despised him and declared him a liar, and the words of consolation which God addressed to him to cheer him on in the path of endurance and perseverance.

Many *suras* of this period paint the joys of paradise and the terrors of hell with a brush deeply dyed in material colours, and portray the terrible catastrophes which will herald the Day of Judgment. Others contain prayers, hymns, imprecations and so forth.

To these *suras*, mostly short ones—bearing the impress of passionate excitement—follow somewhat longer ones containing further explanation of individual articles of faith, or rhetorical embellishments of numerous legends of the older people and the prophets, with the object of inspiring courage in his followers and terror in his opponents. In fact Mohamed identifies himself with the former prophets and puts into their mouth words such as he addressed to the Mekkans. They too are stated by him to have been misjudged by their contemporaries until truth triumphed and the sinners were put to shame and perished. To this period also belong further polemics against disbelief which called for miracles from the Prophet in support of his divine mission. But the Prophet always referred to the inner truth and the outward perfection of his revelation as the surest sign of its divine origin. Moreover to this period also belong several visions in which the genii paid homage to him, as well as the wonderful account of his midnight journey to Jerusalem, the passage to heaven which many of his

contemporaries regarded merely as a dream, several precepts of an ethical nature, and attacks on the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the crucifixion of Christ. Over and above these there was a great deal of repetition of what had already been said before about God, prophecy, immortality and the future life.

The revelations delivered after his emigration to Medina constitute the conclusion of the Qur'an. There, in lengthy *suras* and protracted verses, in which nothing survives of poetry save the rhyme, there are to be found elaborate discourses directed against the Jews and the hypocrites of Medina, who like the Mekkans before, secretly ridiculed and opposed him. There are to be found an exposition of the laws of war, and a history of the various campaigns conducted against the Jews and the heathen. Victories are set down to divine aid—mishap to want of trust in God. In between are to be found many laws of ritual, many legislative enactments of a civil and criminal nature, called forth by the necessity of the moment.

As we are not writing here a Muslim *Jus Canonicum* we will content ourselves only with those laws and articles of faith which have been of some consequence in the development of the Muslim people. Recognised as the Qur'an is, as the basis and foundation of Muslim law and theology, it must not be forgotten that many individual doctrines and laws are of later growth.

After the death of the Prophet the Muslims themselves felt that a book like the Qur'an, without sequence or system, with all its repetitions and contradictions, oblivious of many important dogmas and laws, would hardly suffice to serve as a guide in all matters theological. By theology the Muslims understood all matters dogmatic, ritualistic and juristic. They had, at first, recourse to the traditions of the Prophet orally handed down, and to the examples of his public and private life (*Hadith* and *Sunnah*), but when this source, easy as it was to keep it going, failed them, they turned to the decisions of the *Imams*, i.e., Caliphs; for they were the spiritual chiefs of Islam. Upon the basis of the Qur'an, the tradition, the decisions of the *Imams*, there arose, with the aid of analogy and deduction, a still more stately edifice, including

within its circumference politics, laws, rituals and dogmas, which, under the Abbasids, was cast into its final shape.

Four chief schools of theology and law arose in Islam, each bearing the name of its founder. They attained the highest authority. The text book* composed by each of these founders serves up to the present day as the basis of theology and jurisprudence. These four schools were those of the Hanafites (called after Abu Hanifa* b. 80 A. H.; d. 150 A. H.); the Malikites (called after Malik Ibn Anas b. 90 A. H. or 95 A. H.; d. 177-178 A. H.); the Shafiites (called after Mohamed Ibn Idris Al Shafi b. 150 A. H.; d. 204 A. H.) and the Hambalites (called after Ahmad Ibn Hambal b. 164 A. H., d. 241 A. H.). These four teachers, known as the Sunnites, are regarded as orthodox, because they acknowledge the same fundamental basis of religion, though they differ from each other on minor points. They consider sacred the traditions of the Prophet and the decisions of the first Caliphs as explaining and supplementing the Qur'an in opposition to the Shiites, or the supporters of Ali and his race, who reject many of the traditions coming from the opponents of Ali, and deny a binding force to the decisions of the Caliphs outside the family of Ali for such they condemn as usurpers.†

In the first century of the Hejira even the most important articles of faith, such as the theory of God and Providence, did not pass wholly unchallenged. They gave birth to most contentious debates. We can scarcely expect a clear cut system of theology from a man such as Mohamed was; a man wholly destitute of intellectual training.

Later, therefore, when, in consequence of contact with the Persian religion and Greek philosophy, there was awakened among the

* [No legal writings of Abu Hanifa have reached us, nor does he seem to have himself cast his system into a finished code. That was done by his immediate pupils, and especially by two, the Qadhi Abu Yusuf who died in A. H. 182, and Mohamed Ibn al Hassan who died in 189 A. H. See Macdonald's Muslim Theology, pp. 65-117; Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 13 et seq.; see the chapter on Mohamedan law in Von Kremer's *culturgeschichte des orientis*. It has been translated into English by Khuda Bukhsh.]

† [In Polak's *Persien* (*Das Land und seine Bewohner*) the reader will find all the points of difference between the Shi'ahs and Sunnis very carefully noted, vol. I. 329 et seq. Tr.]

Arabs a speculative spirit and an overpowering thirst for knowledge—the simplest article of faith led to violent discussion or permanent schism. Mohamed required of his followers belief in one, all-present, all-powerful, invisible, all-wise, all-knowing, just, merciful God—the Creator and the Preserver of the universe.

However simple this view of divinity—it opened to every possible sect a wide battlefield which grew wider as philosophic studies extended more and more; for every acquisition in this field was made to serve some theological doctrine which had to be traced back to the text of the holy Qur'an. Even in the earliest period some of the orthodox views relating to the character of the deity and His relation to mankind, so also the views relating to the Qur'an, appeared to many Muslims as blasphemously polytheistic. These thoughtful Muslims, who in the beginning only protested against some of the beliefs of the party in power, bore the name of the *mutazzalites**. They were called so because they rejected the orthodox view. They refused credence to the extreme orthodox view which treated the attributes of God as qualities actually possessed by Him. They, on the contrary, regarded Him merely as the quintessence of wisdom, goodness, power and other attributes.

The theory of divine justice led them further on to the belief in the freedom of the human will; while the orthodox showed a strong leaning towards the doctrine of predestination. As a natural result of the Justice of God they believed in different grades of sin and their punishment; while, according to the orthodox, one who had committed a sin and had died without penance was doomed to eternal hell-fire. From the doctrine of the oneness of God the *mutazzalites* naturally concluded that the Qur'an was *created* because otherwise they would have had to accept that the two had co-existed eternally.

The orthodox, on the other hand, maintained the eternal character of the Qur'an, otherwise God being eternal the Qur'an would not be regarded as part of God's essence. On any other assumption the whole doctrine of the divine revelation would be

undermined as it in fact was actually undermined since the *mutazzalites* denied the divine origin and the absolute inspiration of the Qur'an.

We should not, however, consider the doctrine of the divine decree destroying the freedom of the human will, as at all countenanced by the Qur'an—though a large section of the orthodox Muslims so regard it. This doctrine was meant to inspire confidence, to overcome cowardice, to inculcate submission to the will of *Allah*, to serve as a warning against the pride and haughtiness of prosperity rather than to paralyse human activity or to destroy the freedom of the human will. We must interpret those individual passages of the Qur'an in which a certain carelessness is extolled as a virtue, as intended to discourage too great a care of oneself to the neglect of the higher duties of serving God through virtuous practices. Thus the entire religious system of Mohamed, founded on hope and fear, proclaims itself against the doctrine of absolute predestination. In his system the fate of man beyond the grave is made dependent on his religious belief and on his own personal actions.

He who seeks the world, says the Qur'an, to him shall we give forthwith according to our will, but in the life to come he will be ridiculed, rejected and he will burn in hell. In another passage it says—Enjoy the best things that have been sent down to you ere punishment overtakes you and you no longer find any help; before the soul calls out: woe to me! I have sinned, and I have belonged to the triflers, or if God had guided me I would have feared Him, or if I could only return to the earth once more I would act righteously. Not so! my signs (*i.e.*, the Qur'an) reached you but you declared them to be lies. You were arrogant and unbelieving.

Again there are passages in the Qur'an which suggest that man, so far as virtue and belief are concerned, is only a blind instrument of divine caprice: Thus it says: for those who are unbelieving it is immaterial whether you warn them or not, they will not believe. God has sealed their heart, and on their ears and over their eyes is a veil. Moreover, say the infidels, why has God sent down no miracles for Mohamed. Say,—

* [See Browne's Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. I, pp. 286 et seq. Tr.]

the Lord leaves in error him whom he wishes and leads those who turn to Him and believe in Him and in whose heart His thought finds a place. Very often the words occur: "God leads whom He wills and leaves in error whom He wills."

These and similar verses are to be interpreted as meaning that it rests with Divine Wisdom, to favour its gifts, at whatever time and to whatever people, It pleases; that It strengthens faith in those who have the tendency to do good; while, in those who have an inclination to evil, it lets them have their own way, which takes them deeper and deeper into wickedness and corruption.

Mohamed could not possibly accept the rigid doctrine of Predestination as it was conceived by many Islamic and Christian sects, for the Qur'an knows nothing of original sin, and it frequently opposes the idea of responsibility for another's sin. Without the doctrine of original sin an unconditional predestination would come into conflict with the justice of God. According to the Qur'an Adam and Eve were driven from Paradise on account of their disobedience, and the human race, by reason of the victory of human passion over divine command, was condemned to mutual hatred and perpetual discontent. But when Adam repented of his sin, God again showed mercy to him, for He said: "Leave paradise. But my guidance will come to you. He who will follow it will have nothing to fear and will never be afflicted. The unfaithful, however, will declare our signs as lies. They will be the eternal companions of hell." The mercy of God is expressed in his revelations. To be saved, faith in the revelation and regulation of conduct according to it, is a necessity.

We have already observed that the history of the earlier prophets fills a considerable place in the Qur'an. The history of the old Testament is adorned with many Jewish legends of a later time, so selected as to suit the purposes of Mohamed. We cannot go exhaustively into the history of the prophets, as narrated in the Qur'an, but we will not pass by what the Qur'an tells us of Christ.

Christ was the living Word and the Spirit of God, in opposition to the dead letter and the cold formality into which Judaism had

fallen in the Middle Ages. For Mohamed the miraculous birth of Christ was by no means extraordinary. Since Adam also was created by the word of God, Mohamed readily believed the miracles related in the Gospels, for the earlier prophets, such as Abraham and Moses, were also said to have performed such miracles. Even the journey to Heaven was nothing new to him. Enoch and Elias were said to have performed such a journey. But he could not give his assent to the belief which exalted a prophet and his mother to the rank of divinity. He accordingly set it down as a wicked invention of the priests. No more could he accept the crucifixion of Christ, because it militated against the justice of God, since no man could suffer for the sin of another—moreover, it stood in opposition to the history of the other prophets whom God rescued from every peril and danger.

According to the Qur'an, therefore, it was not Christ who was crucified, but an unbelieving Jew whom God invested with the figure of Christ.

Just as the legend of Abraham assumed a special importance for Mohamed both on account of Abraham's simple doctrine and on account of the relation in which he stood to the Arabs through Ishmael (and the monuments at Mekka that reminded them of him); so in the same way the legend of Christ was of good service to him chiefly on account of the Paraclete whom Christ had announced and whom Mohamed might think or at least pretend himself to be.

Besides the prophets of the Bible the Qur'an mentions some others who appear in the old Arab traditions. According to the Shiite belief the prophets were men, pure, perfect and free from sins. The Sunnis, on the other hand, do not believe even Mohamed to have been free from sin, though, they say, he was pardoned by God.

As regards the doctrine of Predestination the Shiites incline more towards the Mutazalites and seek to reconcile predestination with free-will. Their most important article of faith is the doctrine of *Imamat*, i.e., the succession of the descendants of the Prophet, to the Caliphate, through Ali. Sunnis reject this view and regard the Caliphate, merely as a political institution, founded for the welfare of the people,

Let us now turn to the practical theology of Islam which the Muslim jurists divide into two main parts: the religious ceremonial laws which include a great deal, which we would describe as Constitutional Law, and Civil Law, which includes police regulations and the law of crimes.

To the former belong not merely rules regarding purity, prayer, fasts, pilgrimage, forbidden food and drink, but also rules relating to the taxes that are to be paid, and the uses to which they are to be applied. The civil law includes (1) the commercial laws, (2) the law of wills and succession, (3) the law of marriage, (4) the law of crimes and procedure, (5) the law of war, and (6) the law relating to slaves.

We will pass over the first two sections as beyond the sphere of our work, and will observe as to the third that Mohamed laid down a good many laws for the protection of the wife as against the caprices of her husband. The wife is unconditionally to obey her husband. She is to live so secluded that not a shadow of suspicion of unfaithfulness is to fall on her. Should she fulfil these obligations she is justified in expecting good treatment from her husband. Outside the *Harem* conjugal fidelity was enjoined on the husband as a duty. Within the *Harem* the law forbade preferential treatment of one wife to the prejudice of another.

Mohamed would not and indeed could not put an end to polygamy. He, however, limited the number of wives to four. Before him, specially in Medina, the practice was to have as many as 8 to 10 wives. As regards four wives only such could marry as had the means to keep them in comfort. Mohamed further protected women from the relatives of their deceased husbands who until then inherited them as chattels.* Of the Mohamedan law of crime we shall only mention here that a wilful murder was punished with death, that it was open to the nearest relatives to whom belonged the right of blood-revenge either to call for the execution of the murderer or to condone it by the receipt of hush-money. An unintentional killing could only be atoned for by payment of the amount legally fixed, which in the case of a woman was only half; in

[* Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Arabia*, Pp. 104, et seq. Tr.]

the case of a Jew or a Christian one-third; in the case of a heathen five-tenths. For mutilation there was either the hush-money or the blood-revenge. In the cases of adultery, sodomy, apostacy, the law awarded capital punishment. For drinking wine the punishment was 40 stripes. For the first offence of theft the right hand was cut off, for the second the left foot, for the third the left hand, for the fourth the right foot. The law of slaves constitutes the most humane portion of the Islamic legislation. Manumission of slaves was an act, says the Qur'an, most pleasing to God, and was regarded as an expiation of many a sin. Before God, the Qur'an proclaims their equality with freemen, and an authentic tradition tells us that he who manumits a believing slave can never be condemned to hell. Slave girls who give birth to children by their master received their freedom on his death. The children, of course, were born free. They could not be the slave of their father. Even as to the mother his powers were limited. He could neither sell nor could he give her away as present. A slave could by arrangement with his master obtain his freedom; that is, by indemnifying him. During the period fixed for the redemption the master lost proprietary rights in the slave.

Mohamed could no more abolish slavery than he could abolish polygamy but he restrained its abuses and recommended manumission.

Oh Ye people, says the Qur'an, we have created you from one man and woman and have divided you into different classes and tribes so that you might see (without regard to position or descent) that only the most God-fearing among you is the most worthy in the sight of God. In another passage which contains the essence of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an says: Righteousness is not that ye turn your faces to the East and to the West, but Righteousness is this: Whosoever believeth in God and the Last Day and the angels and the Book and the prophets: and whoso, for the love of God, giveth of his wealth unto his kindred and unto orphans, and the poor and the traveller, and to those who crave alms, and for the release of the captives, and whoso observeth prayer and giveth in charity; and those who, when they have covenanted

fulfil their covenant, and who are patient in adversity and hardship, and in times of violence; these are the righteous and they that fear the Lord.

As Mohamed did not belong to the ruling party in Mekka, and as the largest portion of his early supporters were slaves or men of humble vocation in life, it was but natural that he should attack aristocratic prejudices, and proclaim the equality of men, specially of the faithful, as a religious principle.

We will conclude this chapter with a description of the personal appearance of the Prophet as given to us by the Arab biographers.

Mohamed was of middle stature. He had a large head, a thick beard, a round face with red cheeks. His brow was broad and noble, his mouth well-shaped, his nose high and slightly aquiline. He had large black eyes, a vein passed from

his forehead over his brow; which used to swell, when he became angry. On his lower lip he had a small mole. His hair descended to his shoulders and unto death retained its black colour. He sometimes dyed it brown and frequently moistened it with fine-scented oil. Only on the occasion of his last pilgrimage did he have it shaved off. Every Friday before the prayer he cropped his moustache, shaved off the hair under his arm and paired his nails. Most graceful indeed, was his neck which like a silver pole, rose over his broad breast. Between his shoulders he had a mole—reports differ about it—which the Muslims regarded as the seal of prophethip. His hands and feet were very large but he had so light a gait that his feet left no traces on the sand.*

* [See Muir's *Life of Mohamed*, Vol. II, p. 28; Vol. IV, p. 302 et seq. Tr.]

RACE CONFLICT*

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

THE problem of race conflict has ever been present in the history of mankind. This conflict has been at the basis of all great civilisations. It is like the clash of elements in the material world giving rise to complex combinations and evolutions of higher growth.

It was the concussion of peoples brought up in different surroundings and with different outlook upon life that started the original energy resulting in complicated social organisations. All civilizations are mixed products. Only barbarism is simple, monadic and unalloyed.

When differences have to be taken into account perforce, when there is no possible escape from them, then men are compelled to find out some central bond which can bring into unity all the diverse elements. This is really the seeking after truth, the

search for the one in the many, the universal through the individuals.

Naturally, in the commencement its appearance is simple and crude. Some common visible object of worship is held as a symbol of the oneness of the people. It is very often gross and frightful. For when man has to depend upon external standards of life these have to be made as conspicuous as possible, and nothing is so compelling to primitive imagination as fear.

But, as the community grows larger and, by conquest and other means, peoples of different traditions unite, then fetishes multiply and more gods than one have to be recognised. In that case, these symbols lose their power as common bonds, and they have to be replaced by something whose appeal is not so much to the senses and whose significance is more universal.

Thus, gradually, as the problem grows more and more wide and complex, the solution of it becomes deeper and more

* An address delivered at the Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals held at Rochester, New York, U. S. A.

far-reaching, and human solidarity seeks for its foundation something which is abiding and comprehensive. This is the purpose of all history, man seeking truth through complexities of experience impelled by the impetus of the immensity of evergrowing life.

There was a time when owing to the restricted means of communication different races and nations lived in a state of comparative segregation and consequently their social laws and institutions had an intensely local character. They were narrowly racial and aggressively hostile to the aliens. People did not have frequent occasion to learn how to adjust themselves with outsiders. They had to take to violent measures when they collided with alien people. They simplified the problem to its narrowest limits and either absolutely excluded and exterminated all foreign elements or completely amalgamated them.

Men have not yet outgrown this training of racial or national self-sufficiency. They are still burdened with the age-long inheritance of a suspicion of aliens which is the primitive instinct of animals. They still have a lurking ferocity ready to come out at the slightest provocation when in contact with people outside their social boundaries. They have not yet acquired fairness of mind when judging other races and dealing with them. They have not that power of adjusting their mental vision which would enable them to understand the people who are not nearest to them. They strive their utmost to prove the superiority and originality of their own religion and philosophy and they are reluctant to acknowledge that, truth, because it is truth, naturally manifests itself in different countries in different garbs. They are ever prone to put more stress on differences which are external and lose sight of the inner harmony.

This is the result of being brought up in the home training of isolation, which makes one unfit for the citizenship of the world. But this cannot continue for long and with the advent of the new age of science and commerce men have been brought nearer to each other than they ever were before and they are face to face with the highest problem of human history, the problem of race conflict.

This problem has been waiting to be solved by experience, through the expansion of history. It is not a mere matter of sentiment or of intellect. We had prophets who preached equality of man, and philosophy and literature which gave us a broader view of reality than is contained in the limits of racial traditions and habits. But this race problem with its vast complexity was never before us—we were not in living contact with it. Humanity, till now, has played with this sentiment of brotherhood of man as a girl does with her doll. It reveals the truth of the feeling which is innate in the heart of man, still it lacks the reality of life. But the play-time is passed and what was only in the sentiment has grown into our life fraught with immense responsibilities.

Of all the ancient civilisations, I think, that of India was compelled to recognise this race problem in all seriousness and for ages she has been engaged unravelling the most bafflingly complicated tangle of race-differences. Europe was fortunate in having neighbouring races more or less homogeneous, for, most of them were of the same origin. So, though in Europe there were bitter feuds between different peoples, there was not that physical antipathy between them which the difference in colour of skin and in feature tends to produce. In England it did not take long for the Norman and Saxon elements to coalesce and lose their distinctions. Not only in colour and features but in their ideals of life the western peoples are so near each other that practically they are acting as one in building up their civilisation.

But it has been otherwise with India. At the beginning of Indian history the white skinned Aryans had encounters with the aboriginal people who were dark and who were intellectually inferior to them. Then there were the Dravidians who had their own civilisation and whose gods and mode of worship and social system were totally different from those of the newcomers which must have proved a more active barrier between them than fullfledged barbarism.

In tropical countries life is not so strenuous as it is where the climate is cold. There the necessities of life are comparatively small and nature more prodigal

her bounties; therefore in those countries strifes between contending parties die away for want of incentives. So, in India, after a period of fierce struggles, men of different colours and creeds, different physical features and mental attitudes settled together side by side. As men are not inert matter but living beings, this juxtaposition of different elements became an everpresent problem for India. But with all its disadvantages this it was that stimulated men's minds to find out the essential unity in diversity of forms, to know that, however different be the symbols and rituals, God, whom they try to represent, is one without a second, and to realise him truly is to realise him in the soul of all beings.

When differences are too jarring, man cannot accept them as final; so, either he wipes them out with blood, or coerces them in some kind of superficial homogeneity, or he finds out a deeper unity which he knows is the highest truth.

India chose the last alternative; and all through the political vicissitudes that tossed her about for centuries, when her sister civilisations of Greece and Rome exhausted their life force, her spiritual vitality still continued and she still retains her dignity of soul. I do not say for a moment that the difficulties about the race differences have been altogether removed in India. On the contrary, new elements have been added, new complications introduced, and all the great religions of the world have taken their roots in the soil of India. In her attempts at bringing into order this immense mass of heterogeneity India has passed through successive periods of expansion and contraction of her ideals. And her latest has been that of setting up rigid lines of regulations to keep different sections at arm's length to prevent confusion and clash.

But such a negative attitude cannot last long, and mere mechanical contrivances can never work satisfactorily in human society. If, by any chance, men are brought together who are not products of the same history and not moulded in the same traditions, they never can rest till they can find out some broad basis of union which is positive in its nature and which makes for love. And I am sure, in India we have that spiritual ideal, if dormant but still living,

which can tolerate all differences in the exterior while recognising the inner unity. I feel sure, in India, we have that golden key forged by ancient wisdom and love which will one day open the barred gates to bring together to the feast of good fellowship men who have lived separated for generations.

From a very remote period of her history till now all the great personalities of India have been working in the same direction. The Gospel of universal love that Buddha preached was the outcome of a movement long preceding him, which endeavoured to get at the kernel of spiritual unity, breaking through all divergence of symbols and ceremonies and individual preferences.

With the advent of the Mohamedan power not only a new political situation was created in India but new ideas in religion and social customs were brought before the people with a violent force. Nevertheless, it had not the effect of generating an antagonistic fanatical movement among Hindus. On the contrary, all the great religious geniuses that were born during this period in India sought a reconciliation of the old with the new ideals in a deeper synthesis, which was possible because of the inherited spirit of toleration and accumulated wisdom of ages. In all these movements there was the repeated call to the people to forget all distinctions of castes and creeds and accept the highest privilege of brotherhood of man by uniting in love of God.

The same thing has occurred again when India has been closely brought in contact with the Christian civilisation with the coming of the English. The Brahmo Samaj movement in India is the movement for the spiritual reconciliation of the East and West, the reconciliation resting upon the broad basis of spiritual wisdom laid in the Upanishads. There is again the same call to the people to rise above all artificial barriers of caste and recognise the common bond of brotherhood in the name of God.

In no other country in the world is the conflux of races different in every respect so great as in India. Therefore it never could have been possible for her to come to such a simple solution of the difficulty as national unity. The fetish of nationalism is powerless to bring her warring elements into a harmony; she must appeal to the

highest power in man, the spiritual power, she must come to her God. There has been going on in India a long continued contention between rigid forms of exclusiveness which is mechanical and a recognition of the unity of mankind which is spiritual. Here, as in every land, the social convention is on the side of the pride of caste, and the higher nature and the deeper wisdom of the people assert in the lives of its greatest personalities the validity of the claims of all men to justice and love. On the one hand there is the regulation which forbids eating and drinking at the same board for men of different castes and on the other hand there comes the voice from the ancient past which preaches that he who realises his own self in the self of all individuals realises truly. And I have not the least doubt in my mind that it is the urging of this spiritual impulse in man which will win in the end, and will mould all the social forms in such a way that they may not hinder its purpose but become its instrument.

I bring before you this instance of Indian history to show that a problem must be a living one to rouse man's mind for its solution. It has become so in the present age. Races widely separated in their geographical position and historical growth, in their modes of thought and manners of expression have been brought near each other in closer relations. To each man the human world has been enlarged to an extent never dreamt of in former days. That we are not ready for these changed circumstances is becoming painfully evident every day. The caste feeling is running fearfully high. The western people are cultivating an arrogant exclusiveness against all other races. While keeping for themselves their prerogatives of exploiting weaker nations by threat of force they securely bar their own gates against them in a manner cruelly barbarous and inhospitable. Sentiments of humanity are openly discredited and poets of world-wide reputation are exulting in the triumph of

brute force. Nations wakened from a lethargy of centuries and bravely struggling for a larger life are held back by others more fortunate, waiting to turn to their own advantage the situation created by the breaking up of old order. Want of consideration for people held to be inferior to themselves, rising into, inhuman atrocities where privacy is secured, is not uncommon with the people proud of their colour and the impunity of their position.

Yet, in spite of these untoward aspects of the case I assert strongly that the solution is most assured when difficulties are greatest. It is a matter for congratulation that today the civilised man is seriously confronted with this problem of race conflict. And the greatest thing that this age can be proud of is the birth of Man in the consciousness of men. Its bed has not been provided for, it is born in poverty, its infancy is lying neglected in a wayside stall, spurned by wealth and power. But its day of triumph is approaching. It is waiting for its poets and prophets and host of humble workers and they will not tarry for long. When the call of humanity is poignantly insistent then the higher nature of man cannot but respond. In the darkest periods of his drunken orgies of power and national pride man may flout and jeer at it, daub it as an expression of weakness and sentimentalism, but in that very paroxysm of arrogance, when his attitude is most hostile and his attacks most reckless against it, he is suddenly reminded that it is the direst form of suicide to kill the highest truth that is in him. When organised national selfishness, racial antipathy and commercial selfseeking begin to display their ugly deformities in all their nakedness, then comes the time for man to know that his salvation is not in political organisations and extended trade relations, not in any mechanical rearrangement of social system, but in a deeper transformation of life, in the liberation of consciousness in love, in the realisation of God in man.

SURVIVAL OF CIVILISATION*

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B.Sc. (LONDON.)

OF the civilizations which were developed during the first and second epochs described in the last number of this Review, only two have survived into the present epoch,—the Chinese and the Indian. The Egyptian civilization also had a long term of life (over six thousand years), having struggled on to the commencement of the third epoch. The civilizations which have come to an untimely end are more numerous,—those of Assyria, Phœnicia, Greece, Rome and Persia in the old world and of Mexico and Peru in the new. An investigation of the causes which have enabled the Chinese and the Indian civilizations to outlive the others would enable us to deduce the conditions of such survival. The cases, whether of survival or of extinction, are perhaps too few to warrant sound generalisations. But the subject is of such vast importance that it is worthy of an attempt in this direction, though it may prove far from conclusive.

One word of explanation is needed before we make the attempt. The extinction of a civilization does not mean the annihilation of its culture. The individual who is moved chiefly or solely by the impulse for material progress, whose existence is bound up with the comforts and luxuries of animal life, finds himself a complete wreck when deprived of these, and has but little to bequeath to posterity. The man, on the other hand, in whom the impulse for the development of outer life is well-balanced by that for the unfolding of the inner, whose hopes and aspirations instead of being centred in his material possessions soar beyond them into the region of the ideal and immaterial, is but little affected by the loss of these, and has sufficient internal resource to enable him to survive it. His cultural progress does not perish with his body, but is transmitted to

posterity and benefits mankind. As in the case of the individual, so in that of the nation, the force making for cultural development, though of no survival-value in the race for material existence, is of enormous value to it as enabling it to maintain its life even when outrun in that race by other nations, and is of supreme value to humanity which is benefited far more by the cultural than by the material developments of past generations.

The high intellectual and ethical attainments of Socrates failed to save his life. Indeed, they were the cause of his untimely death. But, their spirit has survived even to the present day and has served to enlighten, inspire and elevate many an earnest seeker after truth. The æsthetic and intellectual culture of Greece was of no avail to her in her conflict with Rome, but all that is best in it has survived to the present day and has benefited humanity to no inconsiderable extent.

The Chinese and the Indian civilizations agreed with each other and differed from the others in one important point. They had both made sufficient advance in the third stage to establish equilibrium between the various forces which operate for material, intellectual and ethical development. As a certain amount of material development is the essential concomitant of cultural progress, the two sets of forces, one operating by a process which has been called cosmic and leading to the former, and the other working by a process which has been distinguished as non-cosmic and resulting in the latter, must act simultaneously in a civilised society. The forces which make for material progress prevail over those which operate for higher cultural development in the first stage of civilisation in which matter dominates the mind, and the outer or the animal life is thought more of than the inner or the spiritual. Their

* From the writer's forthcoming work on "Epochs of Civilization."

intensity and strength diminish in the latter stages with the increasing efficacy of the forces which operate towards intellectual and ethical culture, and the stability of a civilization depends upon whether equilibrium is eventually established between these two sets of forces.

Excessive material development inevitably leads to highly unequal distribution of wealth. As a consequence of this disparity, society is divided into two classes—one, the smaller, rolling in wealth and luxury, and the other, much the larger of the two, grovelling in poverty and misery. Both of these classes being governed by no higher ideal than that of material development, no higher aspiration than the attainment of physical benefits, there is ceaseless jealousy and strife between them. Greece attained to the third stage, but did not make much progress in it. The extinction of her civilization is mainly attributable to this incomplete development of ethical and spiritual culture. The moral consciousness of Greece as exhibited by Plato, probably the best exponent of her highest culture, recognised four cardinal virtues,—wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice. Aristotle's list of the principal virtues is based upon Plato. Neither altruism, nor even such restricted benevolence as would embrace the whole nation, has a place in either. The material element of the Greek civilization was never well-balanced by spiritual. Wealth had been made the criterion of social rank by Solon during the second stage of her civilisation; and that standard continued in the third.* For several centuries, there was constant struggle between the rich and the poor, the Oligarchy and the Democracy. The ethical and spiritual culture of Greece was not sufficiently advanced to establish harmony and amity between them. They hated and incessantly fought one another for nearly

* Plato's system adumbrated a social structure approximating that of the Chinese and the Hindus. "In a rightly ordered state, as he conceived it, there would be a governing class, the embodiment of wisdom, and a combative class, specially characterised by courage; which would both be kept distinct from the common herd of industrials, who—like appetites in the individual man—would have merely to provide for material needs, and whose relation to the state would simply be that of orderly obedience." (Sidgwick, "History of Ethics" p. 45). Plato's speculations, however, did not lead to any practical result.

three centuries. When the democratic party was in the ascendant, they sent the rich into exile or massacred them and confiscated their property. When the rich returned to power, they treated the poor in the same way. The centre of gravity now shifted to one side and now to the other; and temporary equilibrium was established, but only by the adjustment of the cosmic forces, not by the setting off of the cosmic against the non-cosmic. Thus there was continued loss of national energy and national solidarity, and the fabric of Greek civilization gave way through internal weakness. If Greece had succeeded in building up a harmonious system of civilisation, if its material and spiritual elements had been sufficiently well-balanced, it would have survived the loss of her independence. As it was, it did survive her conquest by Rome for some centuries in Egypt and Asia Minor.

The baneful results of excessive materialism, especially of concentration of wealth within a small section of the community, are well exemplified in the case of Rome. With the culture borrowed from Greece, she made some advance in the second stage of civilization, but she hardly even stepped into the third. She was immersed in the grossest materialism. The brutal instincts of the people were displayed in their utmost hideousness in the bloody games of the amphitheatre in all the important cities of the Roman Empire. Sometimes instead of placing armed men before the beasts in the arena, the animals were let loose on men who were naked and bound.

"The custom spread into all the cities of the empire compelling those condemned to death to furnish this form of entertainment for the people. Thousands of persons of both sexes and of every age, and among them Christian Martyrs, were thus devoured by beasts under the eyes of the multitude. But the national spectacle of the Romans was the fight of the gladiators (men armed with swords). Armed men descended into the arena and fought a duel to the death. From the time of Cæsar as many as 320 pairs of gladiators were fought at once; Augustus in his whole life fought 10,000 of them; Trajan the same number in four months. The vanquished was slain on the field unless the people wished to show him grace. Sometimes the condemned were compelled to fight, but more often slaves and prisoners of war. Each victory thus brought to the amphitheatre bands of barbarians who exterminated one another for the delight of the spectators."†

† Seignobos, "History of Ancient Civilization," pp. 307—308.

"The accumulation of wealth and power [in Rome] gave rise to a universal depravity. Law ceased to be of any value. A suitor must deposit a bribe before a trial could be had. The social fabric was a festering mass of rottenness. The people had become a populace; the aristocracy was demoniac; the city was a hell. No crime that the annals of human wickedness can show was left unperpetrated—remorseless murders; the betrayal of parents, husbands, wives, friends; poisoning reduced to a system; adultery degenerating into incests, and crimes that cannot be written. Women of the higher classes were so lascivious, depraved and dangerous, that men could not be compelled to contract matrimony with them; marriage was displaced by concubinage; even virgins were guilty of inconceivable immodesties; great officers of state and ladies of the court, of promiscuous bathings and naked exhibitions. In the time of Cæsar it had become necessary for the Government to interfere, and actually put a premium on marriage. He gave rewards to women who had many children; prohibited those who were under forty-five years of age and who had no children, from wearing jewels and riding in litters, hoping by such social disabilities to correct the evil. It went on from bad to worse, so that Augustus in view of the general avoidance of legal marriage and resort to concubinage with slaves, was compelled to impose penalties on the unmarried—to enact that they should not inherit by will except from relations. Not that Roman women refrained from the gratification of their desires; their depravity impelled them to such wicked practices as cannot be named in a modern book. They actually reckoned the years, not by the Consuls, but by the men they had lived with. To be childless, and therefore without the natural restraint of a family, was looked upon as a singular felicity. Plutarch correctly touched the point when he said that the Romans married to be heirs not to have heirs. Of offences that do not rise to the dignity of atrocity, but which excite our loathing, such as gluttony and the most debased luxury, the annals of the time furnish disgusting proofs. It was said, 'They eat that they may vomit, and vomit that they may eat.' At the taking of Perusium, three hundred of the most distinguished citizens were solemnly sacrificed at the altar of Divus Julius by Octavian! Are these the deeds of civilized men, or the deeds of cannibals drunk with blood?"*

The extension of the Roman Empire and the excessive material development which it led to, brought into play several causes which resulted in the extinction of the Roman race and of the Roman civilization. We have just seen to what serious extent concentration of wealth led to gross extravagance and unbridled debauchery. A society so depraved cannot long hold together. For breeding true to race as well as to the best, it is imperative that the female stock should have a higher standard of chastity than the male, and that standard was debased to a degree in Rome.

* Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. I. pp. 253-254.

The constant wars necessitated by the expansion of the Roman Empire also contributed to the extinction of the Roman race. Every year Rome lost a large number of true Romans on the field of battle. The brilliant conquests effected by these men added to the Roman domains and to the number of slaves. But such additions served only to demoralise and eventually to destroy the Roman people. The old Roman people consisting of small proprietors who tilled their own lands had been completely wiped out by the beginning of the Christian era. Many had died in the foreign wars. But Roman Imperialism proved a more potent cause for the disappearance of the Roman peasantry who had formed the backbone of the Roman state. When grain poured in from Sicily and Africa, it could no longer be produced by the small proprietors of Italy at a remunerative price. They had to sell their lands to rich neighbours, who made great domains out of small plots; and it was truly observed by Pliny the Elder that "great domains are the ruin of Italy." The proprietors of the great domains found it advantageous to work them by slave-labour. So the old peasantry could find no work, and wandered about homeless. "The wild beasts of Italy," said Tiberius Gracchus, "have at least their lairs, but the men who offer their blood for Italy have only the light and the air that they breathe; they wander about without shelter, without a dwelling, with their wives and children. Those generals do but mock them who exhort them to fight for their tombs and temples. Is there one of them who still possesses the sacred altar of his home and the tomb of his ancestors? They are called the masters of the world while they have not for themselves a single foot of the earth."

"While the farms were being drained, the city of Rome was being filled with a new population. They were the descendants of the ruined peasants whom misery had driven to the city; besides these there were the freed men and their children. They came from all corners of the world—Greeks, Syrians, Egyptians, Asiatics, Africans, Spaniards, Gauls—torn from their homes and sold as slaves; later freed by their masters and made citizens, they massed themselves in the city. It was an entirely new people that bore the name Roman. One day Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage and of Numidia, haranguing the people in the forum, was interrupted by the cries of the mob. 'Silence! false sons of Italy,' he cried; 'Do as you like; those whom I brought to Rome

in chains will never frighten me, if they are no longer slaves.' The populace preserved quiet, but these 'false sons of Italy', the sons of the vanquished, had already taken the place of the old Romans. This new plebeian order could not make a livelihood for itself, and so the state had to provide for it. A beginning was made in 123 B.C. with furnishing corn at half price to all citizens, and this grain was imported from Sicily and Africa. Since the year 63, corn was distributed gratuitously and oil was also provided. There were registers and an administration expressly for these distributions, a special service for furnishing provisions (the *Annona*). In 46, Cæsar found 320,000 citizens enrolled for these distributions..... This miserable and lazy populace filled the forum on election days and made the laws and the magistrates. The candidates sought to win its favours by giving shows and public feasts, and by dispensing provisions. They even bought votes. This sale took place on a large scale and in broad day... Poverty corrupted the populace who formed the assemblies; luxury tainted the men of the old families who composed the Senate."*

The enormous increase in the number of slaves consequent upon the Roman conquests endangered the safety of the Empire. They received kind treatment from a few humane masters, such as Pliny, Seneca and Cicero. But generally they were treated with the greatest cruelty. "If a slave coughs or sneezes during a meal," says Seneca, "if he pursues the flies too slowly, if he lets a key fall noisily to the floor, we fall into a great rage... often we strike too hard and shatter a limb or break a tooth." One rich Roman used to punish his slaves for carelessness by casting them into a fish pond as food for lampreys. Women were not more humane. Ovid complimenting a woman says: "Many times she had her hair dressed in my presence but never did she thrust her needle into the arm of the serving woman." The slaves who displeased their masters were ordinarily sent to an underground prison. During the day they had to work loaded with heavy iron chains. Many were branded with red-hot iron. The mill where the slaves had to work is thus described by a Roman author: "Gods! what poor shrunken up men? with white skins striped with blows of the whip... they wear only the shreds of a tunic; bent forward, head shaved, the feet held in a chain, the body deformed by the heat of the fire, the eyelids eaten away by the fumes, everything covered with grain dust."

* Seignobos, "History of Ancient Civilization," pp 275-277.

"Subjected to crushing labour or to enforced idleness, always under the threat of the whip or torture, slaves became according to their nature, either melancholy and savage, or lazy and subservient. The most energetic of them committed suicide; the others led a life that was merely mechanical... The majority of them lost all sense of honour... The masters felt themselves surrounded by hate. Pliny the younger, learning that a master was to be assassinated at the bath by slaves, made this reflection., 'This is the peril under which we all live.' 'More Romans,' says another writer, 'have fallen victims to the hate of their slaves than to that of tyrants.' At different times slave revolts flamed up (the servile wars), almost always in Sicily and South Italy where slaves were armed to guard the herds. The most noted of these wars was the one under Spartacus."†

We have considered above the internal risk to which a community engrossed in material pursuits is subject. The external dangers are even more serious. Material aggrandisement exposes a nation to constant attacks from outside—attacks by nations who have suffered by it, or by nations who wish for similar material development. Nothing excites greater jealousy, keener competition, and more insistent strife than such development. In this rivalry and struggle, newer nations have generally some advantage over the older, the latter being already debilitated by luxury and internal dissension, the inevitable results of accumulation of wealth. It was thus that Greece was overpowered by Rome, and Rome by the Goths,—Visigoths and Vandals. Assyria was constantly at war with some neighbouring country, Babylonia, Syria, Palestine or Egypt. The conquered availed themselves of every opportunity to revolt, and the wars were repeated. The Assyrians were thus exhausted and fell an easy prey to a newer and more vigorous nation, the Medes. In B. C. 625 Nineveh, "the lair of lions, the bloody city, the city gorged with prey," as the Jewish prophets called it, was taken and razed to the ground. "Nineveh is laid waste," says the prophet Nahum, "who will bemoan her?"

The considerations which have been set forth above will make it clear to the reader how very difficult it is for a civilization to survive the first stage in which matter dominates the mind, and "the physical life is valued more than the psychical. One probable reason why the Chinese, the Hindus, and the Egyptians were able to

† Seignobos, *Op. Cit.* pp. 259-260.

outlive not only the first but also the third stage of civilisation is their isolation. The geographical situation interposed difficult barriers between them and the outside world. Then, again, they were mainly agricultural peoples and were self-contained, depending but little upon foreign trade for material evolution, which is the necessary antecedent to intellectual or moral progress. Further-more, they maintained their isolation artificially by an attitude of studied aloofness from everything foreign. When the King of Chow was offered a present of hounds by the people of Leu, he was dissuaded from accepting them by his adviser, who said: "A prince should not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, and then his people will be able to supply all his needs...Even dogs and horses which are not native to his country, he will not keep; fine birds and strange animals he will not nourish in his kingdom. When he does not look on foreign goods as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is work which is precious to him; then his own people will enjoy repose." "These maxims," observes Professor Douglas, "which are held to embalm the highest wisdom, have been carefully acted upon by all virtuous sovereigns, and, from a Chinese point of view, the effect has been excellent."* Egypt maintained her seclusion, and an air of mystery hung over her until the 7th century B.C., when her ports were opened to foreign commerce. The caste system of the Hindus served to maintain their isolation to a very large extent.

The longevity of a civilization is insured if it be well advanced in the third stage, if matter be brought well under the control of the mind, and harmony between them is firmly established, just as in the case of the individual a ripe old age is the result of the establishment and maintenance of due harmony between his outer or animal life and his inner or spiritual life. The intellectual development of China was decidedly inferior to that of Greece or India, and in her spiritual and ethical ideals she was in a large measure influenced and inspired by India. The Drama has never flourished in China, and there is a great dearth of creative poetry. In her art also there is but little

evidence of creative ability. There is profuse ornamentation, and close imitation of reality, but little of imagination and freedom. Chinese pictures thus become mere "mirrored images of life." The literature of China never attained the higher reaches of Indian or Greek thought. But she reached the third stage of civilization in the first epoch during the reign of the Emperor Yaou (about B.C. 2356) and that of his successor Shun, succeeded in establishing harmony between her material and her ethical development. That harmony has since then been often disturbed, but whenever it has been disturbed, she has had sufficient recuperative power to restore it. The Chinese have been eminently practical. They have maintained the integrity of their civilisation by regulating the action of the cosmic and the non-cosmic forces so as not to be carried by either beyond the thick wall of conservatism within which they early entrenched themselves. They have always kept their material development well under the control of the ethical. Their literature, though wanting in profound thought or vivid imagination, abounds in rules and maxims of life, in lessons of moderation, self control and practical morality. With perhaps the single exception of Laotsze, who had a strong leaning towards mysticism, her thinkers were occupied more with practical ethics, with social and political conduct, than with abstruse questions of metaphysics. Neither Confucius nor his eminent follower Mencius (who lived about the close of the fourth century B.C.) was a philosophic recluse propounding theories in the seclusion of his study. They both eagerly sought to live in the courts of kings and put their theories about human nature, society and government into practice, and Confucius was once afforded an opportunity of doing so and met with a certain measure of success.†

† Confucius was appointed magistrate of a town by the Duke Ting, and as such "framed rules for the support of the living, and for the observation of rites for the dead; he arranged appropriate food for the old and the young; and he provided for the proper separation of men and women. And results were, we are told, that as in the time of King Alfred, a thing dropt on the road was not picked up; there was no fraudulent carving of vessels;.....and no two prices were charged in the markets. The duke surprised at what

* "Confucianism and Taouism," p. 17.

The industrial activity of China has been great, but her ethical development has been equally great. The aim of her thinkers has even been to harmonise these two opposing forces. The honesty of a Chinese merchant is proverbial. His word is his bond. Books and pamphlets breathing a lofty spirit of benevolence, and containing moral maxims and injunctions, the quintessence of the teachings of her philosophers, are distributed broadcast among the people. Edition after edition of such pamphlets as *Kanying Peen* (or "Book of Rewards and Punishments") and *Yinchih Wan* ("Book of Secret Blessings") come out of the local presses at the demand of well-to-do philanthropists who take measures to disseminate copies among people who are too poor to buy them.*

Since the third stage of the first epoch, benevolence has been the keynote of Chinese ethics. As early as B.C. 2435, the Emperor Ku is reported to have taught, that no virtue is higher than to love all men, and there is no loftier aim in government than to profit all men.† Confucius taught, "what you do not want done to yourself do not do to others," and Laotsze, like Gautama Buddha, and Jesus Christ five hundred years after them, enunciated the golden rule of social morality: "Recompense evil with good." The

he saw, asked the sage whether his rules of government could be applied to the whole state. "Certainly," replied Confucius, "and not only to the state of Lo, but to the whole empire!" Forthwith, therefore, the Duke appointed him Assistant Superintendent of Works, and shortly afterwards appointed him Minister of Crime. Here again his success was complete. From the day of his appointment crime is said to have disappeared, and the penal laws remained a dead letter." ("Confucianism and Taousim," pp. 32-33).

* The following are some of the rules and maxims taken from the 'Book of Rewards and Punishments':—"Be humane to animals." "Do no injury either to insects, plants or trees." "Pity the misfortunes of others." "Rejoice in the well-being of others." "Help them who are in want." "Do not expose the faults of others." "Don't give way to cruelty, killing and wounding." "Don't murmur against Heaven at your lot, nor accuse men." "A good man is virtuous in his words, looks and actions." Among the teachings of the 'Book of Secret Blessings' are: "Be upright and straightforward, and renew your heart. Be compassionate and loving..... Publish abroad lessons for the improvement of mankind, and devote your wealth to the good of your fellow-men."

† Douglas, "Confucianism and Taouism," p. 132.

good of the people has been recognised as the sole *raison d'être* of a Government ever since the first epoch. According to Confucius and other Chinese thinkers, a King is the Son of Heaven, but only so long as he governs on right principles for the good of his subjects. These principles have been defined, and the measures by which they are to be carried out formulated. Asked what should be done for the people, Confucius replied, "Enrich them," and asked what more should be done for them he answered, "Teach them." The requisites of government are given in the *Shooking*—"Food, trade, the maintenance of the appointed sacrifices, the Ministry of Works, the Ministry of Instruction, the Ministry of Crime, arrangements for the entertainment of guests from afar, and provision for the support of the army." "Nothing has done more," observes Prof. Douglas, "to maintain the existing order of things than the old doctrine he (Confucius) enforced that sovereigns were placed on the throne by heaven, and that their right to the sceptre lasted only as long as they walked in the heavenly path, and obeyed the heavenly decrees. The departure from virtue was the signal for their condemnation, and absolved their subjects from the duty of obedience. He thus implied the right, which Mencius openly claimed, of rebellion against impious rulers. Nor has this right been allowed to remain a dead letter. Upwards of thirty times have there been changes of dynasty since the days of Confucius, and on each occasion the revolution has been justified by references to the teachings of the sage and his great follower Mencius."

Wealth has never formed the criterion of social rank in China. With the single exception of India there is no other country where virtue and wisdom have been held in such esteem and reverence by the people. The worship of the sages, Buddha, Confucius and Laotsze, forms an important part of the religion of the Chinese. Ever since the third century B.C. the worship of Confucius has been as universal as the study of his works. The most important of the numerous temples dedicated to him is that adjoining his tomb in Shantung. It contains a tablet with the simple inscription—"The most holy prescient sage

Confucius—His spirit's resting place." In the provinces there are some 1500 temples dedicated to the worship of Confucius, and with him are associated his distinguished followers, Mang (Mencius), Yen, Tsang, and Tsesze. The emperor goes in state twice a year to the temple in Shantung "and having twice knelt and six times bowed his head to the earth, invokes the presence of the sage in these words: 'Great art thou, O perfect sage! Thy virtue is full; thy doctrine is complete. Among mortal men there has not been thine equal. All kings honour thee. Thy statutes and laws have come gloriously down. Thou art the pattern of this imperial school. Reverently have the sacrificial vessels been sent out. Full of awe we sound our drums and bells.'"

Ever since the first epoch China has been free from militarism. The profession of the soldier has ever been despised in China. He is placed last in her scale of social usefulness. She has never made a hero of any man whose sole title to distinction is success in warfare. The emperor of China was probably the only ruler in the world who never wore a sword.

Paradoxical as the statement may appear to some, it was not her military strength, material development, but the harmony which she was able to bring about between it and her moral development at an early period of her history that has enabled China to preserve the integrity of her civilisation. The Chinese have been subjected to repeated invasions from outside. But, such is their moral vitality, that though often conquered physically, they have never been subjugated mentally. They have invariably succeeded in incorporating the foreigners with their own social organisation. It is owing to her moral force that China has displayed such a marvellous capacity of absorbing all foreign elements into the substance of her civilization, and has thus insured its stability. Tartars, Mongols, or Manchus, the foreign invaders after a time became Chinese to all intents and purposes. They all adopted the Chinese language, institutions and ideals and became ardent worshippers of Confucius and other Chinese worthies.

It is their ethical development which enabled the Hindus also to integrate the foreign elements into their system of civiliza-

tion, and thus place it on a stable basis. It is when India reached the third stage that the racial cleavage between the Aryans and the non-Aryans began to disappear, and they were gradually fused into one race, known in history as the Hindu, inspired by the same ideals and worshipping the same gods and goddesses. While in the third stage India suffered repeated invasions from outside, by the Greeks,* the Parthians, the Scythians and the Huns, who succeeded in establishing their authority in various parts of the country. Sooner or later, however, they were either expelled or became Hinduised, adopting the Hindu religion, the Hindu literature and the Hindu institutions. The Greek Menander who had his capital at Kabul (about the middle of the second century B.C.) became a convert to Buddhism and has been immortalised under the name of Milinda in the celebrated Buddhist work entitled "The Questions of Milinda." The Scythian (Kushan) Kadphises II was an ardent votary of Siva, and his successors, Kanishka and his son Hushka, were enthusiastic followers of Buddhism. The Pallavas of Parthian origin, who for four centuries were the premier power in southern India, were completely Hinduised, and Kanchi (Conjeeveram) has since their time been one of the most important strongholds of Hinduism. The Saka (Scythian) Satraps of Surashtra (Kathiawar) adopted either the Brahmanical or the Buddhist cult of Hinduism.†

The Hindus like the Chinese have ever since the third stage in the second epoch been pervaded but little by the military and

* In regard to Hellenistic influence upon India, Mr. V. A. Smith comes to the conclusion, that "the invasions of Alexander, Antiochus the Great, Demetrius, Eukratides and Menander were in fact, whatever their authors may have intended, merely military incursions which left no appreciable mark upon the institutions of India." ("Early History of India," p. 213).

† "In some respects," observes Mr. Vincent A. Smith, "Buddhism in its Mahayana form was better fitted than the Brahminical system to attract the reverence of the casteless foreign chieftains; and it would not be unreasonable to expect that they should have shown a decided tendency to favour Buddhism rather than Brahmanism, but the facts do not indicate a clearly marked general preference for the Buddhist creed on the part of the foreigners." ("Early History of India," pp. 264-65).

the predatory spirit. Benevolence has always been with them one of the cardinal virtues. As in China, so in India, wealth never formed the basis of social rank, wisdom and virtue were held in the highest esteem, and there was perfect freedom of thought. In neither country were leaders of thought persecuted as they were in Greece. But India differed from China in two important points. Indian thinkers were as markedly idealistic and other-worldly, as the Chinese were realistic and this-worldly. The former loved to live in retirement in the seclusion of hermitages taking but little interest in politics and in mundane affairs generally and elaborating systems of philosophy, which in respect of sublimity and depth of thought still remain unsurpassed, but the general tendency of which was to foster quietism and indifference to material development. The other noteworthy point in which the Hindus differed from the Chinese was their caste-system. In the beginning it was flexible enough to permit the admission of the lower into the upper classes. But it attained such rigidity towards the end of the third stage that the fissures between the different classes became almost impassable. It was mainly owing to their idealistic temperament and the caste-system, that the Hindus lost their political independence. The fighting caste, the Rājputs, fought and fought bravely against the Moslem aggressors. No disgrace rankled more in their breasts than the disgrace of a defeat in battle. Rather than surrender they often died sword in hand. The Rājputs resisted, and resisted with all their might, but they never got the co-operation of the mass of the people, who considered the maintenance of government the business of the fighting caste with which they had no concern. As soon as the King and his army were defeated, there was an end of all opposition.

But the civilization of the Hindus survived the loss of their political independence; and the survival is attributable to their moral and spiritual culture which inspired them with sufficient courage to resist their conversion either by the sword or the allurements of material advancement. Hindu culture not only presented an impenetrable front of opposition to the disintegrating influences of Mahomedan invasion, but also

in course of time captured the Moslem mind and largely influenced Moslem culture and Moslem administration. We have already referred to the extent to which the Saracens were indebted to India for their medicine, arithmetic, algebra, and chemistry.

Settled in India the Mahomedans gradually became partially Hinduised. The zeal for the propagation of Islam abated. The blind bigotry of the Moslem was gradually tempered by the philosophic culture of the Hindu, and Hindu influence on the religion and government of the Moslem gradually became more and more marked.

The brightest period of the Mahomedan Empire was unquestionably the period between the accession of Akbar and the deposition of Shah-Jehan, and it was during that period that the Hindu influence was the strongest. Akbar and his most cultured Mahomedan courtiers—the brothers Faizi and Abul Fazl,—were greatly under Hindu influence. Abul Fazl, in fact, was held by some of his contemporaries to be a Hindu.* Akbar held the Hindu belief that it was wrong to kill cows and interdicted the use of beef.† Two of Akbar's wives were Hindus; and Jehangir was the son of one of them. Jehangir had ten wives, of whom no less than six were of Hindu descent. Shah Jehan was the offspring of one of these‡ He had more of Hindu than of Mahomedan blood in him. It is said of Akbar that from his youth he was accustomed to perform the *Hom* (a Hindu ceremony) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his harem. These princesses gained so great an ascendancy over him, that he foreswore not only beef, but also garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard. "He had also introduced," says the orthodox Badaoni, "though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still in order to please and gain the good will of the Hindus." Raja Bir Bal is said by some historians to have influenced Akbar in abjuring Islam. Bir Bal was the special favourite of Akbar.

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 27.

† The Emperor Nasiruddin forbade the killing of oxen. Ferishta speaks of him as practising idolatry like the Hindus, so that the Koran was occasionally placed as a stool and sat upon.

‡ *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 308-309.

Badaoni says, "His majesty mourned for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bal." The jealousy which the pro-Hindu policy of Akbar excited amongst bigoted Muslims was intense, and finds expression in the writings of orthodox Mahomedan writers like Badaoni.* The Hindu Man Sing, Todar Mall and Bir Bal, and the practically Hinduised Abul Fazl and Faizi were amongst the most, if not the most, trusted of Akbar's councillors. They probably contributed more to build up the Mogul Empire on a sound basis of liberal and enlightened policy than all the other officers of Akbar put together.

The pro-Hindu policy of Akbar was continued by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The contest between Dara and Aurangzeb was really a contest between enlightenment and bigotry, between a pro-Hindu and an anti-Hindu policy. Dara belonged to the school of Akbar. He wrote a book attempting to reconcile the Hindu and Mahomedan doctrines. He had translations made of fifty *Upanishads* into Persian. Like Akbar, he was considered an apostate. He is said to have been constantly in the society of Brahman Yogis and Sanyasis, and to have considered the Vedas as the word of God. Instead of the Mahomedan, he adopted the Hindu name (*Prabhu*) for God; and had it engraved in Hindi upon rings: "It became manifest," says the author of *Alamgir-nama*, "that if Dara Suko obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger."† Aurangzeb was a bigot such as orthodox Mahomedans had long been looking for; they advocated his cause, as the Hindus did that of his elder brother. The cause of orthodox Islam triumphed. But the triumph was only temporary ending with the reign of Aurangzeb.

* Says Badaoni:—"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrines and orders of the Koran, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduising Mahomedans openly reviled our Prophet, irreligious writers left in prefaces to their books the customary praises of the Prophet.... It was impossible even to mention the name of the prophet, because these liars (Abul Fazl and Faizi) did not like it.

"The Hindus, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindustanians (Mahomedans settled in Hindustan) nor the Moguls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves."

† Elliott's History; Vol. VII. p. 179.

The Hindus did not sink into political nonentity even in those parts which directly owned Mahomedan sway. They were admitted into situations of trust and responsibility. They commanded armies, governed kingdoms, and acted as ministers under Mahomedan kings. Under Akbar, one Hindu (Todar Mall) occupied the high post of Minister of Finance, another (Man Sing) was raised to a distinction (commander of seven thousand) which up to his time had been reserved only for princes of the royal blood.‡

The Mahomedan conquest did not seriously affect Hindu civilisation. During the Mahomedan period it was maintained at the level which it had attained during the third stage. Sanskrit learning was kept up at such places as Benares and Nadiya. If Sanskrit literature suffered a little for

‡ For further details see the author's "Essays and lectures," pp. 170-72. Ibrahim, the fourth king of Golconda, had Jagadeo, a Hindu, for his prime-minister. Mahomed Shah Sur Adil, who occupied the throne of Delhi about the middle of the sixteenth century, committed the conduct of his Government to one "Hemu, a Hindu who had once kept a retail shop, and whose appearance is said to have been meaner than his origin. Yet with all these external disadvantages, Hemu had abilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendancy amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of Government, weighed down as it was by the follies and iniquities of its head." Elphinstone's History of India. Cowell's Ed., pp. 460-3.

During the reigns of the Emperors Feroksir, Refi-ud-Darjat, Rafi-ud-Doula, and part of the reign of Mahomed Shah, Rattan Chand, formerly a retail shop-keeper, enjoyed uncontrolled influence all over Hindustan. He was Deputy to Abdulla Khan, Vizier of the Empire. It was through his influence and that of Raja Ajit, that the poll-tax upon the Hindus, re-established by Aurangzeb, was abolished. "He interfered," complains the Mahomedan historian, "even in judicial and religious concerns, in a way that reduced the crown officers to the condition of ciphers. It was impossible to become a Kazi of any city, without the consent of this Hindu being previously taken." *Siar-ul-Mutakharrin* (Briggs' Translation) pp. 89, &c.

When Alivardi Khan became prime-minister of Suja Khan, he called to his councils Raja Aalem Chand and Jagat Set, the former of whom, says Golan Hossein Khan, "possessed great merit, and deserved all the confidence reposed in him." When Alivardi Khan became Governor of Bengal he appointed as his prime-minister Janakiram, who was a man of merit, and figured among the trustiest and most zealous of the Viceroy's friends. Mohanlal was the minister of Suraja-ud-Dowla, Governor of Bengal; amongst his other officers who held positions of trust, were Durlavram and Ramnarayan.

want of patronage, the loss was more than compensated by the marvellous expansion of the vernacular literatures. The loss was felt only by a few cultivated Brahmans, the gain was shared in by the great mass of the people. Writers in the vernaculars, such as Eknath and Tukaram in Maharastra, and Surdas and Tulsidas in Northern India, drew upon the rich storehouse of Sanskrit literature and popularised the teachings of Hindu sages; and great religious teachers and reformers such as Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya sustained the ethical and spiritual life of the people. The material condition of the people was no worse than in pre-Mahomedan times. The artisans were certainly more prosperous than in any previous period. This prosperity was due partly to increased commerce with Europe, and partly to the taste for luxuries created by the Mahomedans. Europeans who travelled in India between the 15th and the 18th centuries all testify to the superiority of Indian over European manufactures and to the high degree of material prosperity enjoyed by the Indians.*

The evidence we have adduced above shows, that the two civilisations which have survived to the present day agree in the fact that their material element was subordinated to the ethical, and that the civilisations which have perished agree in the fact that their material development was disproportionately greater than the ethical. The cases—especially of survival—are no doubt too few to justify safe generalisation. The sociologist of the future epochs will no doubt have a larger number of cases to draw conclusions from. In the meantime, the facts at our command, I think, justify us in concluding that the survival of a civilisation depends upon its attainment of equilibrium between the forces making for material progress and those leading to ethical development. From the two cases of long-lived civilisations we have considered above, it would appear that after the attainment of this equipoise, further extension of life depends upon its maintenance. The equipoised condition is being constantly disturbed by various causes of which the

animal tendencies of man are the most important—tendencies which lead him to think more of the outer than of the inner life. As in every community, however civilised, there must be numerical preponderance of individuals in the first or the material stage of progress a slight diminution of the influence exerted by the small class composed of the wise and the good results in their gaining the upper hand and thus ensues moral degeneration. The role of the great men of China ever since she reached the third stage in the first epoch has been not to strike out new paths but to bring back their community to the equipoised condition reached during that stage. Confucius always professed to be a transmitter.† He trod in the footsteps of the great and good Yaou, Shun and others who had adorned the third stage of the Chinese civilisation during the first epoch (about B.C. 2356—2000). The mantle of Confucius fell on Mencius who sought only to perpetuate the doctrines of his great master. Chinese ideals of life have not appreciably varied ever since the days of Yaou and Shun. Similarly in India, her great men since the close of the third stage of her civilisation, from Sankaracharya and Ramanuja down to Rammohan Ray and Dayananda Sarasvati have had no new message to deliver. Their function has been only to bring back the people to the old paths of ethical and spiritual development when they had strayed far from them. The mobility of the Chinese and Hindu civilisations ever since they reached the third stage has been restricted to the restoration of the equilibrium attained during that stage. That equilibrium has of late been violently disturbed by the import of the Western civilisation and it remains to be seen whether the Chinese and the Hindu civilisations have sufficient vitality and recuperative power to restore it.

Intellectual culture is of supreme importance in the survival of a civilisation. If we have not made special mention of it above, it is because such outline is implied in real ethical and spiritual development. In our view of the evolution of civilisation,

* For details see H. Murray's "Discoveries and Travels," and the authors' "History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule" Vol. I. Introduction pp. lxxii—lxxviii.

† "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang" was Confucius' description of himself.

such development presupposes antecedent intellectual development, the ethical stage being preceded by the intellectual. The introduction of high ethical ideals among peoples not sufficiently advanced intellectually to receive them does far more harm than good. During the "Middle Age," there was no country in Europe which took such a prominent part in that horrible system of persecution, the Inquisition, as Spain; and there was no country which was so earnestly and sincerely "Christian" as Spain, but at a time when it was not intellectually prepared for the grand ideals of the noble religion preached by Jesus Christ. The most enthusiastic and fanatical among the Saracens, brutally cruel because brutally ignorant, were no doubt moved by a desire for doing good to the unbelievers when they tried to convert these at the point of the sword.

There is a good deal of truth in the dictum of Socrates that "knowledge is virtue." The sages of India all taught, that the path of knowledge is the most commendable of all the paths to salvation, if indeed as according to some, it is not the only way. The noble eightfold path prescribed by Buddha consists of eight principles—*right* belief, *right* aims, *right* speech, *right* action, *right* means of livelihood, *right* endeavour, *right* mindfulness, *right* meditation; and Reason is our only guide in judging what is right and what is wrong. The Chinese thinkers were equally alive to the importance of knowledge as the surest foundation on which to establish the will. "At fifteen," said Confucius, "my mind was bent on learning. At thirty I stood firm. At forty I had no doubts. At fifty I knew the decrees of Heaven. And at seventy I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right." Confucius taught that "true knowledge should enable a man to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and to assimilate all that is good, and to discard all that is evil, on that which he learns. More than this, however, is required by him: he must love the truth as well as know* it, and must delight in it as well as love it."

* Douglas: "Confucianism and Taouism," p. 96.

The conclusions to which we have been led in this chapter are as follows:

First. Civilisations in which the material element prevails over the ethical, are of an ephemeral character. They are like magnificent fabrics built upon quicksand, bound to give way sooner or later.

Secondly. The survival of a civilisation depends upon its attainment of an equipoised condition between the cosmic forces making for material progress and the non-cosmic forces leading to higher culture (especially ethical culture).

Thirdly. That the life of a civilisation after it has passed from one epoch to a later one depends upon the maintenance of this equipoise.

It follows as a corollary from these conclusions, that military, political and economic activities are of less significance in the life of a nation than high cultural activities.

These conclusions would appear to run counter to the prevailing Western conception of social efficiency which posits strife and competition to be its only essential condition. There can be no doubt that this condition is imperative for animal efficiency and therefore for material advancement which is the destructive feature of the first stage of civilisation. The law of the "struggle for existence and survival of the fittest" governs the animal kingdom, and man so far as he is an animal is unquestionably subject to it. But so far as his moral and spiritual faculties, which differentiate him from animals, are concerned, their development is subject to laws of which we have no clear conception now but which are altogether different from those obtaining in the case of other sentient beings. In as much as such development is essential for the survival of a civilisation, and it is fostered by what Herbert Spencer calls the "religion of amity" in contra-distinction to the "religion of enmity," it is obvious, that the main condition of social efficiency is not perpetual strife, but rather a cessation of such strife, not physical but psychological strength, not the military and predatory spirit, but righteousness and benevolence.

THE EXHIBITION OF ORIENTAL ART

BY ARUN SEN, B.A., (CANTAB.)

TO call our present school of Art a Revivalist school is a profound mistake.

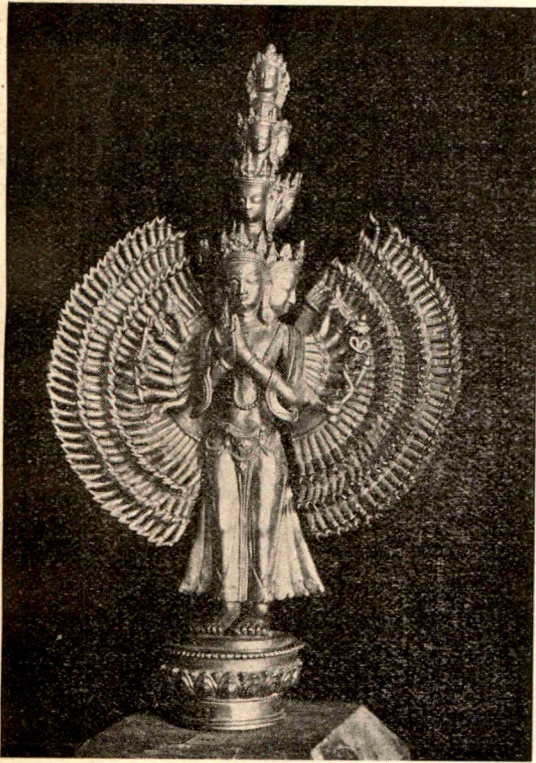
A revival is a reversion to the past, to ideas and to forms that are dead and can never be wholly brought back to life. But to express conceptions that are universal in us, to describe scenes we see daily, to indulge in dreams that inspire us from hour to hour, does not constitute a Revival.

A Revival of Art is a great fatuity when the spirit inspiring it is dead. Examples of such failures abound in modern history. The Pre-Raphælite movement died an expected death,—not even the most genuine feeling could keep it alive. The Austro-Belgian school could hardly bring themselves into the light of day in spite of their grand strivings after the Gothic glories of Mediævalism. The death of ideas, the death of technique leave no room for a revival. The hand soon loses its cunning, the sweeps and the curves forget their delicacy, the colours soon lose their softness, even if there stands behind them centuries of hereditary craftsmanship. Ideas, on the other hand, die hard. They live for a long time unrecognised and unhonored, and even at the last extremities show immense vitality. The old often succumb to the new, but in India novelty is always looked upon with distrustful eyes and recognised after the severest tests. The ideas of the past have a curious fascination—which is a source both of weakness and of strength. An examination of the subjects attempted by our young artists will serve to show that the same joys, the same sorrows inspire us now as of old. There is the same wonder at things incomprehensible, the same awe at the majesty of power, the same humiliation when face to face with the mystery of death. Thus there are religious themes on exactly identical lines, for the festivals which are depicted are

a living force, not dead matter;—the temples and mosques never bar their doors. Love still inspires the palace and the cottage, he still sports in festive guise in the glade and the river; still the jilted maiden sulks, the happy one exults. The courts of our princes still have their petty conventions, their petty strifes, their petty jealousies. We have court scenes on Moghul and Rajasthan lines, pastoral idylls like the magnificent Pāhārī. The essence of art—joy in the beauty of life here or hereafter, exists now as ever.

The technique is not wholly forgotten. Unfortunately the secret of the old colouring is ours no longer,—we use the chemical dyes of the British market and thus envelop ourselves in sombre gloom, while mediæval art delighted in gorgeous harmonies of tone, splendid carnavals of color. But even in this sphere our empirical methods have gained their measure of success and the vegetable dyes we now use remind us of the past and the day is not far distant when the cleavage between the past and the present will be negligible. It may be observed that washes of color may be freely used but we should like to see a more frequent employment of steeping; a harmonious combination of the two would seem to us the more correct policy. Lastly, our eyes have lost their pristine power, the subtle glories such as the careful delineation of the eyebrows, the lines of character on the face, the delicate folds of a silken *achkan* are no longer seen. Critics have to use the magnifying glass to detect them and painters seldom to delineate them. The flow of line has not been broken as some European critics would try to establish. Perhaps we could not draw as the artists at Ajanta did, but still our greatest masters draw with a sure hand; not a wave, not a curve is superfluous, and each line has its tale to tell. Some critics carp at the so-called

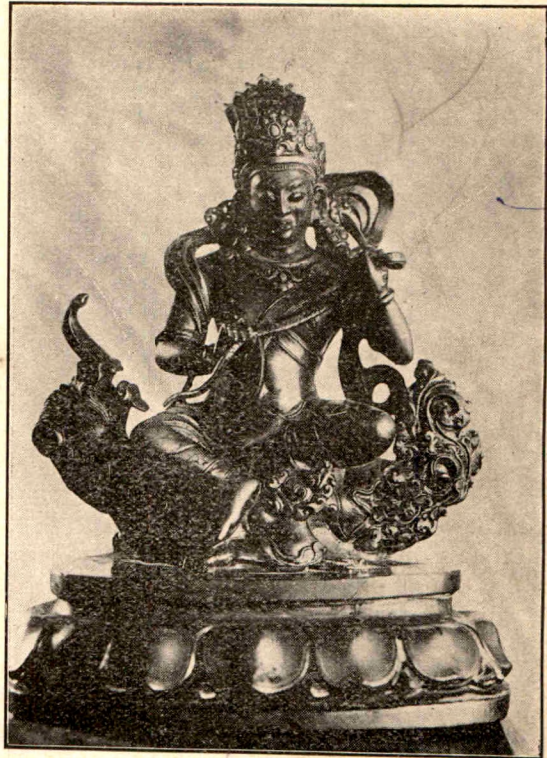
foreign influence on Indian Art ; but Japan and China are none the less true sources of inspiration, for Asia is one in Art. The old art of China and Japan is almost identical with that of India, and what the historian has laboured long years to prove can be seen by even a hurried glimpse at the artistic treasures of these countries. What is called the Chinese line 'is easily seen in little details like the delineation of the cloud (as in some of the old Persian paintings in the Exhibition) or the representation of the robe in Indian sculpture. Nevertheless Indian art still remains distinctively Indian, for the call of Ajanta, of mediaeval Rajput, of mediaeval Moghul is strong.



Copper-gilt image of thousand-armed Avalokitesvara (Tibetan).

In our Exhibition modern sculpture is rather at a discount. Historically sculpture is an olden Art but in our school it seems to be a later development. The exquisite nature of olden sculpture forms a harsh contrast with the mediocrity of the modern work. Lastly Indian Art ought to be spared the false appreciations of dilettanti or

the calumnies showered on her by critics on whose cloudy visions the freshness of Indian Art has not yet burst ; vituperation, even if it have the resource of scholarship behind it and even if it come from the brawling banks of the Isis, ceases to have any



Copper-gilt image of Baruna—Lent by H. E. Lord Carmichael.

vital force, if it is blind. False appreciation harms the cause of Art more than ever did bluster or blasphemy. Encouragement is certainly necessary but one ought at the same time to point out the falsities, insincerities, conventionalisms, exaggerations. It is the part of the critic to assert in stentorian tones that a lad with a flute is not always Krishna, nor a lass performing her ablutions in azure waters always the enchanting Radha.

It will now be en regle to speak of the artists individually. As a general rule we find that the Bengali Artists have a definite poetic feeling and even when their coloring is weak, their draftmanship fatuous, there is the one redeeming aesthetic feature. In Bengal we find our great Artists combining

profound emotion with force of line and strength of color. It is impossible to talk of the great master Abanidra Nath Tagore without enthusiasm. "The first sight" is the great masterpiece of this year. The infinity of love is shown with a masterly



An old Persian painting.

hand. Visakha shows Radha the portrait of her immortal lover little dreaming what a host of thoughts, what a struggle of pleasure and pain, what a tumult of passion and love it occasions in her heart. The look at the portrait, recalls to her the

joy of the past, the drinks of the nectar of future happiness. She is intoxicated, she loses herself in a world of delight. The details of the picture are represented in a fashion as superb. The flesh quivers beneath her silken garment. The folds of the waist are instinct with life. This can be compared with the greatest masterpiece of the Ming period (in China) which is to be seen in the British Museum. "The flower-Radhika" (No. 14) is beautiful. The sight



Gokul Brata—By Nanda Lal Bose.

of the flower recalls to Krishna the form of the lovely Radhika. In fact Krishna imagines he sees Radha in all nature round him, and he likewise begins to dream. "Radhika" (No. 15) is also fine. The shades of evening have fallen, nature is breathing an ineffable peace, and Radha falls into the order of things. We see the tranquil way of her movements, we almost hear the tinkling of her anklets. The



The Thunder-Cloud—By Kshitindranath Mazumdar.

characters from the modern Bengali stage represent the inconsistencies of modern life. Mahadev, with his excessively bulky frame and his electric bulb, Narad on a threadbare carpet, the king on his bentwood chair, and the mistiness of gas light, the vizir with his shirt sleeves protruding, Kamadeva with his artificial flowers, the sentimental Prince worn out with his nocturnal ranting, and with hollow rings under his eyes; the captive hero bound by a paper chain, all these are facts with which we are very familiar. It is in this brazen fashion that the poetry of the past is represented on the Bengali stage and it is this that

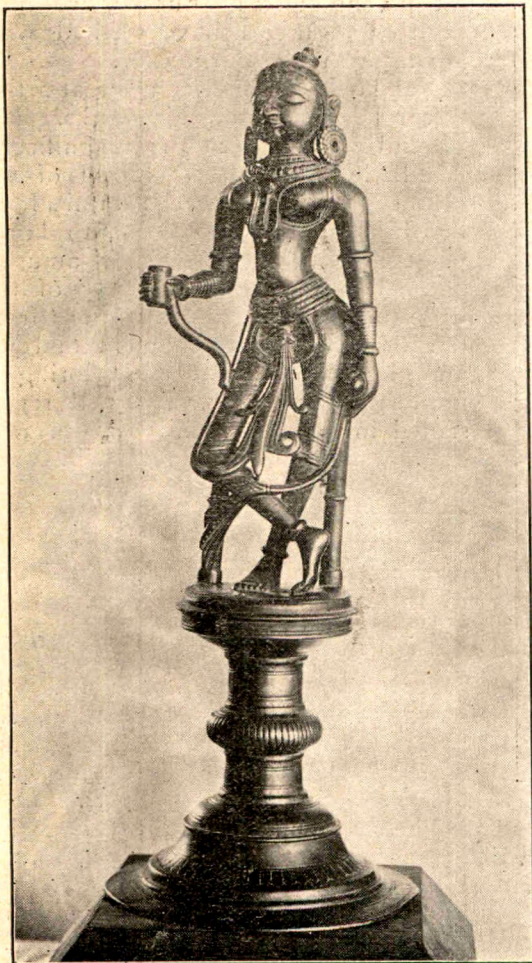
appeals to the average modern mind. The portrait of Rabindra Nath Tagore shows us what a portrait ought to be, not the accurate juxtaposition of muscle and nerve, but the true analysis of character. We realize, how the poet has experienced great sorrows and great joys, and how the world is to him but a fleeting vision. And if it is said that Durer was the profoundest psychologist of Europe, we may say that he might have studied with advantage under our master.

Nanda Lall Bose is a great artist, as can be seen from his works. The "Gokul Brata" (22) is magnificent. The little girl is almost afraid of the object of her worship, she shrinks from it, while the cow who seems to know what is going on is highly amused, and is laughing at the timidity of the little maiden. The illustrations from the Ramayana are very good and we are glad to see that the coloring is firm. Maternity is very well represented in Kausalya, while the devotion of Hanuman and the perennial tranquillity of Ram are depicted in masterly fashion. Some of these are old acquaintances; we are glad to recognise them and see more achieved in the same manner. The delineation of Ram, Lakshman and Hanuman (after the capture of Sita), of Ram and Savari are very good. Savari, who has been starving to feed Ram, sees him in her old age and the pleasure with which she feeds him cannot fail to strike a chord in every heart.

The remarkable versatility of this artist cannot fail to excite our veneration. He has a hand of gold transforming all into gold by his wondrous touch and whether he paints the pleasure of the home, the idylls of the country or the rapture of devotion, he is always masterly.

Gaganendranath Tagore's personality is to be seen not only in his superb criticisms but also in his paintings. His brush studies may to some people speak of Japan but to us he speaks more forcibly of India. 'The seeker,' No 39, with its broad expanse breathes a quietness known only in Bengal. The spirit of the বাউল. "On the sacred steps of the Jagannath" No 42, is also magnificent.

The soft light of the temple seems to call man to prayer and the benign stars look on from above and breathe tranquility on suffering man below. The whole scene is hushed in a kind of heavenly silence. "Dozing," No 43, is a clever study. "Binodini" No. 44, an illustration of Moni Lall Ganguly's story, well represents the noble aspirations that stir the heart of the woman.



Incense-burner.

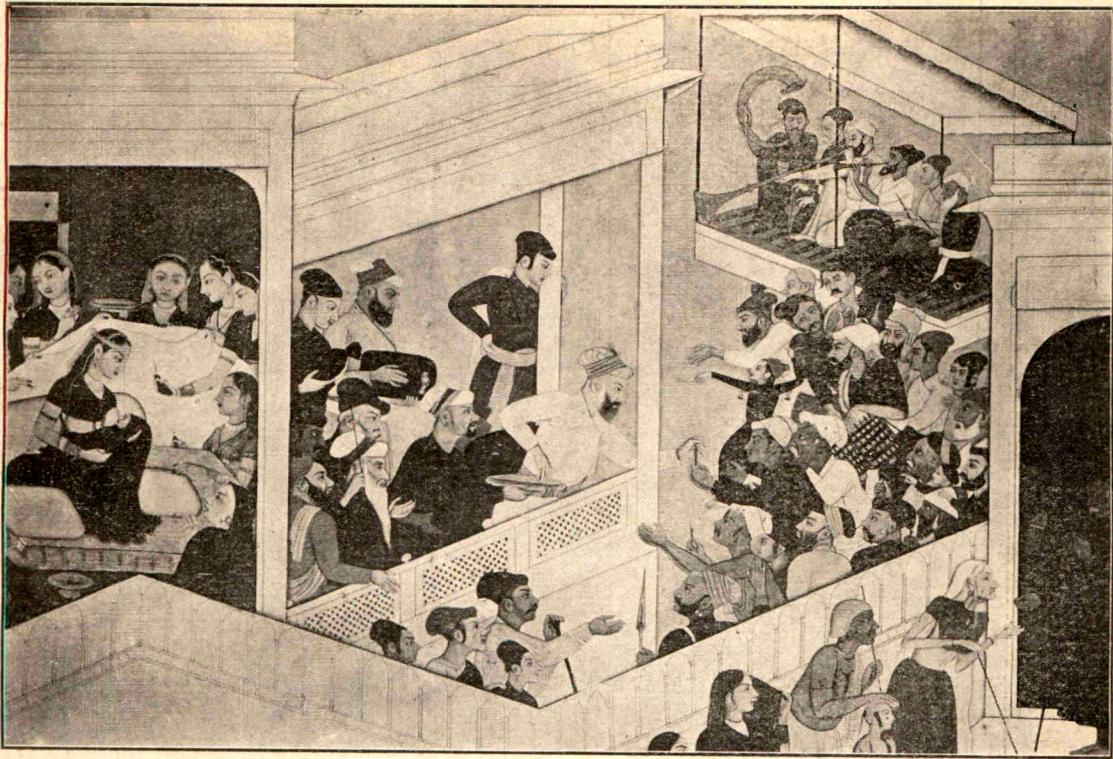
We are sorry to see the titles of Asitkumar Halder's paintings travestied, still more sorry to find he has been accorded an obscure corner and a bad light. "In the waters on Jumna" hardly conveys any sense, apart from the painting. It ought rather to be called Krishna's Jamuna Bihara. So "Chandrabali" No 4, is a misomer. The figure is that of Radha when she hears the

name of Chandrabali on Krishna's flute. Again, the milkmaid No. 48, is a descent to the ridiculous. One associates the name with these individuals who satisfy our domestic needs every morning. And when we realize that it is Radha who starts on hearing her name in Krishna's flute we are aware of the gulf between the two. The mistake is all the more inexcusable because of the verse written under the painting. Jumna Bihar (No. 45) is a magnificent conception. The ordered harmony of the figures grouped around the central Krishna, the endearing sports, the depth of their affection, their absolute union with the object of their love, are described in an exquisite manner; the ripples of the water, the uncared for vessels, forgotten of the Gopis in his presence, are glorious. Krishna here approaches the divine. But Radha ought to have been represented as a little more human; her tenderness, her modesty, her coyness is what we miss here. No. 47. Radha on hearing Chandrabali's name in Krishna's flute is also delicate and fragile as the subject ought to be. Radha starts, and we can see the pain, the jealousy, the despair that threatens to uproot her heart with its sudden sting. The broad space in the back-ground represents the effects of moonlight, for it is in these mysterious moments that we experience the deepest joys and the deepest sorrows. Radha, No. 48, on hearing her name in Krishna's flute, is in an ecstasy and she is oblivious of her environment and recks not of the water that trickles from the vessel on to her body. The background is gorgeous; the reddened skies speak of passion, the green fields speak of joy and here we see how passion will end in joy. The old poet Govindadas has well described the scene.

কানের ভিতর দিয়া মরমে পশিল গো,
আকুল করিল মোর প্রাণ।

"The sick man" (No. 46) is a painting of an old man who gulps his bitter draught down his throat with a mighty effort with eyes closed. We should like to see more of this Artist's work.

The transition from Ashit Kumar to K. Venkatappa is natural. Here we come face to face with a splendid draughtsman, an exquisite colorist, a most exacting artist who plies his hand with the utmost care the most inexorable diligence. His line



Birth of Krishna.

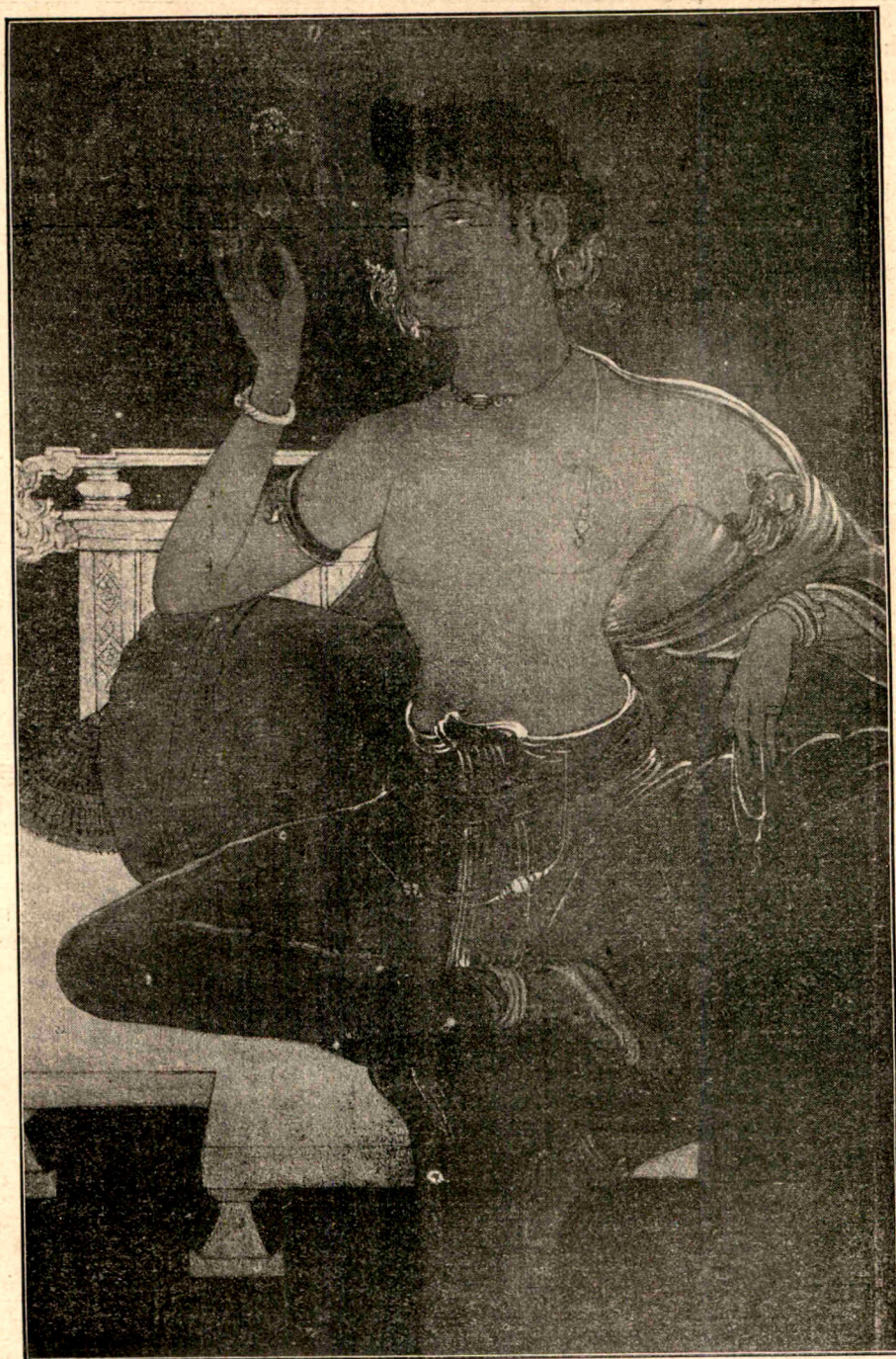
are perfect in their delicacy, his steeping a most refreshing change. The love and the care he has lavished on his works excite our sympathy as well as our admiration. But in his absorption in the body he has often forgotten the soul that animates it. The external has often encroached on the domain of the internal or the essential. We wish he had a larger share of emotion, of poetic feeling, more heart and less brain. It is through the medium of his exquisite technique that he appeals to us, but we wish he had more inspiration.

The Prasads have a certain amount of inherited skill. Their technique hardly calls for any comment but they have a tendency to blind imitation, to palm off old wares for new after a few alterations.

Thus the Gopi and Krishna (No. 50) of Rameswar Prasad is an old acquaintance. The figures surrounding the Krishna have been omitted, likewise the Gopis round Radha. It may be a coincidence but such coincidences are often suspicious. The Ragini Meghmallar we like very much. The painting is delicate, the figure is even

poetic, but the atmosphere has not been a success. Were there not a cloud we could hardly have associated it with rain. The same criticism applies to Narain Prasad. Radha's toilet is very good. The environment is carefully drawn, the expression well represented. But it looks marvellously like a copy. Hara Gauri (though recalling similar subjects attempted by our mediæval artists) is extremely futile. The Sakhi is not bad, but our acquaintance with our mediæval art checks our appreciation.

Hakim Khan has sent in an old study (No. 64) with the addition of an absolutely unnecessary pillar. The expression on the woman's face is dreaming but the whole work has been marred by that hideous column in front. Artists should sift the essential and unessential, omitting all the latter. The composition of the captive Dara led through the streets of Delhi (63) is weak. The scene is overloaded. The representation of the building in front forming almost half the picture is absolutely exaggerated. The wonderment in Dara's face, the bad omen in the carrion, are happy features. We wish



"The flower Radlike" by Abanindra Nath Tagore.

that some of our artists would pay more attention to the composition—to balance, to rhythm, which are the essence of art.

Sami-uz-Zama is still young. His copies are good, though we cannot profess much

admiration for his original *Birth of Nurjahan* (65). The father is well done, but not the mother. His copies, however, show very careful work and copies represent the correct method of procedure

These are, we are sure, but stepping-stones to higher things for him.

Surendra Nath Kar has given us one of the master pieces of the Exhibition. The Sarawati is magnificent. It represents the dignity of learning, the pride of science. Second to no power, she cringes to nobody, she considers herself the highest force. A great idea has thus crystallised into a great work of art. The composition of "the culprit" (7) is weak. The Krishna, the subject of the picture, is hidden under a bench, whereas there ought to have been some insistence on him.

Kshitindra N. Majumdar's works are not bad. But "the Hara Parvati" is a misnomer; the figures are more akin to Radha and Krishna, for we do not associate coyness with Parvati as much as we do with Radha.

Parvati is a more etherialised type usually. But we must confess that we prefer his productions of last year. There is a decided deterioration.

Sailendra Nath Dey's Krishna and Yasoda (No. 3) is not bad. Krishna's expression appeals to us but there is no unity in the two parts of the picture. We are glad to see the employment of Venkatappa's colors. In the Sakuntala we fail to see why the animal should be chained. It is neither nature nor art; the whole scene seems to be very artificial.

Atul Krishna Mitra's Kaliyadamana is rather pleasing. Durgesh Chandra Singh shows a marked deterioration from his usual form. He has not fulfilled the hopes he raised last year. We are afraid we can not share the appreciation which has fallen to Mukul Chandra Dey's lot. In many of his paintings we fancy we detect a foreign hand. In the Pursued (26) we recognise the lines of a different grain. Vasudeva in the Janmastami (30) shows a grand passion and is rather incongruous amid a host of weak lines. The Flame of Desire (25) shows skilful treatment in the drapery.

We are sorry to say that there are only a few mediaeval paintings. They help the outsider to make comparisons and draw their own conclusions. The old Persian paintings very often show a great deal of Chinese influence. We do not know if the Art of Samarkhand and of Bokhara is included under that category. At any rate these regions were the melting pot of orien-

tal art. There the three great civilizations met and influenced each other.

We pass on hurriedly to sculpture. The unique collection of sculpture inspires us with enthusiasm and despair. We realize how helpless our modern artists are. We realize how much we must strive to attain those heights. Perhaps that exquisite skill has left us never again to return. To speak of the bronzes, etc., individually would fill a volume of fervid raving zeal. The figures which have been carved by cunning hands speak eloquently; not a line is superfluous and we see how much one single curve can express, how the artists have thrown their whole soul into their work.

A few minor points call for notice. We recognise the true use of ornaments on the body. They serve to emphasise the beauty of some particular limb or to call attention to some very delicate curve which would otherwise have escaped notice in a host of fine lives. Again two different materials are sometimes employed, brass and bronze, to draw a distinction in color, as sometimes in ancient Greek sculpture.

The Nepalese Vishnu type of the happy devotee (13) is a masterpiece; even a novice could not fail to observe the masterly generalizations of the human figure, the rapture of devotion in the face, the pose, the repose in the hands.

The Avalokiteshvara with his 1000 arms, sublime emblem of the immanence of love and religion, is another chef d'œuvre, over which it is impossible to refrain from enthusing.

The Lakshmi Narayan (145) is perfect. It shows the masterly fashion in which the male and female figures have been welded into one perfect homogeneous whole. The angularities of the male body, the poetic roundness of the female, the plain robe of the one, the decorative garment of the other, the knotted hair of the one, the ambrosial curls of the other, the poetic expression of the one and the smiles of the other have been placed in exquisite juxtaposition. The Baruna riding on the Makara which is floating on the calm sheet of water is glorious in workmanship. We see how the artist by one sweeping line represents the idea of an animal floating down a calm surface. We almost feel the rhythmic buoyancy of the water.

No. 133 is probably Orissan work though it is designated Tibetan. Some other figures are very fine. We can only admire the movement which is so nicely depicted in the Nritya Gopal.

Some of the wooden figures are chef-d'œuvres, notably the part of the *ratha* (172). But why it should be designated Siya is more than we can fully comprehend. The pose, the devotion, the decoration were all executed by a master hand.

We are sorry that the exhibition should

come to an end, that the glories of the past and of the present should be so suddenly snatched from our vision. We realize with sadness with what master minds we have been holding converse, what beauties of the mind have been holding us in thrall, what beauties of the body we have been caressing. It is a dream, a lovely dream, and if some contend that the stern realities of life awaits us outside the door, we reply that here in India dreams are more real than the so-called realities of life.

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

I.

THERE are various elements necessary in the making of a nation such as a common language, a common religion, a common government and a common culture and social economy, but perhaps the most fundamental and indispensable factor is the possession of a common country, a fixed, definite abode. Even nationality has a material, physical basis without which it can hardly manifest and assert itself as a real existence and factor in the political world. History shows no authentic record of nomadic peoples developing in civilisation to any great extent until and unless they bind themselves to a fixed habitation, ridding themselves of their migratory instincts and habits. The Hebrew people, in spite of the political training they received from Moses, could not achieve much progress until Joshua settled them in Palestine. So also what the historians call the Dark Age of Europe is but the period of unrest and transition when the barbarians left their old homes, overran and disorganised the Roman Empire but were themselves without any fixed local habitation. "The Athenians under Themistocles saved the state of Athens on their ships, because after the victory they again took possession of their city; but the Teutones and Cimbri perished, because they left their old homes and failed to conquer a new one."

The spirit, according to Hindu phi-

losophy, clothes itself in the body in and through which it works: it needs a vehicle, an instrument, a physical framework whereby it expresses and outshapes itself in the external world of matter. And it seems that the same principle applies in respect of the spirit of nationality. The primary requisite for the birth and growth of a nation is the certainty, fixity and permanence of *place*, and when *that* is assured the other formative forces will appear and make themselves felt in due course. A common fatherland is preliminary to all national development: round that living nucleus will naturally gather all those feelings, associations, traditions, and other elements which go to make up a people's language and literature, religion and culture and thereby establish its separate existence and individuality demanding its preservation and independent development as a valuable cultural unit. The unifying influence of a common country, of common natural surroundings is indeed irresistible and the assertion may be safely made that it will be effectively operative against other disintegrating, disruptive forces and tendencies such as differences in manners and customs, language and religion.

The formation of a composite, federal, Indian nation is one of the most interesting of modern political possibilities because of the great and unusual difficulties surrounding that movement. But the very first step towards the solution of those difficulties is

clearly the cognisance of the fundamental fact that the diverse races and peoples making up the vast mass of Indian humanity cannot be welded together into a living nation, a puissant political force, unless in the first place they can understand and feel that they have a common country to love and to serve, that they all belong to one motherland, that they are all children of the same soil. Without this expanded geographical consciousness in the people the cherished dreams of the impatient political idealist about an Indian nation in the making will ever be remote from realisation.

II.

But unfortunately it has become by no means easy to think of India as a single country. No picture of India is now more familiar to the Indian mind than that which represents it to be a continent, or a collection of *many* countries rather than *one* country. For this is the picture that is drawn in most of the standard works on Indian Geography taught in our schools. An English author of a geography for Indian schools introduces his book with the following remarks: "India is commonly thought of and spoken of as a single country. But this is not true * * * * India is rather a collection of countries." According to Sir John Strachey, the great Anglo-Indian authority, "this is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that there is not and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political * * * *". But Anglo-Indian opinion itself is however by no means unanimous on the point. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the well-known authority on early Indian History, has delivered himself in a quite different strain: "India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such is rightly designated by one name." Equally positive and emphatic are the following words of Chisholm, one of the best known authorities on Geography: "There is no part of the world better marked out by itself than India, exclusive of Burma. It is a region indeed full of contrasts in physical features and in climate,—but the features that divide it as a whole from surrounding regions are too clear to be overlooked."

III.

The fact is that the geographical unity of India is apt to be lost sight of in her immensity and variety. It is difficult to imagine the vast territory that stretches from North to South over a distance exceeding 2,000 miles and from East to West over a distance of more than 1,900 miles as one continuous territory. The total area included within its limits is about two-thirds of that of the continent of Europe. It is nearly fourteen times as large as Great Britain and over ten times the size of the entire British Isles. It is more than six times the area of either France or Germany. This immensity of her geographical extension has naturally induced those physical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of varieties, 'the epitome of the world.' It is the land, primarily, of as many latitudes as altitudes. The temperature ranges from the singularly dry and bracing cold of the Himalayas culminating in eternal snows to the humid, tropical heat of the Konkan and Coromandel coast. The surface rises from the sea-level to heights above the limits of vegetation, above cloud and rain and storm, merged in eternal sunshine. Its climates vary, on the one hand, from torrid and tropical to arctic and polar including between the extremes various shades of the mean or temperate, and, on the other from almost absolute aridity to a maximum of humidity. The rainfall ranges from 460 inches at Cherrapoonjee to less than even 3 inches in upper Sind. This amazing variety of latitudes and altitudes, temperature and moisture, produces a corresponding variety in flora and fauna. The range of climatic zones determines that of Botanical as well as Zoological zones. Thus, according to Sir J. D. Hooker,* the flora of India is more varied than that of any other country of equal area in the eastern hemisphere, if not in the globe. As regards the richness of the Indian fauna, the following testimony of Mr. Blandford† is sufficient: "Animal life is not only abundant in British India, but it is remarkably varied. The number of kinds of animals inhabiting India and its dependencies is very large,

* *Imperial Gazetteer*, new ed., Vol., I. p. 157.

† *Ibid*, p. 213.

far surpassing, for instance, that of the species found in the whole of Europe, although the superficial area of Europe exceeds that of the Indian Empire by about one-half." This extraordinary richness and variety of the flora and fauna of India necessarily imply a corresponding richness and variety in her vegetable and animal products, endowing her with a degree of economic self-sufficiency which falls to the lot of but few countries in the world. As Mr. Lilly puts it, the products of India 'include everything needed for the service of man.' But scarcely less than this physical variety is the human variety which India presents with her teeming millions. They absorb so much as a fifth of the whole human race, including races and peoples belonging to all stages and states of social evolution and civilisation with languages, manners and customs, cults and cultures of the most diverse kinds. There are in India no less than seven main physical types of races introducing varieties of physical form in the population; no less than fourteen separate peoples or nationalities with their own languages and literature; no less than 150 different tongues producing a veritable Babel of languages*; and, finally, nearly all the world-religions, each claiming more than a million of worshippers. India is verily a museum of cults and customs, creeds and cultures, faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems.

IV.

Superficial observers are therefore liable to be bewildered by this astonishing variety in Indian life and geography. They lack that power of perception which dives beneath appearances and externals and sees into the life of things. They thus fail to discover the One in the Many, the Individual in the Aggregate, the Simple in the Composite.—With them, the whole is lost in the parts, nay, the parts are greater than the whole, as in the old adage of blind men 'seeing' the elephant. The fact is that an exclusive dependence upon mere sense-impressions, mere sense-contact with external phenomena, cannot carry us very far: for the senses cannot take us beyond

the apparent and the objective. What is needed is the superior interpreting, integrating, synthetising power of the mind that instead of being over-powered by the multitude of details will master them and rise above them to a vision of the whole.

A keen, penetrating insight can hardly fail to recognise that beneath all this manifold variety, there is a fundamental unity; that this diversity itself far from being a source of weakness, is a fertile source of strength and wealth. Thus Sir Herbert Risley has truly observed: "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion which strikes the observer in India there can still be discerned, as Mr. Yūṣuf Ali has pointed out, a certain underlying uniformity* of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." The last Indian Census Commissioner, Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., has also recorded the same conclusion: "The people of India as a whole can be distinguished from those of Europe by certain broad characteristics." While, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith speaking from his long and first-hand experience of India, the civilisation of India "has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world; while they are common to the whole country or rather continent in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development."

V.

It is generally recognised and admitted on all hands that this underlying Indian unity is largely, if not solely, the creation of the British rule, a by-product of the Pax

* One aspect of this unity has been thus explained by Monier Williams (*Hinduism*, page 13): "India, though it has, as we have seen, more than 500 spoken dialects, has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank, and creed. That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or 'knowledge' in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."

* According to Dr. Cust, "no less than 539 languages and dialects, cultivated and uncultivated, in the whole of India and its bordering regions."

Britannica,* the inevitable outcome of a centralised administration which controls the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. What is not generally known and recognised however is that the idea of this fundamental unity is much older than British rule, that it is not a recent growth or discovery but has a history running back to a remote antiquity. There are many proofs to show that the great founders of Indian religion, culture and civilisation were themselves fully conscious of the geographical unity of their vast mother country and sought in various ways to impress it on the popular consciousness.

The first expression they appear to have given to this sense of unity was their description of the entire country by the single name of Bhāratavarsa,† which is the old indigenous classic name by which India was known to the Hindus. For the name India was given to the country by foreigners. The river Sindhu by which the country was first known to outsiders was changed into Hindu by the Persians, and Indos by the Greeks, dropping the hard aspirate. The name Bhāratavarsa is not a mere geographical expression like the term India, having only a physical reference. It has a deep, historical significance symbolising a fundamental unity which was certainly perceived and understood by those who invented the name. It is a well known doctrine of logic that when a common name is applied to different things, it is because of some principle of unity which connects them to a system in spite of the differences. It was hence a consciousness of unity that really made the Rishis of old to apply a single, individualising, appellation to a vast stretch of territory with parts divided by endless varieties and peopled by many races speaking many languages, professing many faiths,

* India was originally called Jambudvīpa. This name was in use even in the time of Asoka who, in Buddhist works, is often styled as the king of Jambudvīpa. While the name Jambudvīpa has a geographical reference, the name Bharatavarsa has a political reference conveying the idea that the whole of India was governed by a single king—(see the Puranas for the etymological significance of the word). Though Jambudvīpa and Bharatavarsa were no doubt names applied to the region conquered or colonised by the Aryans, yet subsequent additions by conquest were also known by those general names, as accretions to the main land are known by the name of the latter.

owning many cultures. Bhāratavarsa is derived from Bharata as Rome is derived from Romulus. Bharata is a great hero of Indian history and tradition, just as Romulus is of Roman. The Rig-Veda* first mentions him as the leader of a powerful Aryan tribe that played its full part in the original struggles and conflicts by which Aryan polity and culture were being shaped into proper form in the dawn of Indian history. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa† refers to his coronation ceremony and subsequent career of conquests leading to his overlordship which is duly solemnised by the performance of the usual Aswamedha sacrifice. This story is also followed up by the Śrīmad Bhāgavata, which applies to him the epithets Adhirāt and Samrāt i.e., king of kings, and describes his subjugation of a number of races, tribes and kingdoms such as the Kirātas, the Hunas, the Yavanas, the Paundras and the like, and his ultimate renunciation of the world as an unreality in essence. Bharata, therefore, stood before the multitudinous peoples inhabiting the country that was called after him as the embodiment, the representative, of the dominant Aryan power which was fast accomplishing its work of colonising the whole country and bringing its different parts under the unifying discipline of a common culture and civilisation. Bhāratavarsa is therefore another name for Aryanised India, the congenial fertile soil where Aryan culture planted itself and attained its fruition, the chosen abode which the pioneers of human civilisation adopted as the scene of their labours for the proper expression of their particular genius. And Bharata was held up as a convenient symbol, a comprehensible token of this early renaissance, of the conquest of a new thought and a new faith finding expression through their appropriate literature, disciplines and institutions social, economic and political, of the accomplishment of a new cultural unity imposed upon and pervading a rich, manifold variety, round which were gathered, as in a system of federation, different creeds, cults and cultures with liberty to each to pre-

* III. 33.

† Tanjika VIII: “एतेन ह वा । ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेन दीर्घतमा मामतेय दीक्षन्ति भरतं अमिसिषेच । तस्मात् उ दीक्षन्ति भरतः समस्तं सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन् परीयायाश्च हूचमेध्यरीञ्जि इत्यादि ।”

serve its own special features and genius and contribute its own quota to enrich the central culture*.

VI.

But besides this proof of a common name there are other proofs to show that the fact of this fundamental unity of India was fully grasped by the popular mind in ancient times. Even such an old book as the Rig-Veda, one of the oldest literary records of humanity, reveals conscious and fervent attempts made by the Rishis, those profoundly wise organisers of Hindu polity and culture, to visualise the unity of their mother-country, nay, transfigure the mother earth into a living deity and enshrine her in the living heart of the worshipper. This is best illustrated by the famous river-hymn of the Rig-Veda where the various rivers of the Punjab, those perennial streams of plenty and good to which the country owes so much, which were at once the highways of commerce and culture alike, are deified by a grateful imagination and receive the nation's worship and homage. As the mind of the devotee contemplates in love and reverence those formative, beneficent agencies of nature contributing from time eternal to the making of his country, it naturally traverses the entire area of his native land and grasps an image of the whole as a visible unit and form. Certainly a better and simpler, a more convenient and significant formula could not be invented for the perception of the fatherland as one indivisible unit than the following prayer of the sloka in the aforesaid hymn:—

इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति

* As pointed out by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A., in his suggestive brochure on the *Pedagogy of the Hindus*, this synthetic and complex Indian culture was the result of the Indian system of education which adapted itself to national requirements in all ages, and he argues: "How otherwise can we account for the rise of the numerous Pūranas, Sanhitas, and Tantras adapted to the needs of the people in different ages and provinces? It was because of their mastery over the principles of Psychology and Sociology that the leaders of the community never neglected the superstitions, the mechanical rites and ceremonies, the diverse practices and usages and various religious customs and mythological notions obtaining in the country, but rather promoted the growth and development of a varied eschatology, a varied mythology and a varied religious system according to the varied geographical and historical condition of the people."

यतुद्रि लोमं सचता परुषा ।

असिक्ता मरुदुधे वितसयाजीवी

शृणुह्य सुषोमया ॥

It calls up at once in the mind's eye a picture of the whole of Vedic India and fulfils in a remarkable way the poet's purpose behind it of awakening the people's consciousness to the fundamental unity of its country. Nay, it does more: it elevates and refines patriotism itself into religion. To think of the mother country, to adore her as the visible giver of all good becomes a religious duty; the fatherland is allotted its rightful place in the nation's daily prayers. The river-hymn* of the Rig-Veda therefore presents the first national conception of Indian unity, such as it was. It was necessarily conditioned by the geographical horizon attained in that age which seems to have been confined by the snowy mountains in the North, the Indus and the range of Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south and the valley of the Jumna and Ganges in the East. These limits practically include the whole of Northern India the geographical unity of which was also recognised and suitably expressed in the designation of the entire territory by the common name of Aryāvarta in Vedic literature. Manu defines Aryāvarta as follows:—

आसमुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वोदासमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात् ।

तयोरेवानरं गिर्योराख्यावर्त्तं विदुर्ब्रुवाः ॥

II. 21.

Medhatithi has the following commentary on the above: "पर्वतयोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोरेवदन्तरं मध्यं सः आख्यावर्त्तौ देशे ब्रुवैः शिष्टिरुच्यते ।" *

This explanation is quite in accord with that given by Amarakosa, viz,—

"आख्यावर्त्तः पुण्यभूमिः मध्यं विन्ध्यहिमालयः ।"

So that Aryāvarta corresponds to the

* The epithet *Sapta-sindhu*, the land of seven rivers, is applied to the whole of Vedic India in Rig., VIII, 24, 27, and is thus another expression of its geographical unity.

The *Epic* counterpart of the Vedic description of the Punjab is the following couplet of the Mahabharata, Karna-parva, chapter 44:—

शतद्रुम विपाशा च हतीयैरावती तथा ।

चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुः षष्ठा वह्निगिरिः ॥

territory between the Himalayas and the Vindhya.*

VII.

With the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation of India beyond the limits of the old Aryāvarta so as to embrace the whole of Dakshināpatha or Southern India, the old Vedic formula for the conception of Indian unity was supplemented by other appropriate formulae to give fitting expression to an expanding geographical consciousness. Thus the following Pauranic prayer is but an adaptation of the aforesaid river-hymn of the Rig-Veda to a new environment, to an expanded geographical horizon which embraced the whole of India within its limits:—

गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि खरस्रति !

नर्मदे सिन्धुकावेरि जलेस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥

This holy text for the sacrificial purification of water is daily repeated by millions of devout Hindus all over the continent during their baths and worships and cannot fail to lift them for the time being above the narrow cares, anxieties, and interests of domestic life to a higher, wider plane of thought on which they feel something of the great 'touch of nature which makes the whole world kin' and realise the vital, fundamental unity or kinship which binds them to a common fatherland, as members of the same nation-family. The same ennobling, elevating effect is produced on the national consciousness by the following popular Pauranic couplet† in which the whole of India is represented as the land of seven mountains, those chosen seats of contemplation and peace:—

महेंद्रो मलयः सहायः शुक्तिमातृक्षपर्वतः ।

विन्ध्यश्च पारिपतश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥

Equally efficacious also is the following text in enfranchising the mind from the limitations of a narrow, provincial, parochial outlook and opening it to a

* The *Vasistha Dharma Sutra* [i. 9], in accord with *Manava Dharma Sutra*, also defines Aryāvarta as the region between the Vindhya and the Himalaya and these two ranges also seem to be the boundaries of the Aryan world in the *Kausitaki Upanisad* [ii. 13]. The *Bala-ramayana* of the poet Rajasekhara speaks of the river Narmada as "the dividing line of *Aryavarta* and *Dakshinapatha*."

† It also occurs in the *Mahabharata*, Bhismaparva, ch. 9.

vision of the whole country of which all parts are equally sacred and entitled to homage:—

अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काशी अवन्तिका ।

पुरी हारावती चैव सर्वताः सोमदायिकाः ॥

Here India is represented as the land of seven principal sacred places which it is incumbent on every devotee to visit while they cover between them practically the entire area of their country. It is also to be noted that the four most meritorious pilgrimages in India are placed by Sankarā-chāryya in the four extreme points of the country so that the entire country may be known by the people and the whole area held sacred. The following passage, dear to every Hindu, enumerates the various places of Saiva worship scattered throughout the whole of India:—

सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथश्च, श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनं ।

उज्जयिन्यां तु महाकालं श्रींकारं अमरेश्वरे ॥

केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करम् ।

वाराणस्याञ्च विन्ध्यं ताम्रकं गौतमीतटे ॥

वैद्यनाथं चिताम्बुमी नगेशं हारकावने ।

सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं पुष्पेशञ्च शिवालये ॥

एतानि ज्योतिर्लिङ्गानि सायं प्रातः पठेन्नरः ।

सतजन्मकृतं पापं स्मरणेन विनश्यति ॥

And in the story of Sati, the perfect wife, who can miss the significance of the fifty-two places in which fragments of the smitten body fell? "And one finger fell in Calcutta, and that is still the Kālighāt. And the tongue fell at Kangra (Jwālāmukhi) in the North Panjab and appears to this day as licking tongues of fire, from underneath the ground. And the left-hand fell at Benares which is for ever Annapūrnā, the Giver-of-Bread." All the above passages with their remarkable hold on the heart of the people as texts of their daily prayers give expression to a feeling for the fatherland, an absorbing passion for a place which is hardly surpassed anywhere in the world, while a negative proof of the same emotion shows itself in the fact that all the holy and sacred places of the Indian lie within the limits of India and not one of them in some far off Palestine.

VIII.

This intense passion for fatherland, indeed, utters itself throughout Sanskrit literature.

We select some of these references at random. The Atharva Veda, for instance, sings the praises of the mother country as the land of the brave and the pious, of heroism and enterprise, of commerce and trade, of science and art, of virtue and greatness, of countless medicinal herbs and plants,* the land, girt by the sea and fertilised by the sacred rivers like the Indus, and rich in grain and foodstuffs†; the land where our forefathers lived and worked, where the Asuras‡ succumbed to the might of the Devas§; the land which boasts of the highest mountain and the most beautiful forest,§ the land of sacrificial rites and sacred pleasures, of valour and renown, of patriotism and self-sacrifice, of virtue and kindness.¶ There are passages also in other Sanskrit works which refer to India as the chosen land,¶ a veritable heaven on earth, culminating in the great national utterance

‘जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी’

(‘the mother and the mother-land have precedence over heaven itself.’)

IX.

The same feeling for the fatherland has again spread over the whole continent a net work of shrines and sacred places which

* Av. XII. 2—“नानावीर्या औषधीर्या विभर्ति...”

† Av. XII. 3—“यस्यां समुद्रो जतः सिन्धुरापो यस्यामन्नं कष्टयः सस्वभूतः ।”

‡ Av. XII. 5—“यस्यां पूर्वं पूर्वजना विचक्रिरे यस्यां देवा असुरानभ्यवर्तयन् ।”

§ Av. XII. 11—“गिरयस्ते पर्वता हिमवन्तोऽरण्याः ते पृथिविस्थोनमस्तु ।”

|| Av. XII. 1. 22—“भूयां देवेभ्यो ददति यज्ञं हव्यमरं कृतम् ।”

Av. XII. 1. 41—

“यस्यां गायन्ति वृत्त्यन्ति भूयां मत्तार्त्तयेलवाः ।

युद्धान्ते यस्यामाक्रन्दो यस्यां वदति दृन्दुभिः ॥”

¶ Manu, II. 17—“तं देवनिर्मितदेशं ब्रह्मावर्त्तं प्रचक्षते ।”

Visnu Purana, 23, 24, 26 :—

गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि

धन्यास्तु ते भारतभूमिभागे ।

स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदसार्गभूते

भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥

जानीम नैतत्कवयः विलीने

स्वर्गप्रदे कर्मणि देहवत्सम् ।

प्राप्स्याम धन्याः खलु ते मनुष्याः

ये भारतनेन्द्रिय-विग्रहीनाः ॥

constitutes one of the distinguishing and differentiating features of India. For it goes without saying that the institution of pilgrimage is an expression of love for the motherland, one of the modes of worship of the country which strengthens the religious sentiment and expands the geographical consciousness. Behind sanctity of pilgrimage there lies the admiration of place, of art, even of geographical significance. Benares in the North and Conjeeveram in the South are loved and visited because they are cathedral cities, rich in architecture, in treasure and in the associations of saints and scholars. We also feel that Jagannāth owes its position in no small degree to the sheer beauty of the sea and also perhaps to the cosmopolitanism of the place as the port through which long flowed the eastern trade. Allahabad, the Tirtharaja Prayāga, the prince of holy places, inevitably rose at the confluence of two mighty rivers mingling their waters. The perennial beauty of the Himalayas has captivated the national imagination and has made them the refuge of holy men, drawing streams of pilgrims. Thus the Indian treats the beauty of place in a peculiar way, foreign to the west: his method of appreciating and celebrating it is quite different. A spot of beauty is no place for enjoyment or self-indulgence; it is the place for self-restraint, for meditation which leads the mind from nature up to Nature's God. Had Niagara been situated on the Ganges, how different would have been its valuation by humanity! Instead of occasional picnics and railway pleasure-trips the perennial pilgrimage of worshipping crowds. Instead of parks, *asramas*. Instead of hotels, temples. Instead of ostentatious excess, simple austerity. Instead of the desire to harness its mighty forces to the chariot of human utility, an absorbing subjectivity, a complete detachment from the body and the outward world to feed the life of the spirit.

Thus the institution of pilgrimage is undeniably a most powerful instrument for developing the geographical sense in the people which enables them to think and feel that India is not a mere congeries of geographical fragments but a single, though immense, organism, filled with the tide of

* For a similar sentiment see Sister Nivedita's "The Web of Indian Life," p. 241.

one strong pulsating life from end to end. The visit to holy places as an imperative religious duty has made wide travelling a national habit in India in all ages of life, with young and old alike and travelling in ages preceding the era of steam and mechanical transport could not but promote a deep knowledge of the tracts traversed which is easily escaped by modern globe-trotters. It was this supremely Indian institution in fact which has served in the past in place of the modern railway and facilities for travel to promote popular movements from place to place and intercommunication between parts producing a perception of the whole. It has allowed no parochial, provincial sense to grow up which might interfere with the growth of the idea of the geographical unity of the mighty motherland; has allowed no sense of physical comforts to stand in the way of the sacred duty of intimately knowing one's mother country; and has softened the severities of old world travelling by breaking the pilgrim's route by a holy halting place at short intervals.

It is difficult indeed to count up the innumerable sacred spots which an overflowing religious feeling has created and scattered throughout India. One of the best lists is to be found in the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* where two descriptions are given of the principal holy places, the one by Nārada and the other by Dhaumya. Other such lists are to be found in the various accounts of what are known as the *Pitha-sthānas*. The popularly known number, 52, is given by *Tantra Chudamani*. According to *Devi-Bhāgavata*, the number is 108 [7-30]. The *Kubjikātantra* also enumerates the various *Siddhapithas* throughout India. The *Siva-Charita* distinguishes the *Mahā-pithas* numbering 51 from the minor *Upa-pithas* numbering 26. A reference to these holy places is also contained in the *Kālika-purāṇa* (ch. 18, 50, 61).

X.

Along with this system and net work of Hindu holy places should also be considered the multitude of monuments with which Buddhism and Jainism—ultimately and essentially but phases of Hindu thought—have adorned the land and influenced the geographical consciousness of large numbers of people under their direct sway. "His-

torically, both Buddhism and Jainism—may be regarded as offshoots or sects of Hinduism." Buddhism, in fact, is the name given to Hinduism of the first few centuries of the Christian era, when precipitated in a foreign consciousness. Its special and most noteworthy contribution was a vast imperial organisation, highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectural forms in the east and west of India, passionately eager to unify and elevate the people and to adorn the land. India became a self-contained, self-conscious unit, in full and living communication both by land and sea with China and Japan, Syria and Egypt, sending abroad ambassadors, merchants, and missionaries with messages, commodities and ideas.

What the idea of pilgrimage is to the Hindu mind, the worship of relics is to the Buddhist. The former realised itself in the planting of holy places, the latter in the erection of monuments beautifying the land. The Buddhist veneration of relics led to the construction of multitudes of domed cupolas (*stupas*, *dagobās*) for the safe custody of the relics, surrounded with accessory structures upon which were lavished all the resources of art; while the necessities of monastic life led to the erection of *vihāras* and *chaityas*, monasteries and churches, whether rock-cut or structural. Thus the monuments of Buddhism covering the entire country contributed as much to the popular consciousness of Indian geographical unity as the holy places of Hinduism. The *Pillars (lats)* at Delhi, Tirhut, Sankisa, Sanchi, etc; the *chaitya-caves and viharas* in Bihar, at Nasik, Ajanta, Elura, Karle, Kanheri, Bhaja, Bedsa, Dhamnar, Udaigiri near Cuttack, Bagh, etc; *stupas* of Manikyala, Sarnath, Sanchi and Amaravati; the *gateways and stone railings* at Barahat (Bharhut), Mathura, Gaya, Sanchi and Amaravati; and lastly, the numerous Gandhara monasteries;—all these, considering their widely separated locations, points to the extensive area which was unified by a common artistic impulse, a single religious idea.

XI.

We have now seen how the idea of the essential unity of the Indian world underlying its truly continental vastness and variety has seized the national consciousness and

become one of its natural, integral contents. It is also clear that this particular consciousness could not be a sudden growth but required time for its development. Its evolution must naturally correspond at every stage to the evolution of geographical knowledge in the Indian mind. The perception of India as a single country must wait on an intimate geographical knowledge of the whole of India previously obtained. It is therefore necessary to trace the development of this geographical knowledge and mark out its successive stages.

XII.

It goes without saying that in the Vedic age the geographical horizon embraced only a part of India. The extent and limits of Vedic India may be inferred from the river-hymn and other geographical data in the Rig-Veda. Mention is made therein of some twenty-five streams all but two or three of which belong to the Indus river system. The word *Sapta Sindhavah* is once used to indicate Aryan India, the land of seven rivers which are generally understood to mean five rivers of the Punjab together with the Indus and the Kabul for which the Sarasvati was afterwards substituted. The easterly limit of the Aryan home is indicated by the reference in one or two places to the river Jamunā and Ganges. Thus the widest geographical extent of Vedic India was the country bounded "by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus and the sea in the south, and the valley of the Yamuna and Ganges in the east."* The country beyond the Vindhya range and the Narmadā river, which are not mentioned in the Rig-Veda, was not known to the Vedic Aryans.

Later Vedic literature does not show any knowledge of Southern India. The passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [vii. 18] in which Visvāmitra refers to the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements only demonstrates that the Aryas were at that time acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

*Max Muller in "India: what can it teach us?" pp. 168, 174.

XIII.

The examination of the available evidence shows that the colonisation of southern India did not accomplish itself till the 7th century B. C. Panini who "must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still," mentions many places and rivers which mostly belong to the Panjab and Afghanistan. The most southerly places mentioned by him are Kachetha [IV., 2, 133], Avanti [IV., 1, 176], Kosala [IV., 1, 171], Karusa* [IV., 1, 178] and Kalinga [IV., 1, 178].

The contemporary Pali literature points to the same conclusion. In one of the oldest Pali texts [the Sutta-Nipāta, 976] occurs the expression *Dakkhināpatha* which does not mean the whole of modern Dekkan but only a remote settlement on the upper Godāvāri. The expression does not occur in any one of the four Nikāyas. It occurs again in the later text [Vin. i. 195, 196; 2, 298] but only to mean the same district near the Godāvāri and in conjunction with Avanti. The Nikāyas refer to sea-voyages out of sight of land [See my 'A History of Indian Shipping Part I. ch. III.] and to Kalinga and Dantapura near the coast, while the *Vinaya* to Bharukaccha [3, 38] and the *Udāna* to Supparaka [i. 10]. The approximate geographical extent of the most ancient Buddhism (i. e. about the time of Buddha) is stated *inter alia* in the *Mahā-parinibbana Sutta*, "where are named the following chief towns as the dwelling places of many nobles, Brahmans and Vaiśyas converted to Buddhism, viz. Chāmpā, Rājagaha, Savatthia, Saketa, Kosambi and Magadha, comprising between them the Kingdoms of Kasi-Kosala and Magadha together with the territories now known as Oudh and Bihar. The same geographical extent may be inferred from the distribution of Buddha's relics among eight places

* Eastern portion of Shahabad district in Behar.

† Daksinapatha, lit., 'the path or road of the south; the southern road' was the technical expression for Southern India. The analogous expression for Northern India was Uttarapatha, lit., 'the path or road of the north, the northern road' which was of constant use, e.g., in connection with Harsavardhana of Kanauj who is called 'समरसंज्ञकलीचरपथिश्चरत्री-वृषं बह्वन', the warlike lord of all the region of the North.

as mentioned in the *Mahā parinibbana Sutta* [S. B. E., Vol. XI., pp. 1294], which are: Rājagriha, Vaisālī, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Rāmagrāma, Vethadipa, Pāvā, and Kusi-nārā, besides the shrines erected by Drona the Brahmin and the Moriyas of Pippalivana. The extent of the whole of old Buddhist India may be similarly inferred from passages in some Pali books [e. g., *Anguttara*, I, 213; VI, 252, 256, 260; *Vinaya Texts*, II, 146] which enumerates the sixteen principal political divisions of the country as follows: (1) Anga (2) Magadha (3) Kāśi (4) Kosala (5) Vajji (6) Malla (7) Ceti (8) Vamsā (9) Kuru (10) Panchāla (11) Maccha (12) Surasena (13) Arakā (14) Avānti (15) Gandhāra and (16) Kamboja. Another similar list, indicating a slightly wider geographical extent, is to be found in the *Govinda Sutta*, 36, [Diggha-Nikāya, XIX. 36] where the following seven provinces are distributed by the Brahmin Govinda among King Renu and six other Kshatriya princes, viz.,—(1) Kalinga, with its capital Dantapura (2) Assaka, with its capital Potana (3) Avanti with its capital Māhismati (4) Sauvira with its capital Roruka (5) Videha with its capital Mithila (6) Anga with its capital Champā (7) Kasi with its capital Bārānasi.

The *Lālita-Vistara* [ch. III.] also mentions the existence of sixteen great states in the different countries of "Jambudvīpa" and also names the following places and dynasties in connection with a discussion of their fitness as the birth-place of the Buddha, viz., (1) the Vaideha dynasty *Magadha*; (2) the *Kosala* dynasty; (3) the *Vansaraja* dynasty, of which the Tibetan name is *Vadsa*, with its capital Kausambi; (4) the city state of *Vaisali*; (5) the *Pradyotana* dynasty which ruled in *Ujjayini*; in the Chinese version it is called Mavanti, apparently a corruption of Avanti; (6) the city of *Mathura* where ruled the race of King Kansa; (7) the city of *Hastinapura* of the Pandavas; (8) the city of *Mithila*; (9) the country of the *Sakyas* with its capital Kapila which was finally chosen as the fit birth place for the Buddha. "He surveyed all the Ksatriya royal dynasties in the continent named *Jambu* and found all of them tainted except the Sakya race which was devoid of all defect."

Again, in the tenth chapter of the same work where the Bodhisattva names the 64

kinds of writing there is a reference to the following places and tribes: (1) Anga (2) Vanga (3) Magadha (4) the country of Sakāri (5) Brahmavalli (5) Dravida (7) Dak-sina (8) Ugra (9) Darāda (10) Khasaya (11) China (12) the country of Huna.

All the above references, Sanskrit as well as Pali, show that the geographical horizon of the Indians between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods did not embrace Southern India and Ceylon, the knowledge and colonisation of which belonged to a later period.

XIV.

Southern India first floats into the Indian geographical horizon as early as the fourth century B. C. If the whole of India was unknown to Panini, it was well-known to his commentator Katyayana whom both popular tradition and modern scholarship assign to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas. Katyayana's reference to the derivatives Pandyas, Cholas and Mahismat, supplements in reality, both the grammar and geography of Panini.

There is also Greek evidence to show that the Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of India in the time of Alexander's invasion. According to Strabo [Geographia, ii., 1, 6] Alexander "caused the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it." This account was afterwards lent to Patrokles, the satrap under Seleukus Nikator and Antiochus Soter, and was accepted as true by Eratosthenes and Strabo who on the basis of that account have given certain distances and dimensions about India which approximate to their modern measurements.

We also know from history how wide and deep was the geographical knowledge of the whole of India under the Maurya Emperor. Thus the Artha Sāstra of Kautilya, which is generally attributed to Chānakya, the minister of Chandra Gupta, shows a good knowledge of the economic products of the various parts of India including the South. The trade-routes of India are divided broadly into two classes:*

* "हैमवतो दक्षिणापथाच्छेयान् हस्ताश्वगन्धदन्ताजिनरूपसुवर्ण-पण्याश्चारवत्तरा" इत्याचार्याः ।

नेति कौटिल्यः—काम्बलाजिनाश्चपणवर्जाः शङ्खवज्रमणि-सुताम्बु वर्षपण्याश्चप्रभूततराः दक्षिणापथे ।

दक्षिणापथेऽपि बहुखनिः... Book VII., ch. 12.

(1) the Northern, *i.e.*, those leading to the Himalayas and called Himavatah; (2) the Southern called Dakshināpathah. Of these, the former are noted for their access to such commodities as elephants, horses, perfumes, skins, silver and gold, while the latter convey such valuable things as conch-shells, diamond, precious stones, pearls and gold, of which the Tamil land is the famous and fertile source. Commercially, the latter are therefore held to be more important than the former. Southern India is also recognised to be abounding in mines. Some of the rivers of Southern India and of Ceylon are mentioned as sources of pearls, *e.g.*, Tāmraparnika, Kula, Chūrna; and also some mountains, *e.g.*, Pāndyavātaka, Mahendra. In the extreme north, some Himalayan villages are mentioned as the source of skins, *e.g.*, Visi, Mahāvisi, Aroha, Bahlava and also Nepal as sources of blankets. Kāmbhoja (Afghanistan, the Kaoju of Hiuen Tsang), Sindhu (Sindh), and Aratta (Panjab as lit. land of the Kingless) are also mentioned sources of the supply of horses. Among eastern countries are mentioned Vanga, Paundra, Suvarna-Kudyaka (probably Kamarupā, as suggested by the commentator), Magadha, Kāśi, and Kalinga, which were noted even in those early days for their cotton and silk fabrics. Anga, Kārusa, Prāchya and Kalinga are also mentioned as sources of the supply of elephants. Mālura in the south, Aparanta on the west, Māhisa in the Deccan are also mentioned for their cotton fabrics. Surāstra is also mentioned for its supply of elephants and Sauvira for horses. Lastly, some countries outside India are also mentioned with which she had trade across the seas (Pārasamudraka), *e.g.*, Svārnabhūmi noted for its perfumes, China for its silks (Chinapatīh), and Arabia (Vānāyu) for its horses.*

The Edicts of Asoka also supply convincing evidence that the whole of India was known in those days. The southern independent kingdoms such as the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra, and Keralaputra, are mentioned together with the Andhras, and Pulindas. There are also mentioned the border nations on the north-west, west and the Deccan such as the Yonās, Kambojas, Gandharas, Rashtrikas, Pitenikas (probably connected with Paithan), Nabhatas. The

conversion of Ceylon by Mahendra may also be taken to be a historical fact, supported as it is by both northern and southern tradition.

Thus by the time of the Maurya Empire the knowledge of all parts of India was a common possession, a content of the popular geographical consciousness. And we accordingly find the contemporary and subsequent literature replete with geographical details.

XV.

✓ Patanjali (150 B.C.) shows considerable advance upon Kātyāyana and has intimate knowledge of the south. Besides mentioning Māhismati [Mahābhāṣya on Pān. III, 1, 26], Vaidārba [iv. 1], Kanchipura [iv. 2] and Kerala or Malabar [iv. 1] he notices some lingual usages in the south. [I. 1, 19].

It is difficult to ascertain the precise chronological value of the great epics Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata as we have them now. Popular Hindu belief assigns to the Rāmāyana* an earlier date and is supported by the fact that it shows a much less knowledge of Southern India than the Mahābhārata. Among the places lying to the South are mentioned Utkala, Kalinga, Dasārṇa [Bhilsa], Avanti and Vidarbha, which do not carry us very far beyond the line of the Vindhya. Between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pāndyas and Keralas the Ramayana mentions no other place but Dandakāranya. This state of geographical knowledge carries us back to the days of later Vedic literature before the 7th century B.C.

✓ That a Mahābhārata existed before Pānini is proved by his allusions to Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Yudhisthira. The geographical horizon of the Epic as we have it now is indicated in the passage, among others, where Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāndyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas and Andhras [Sabhā p. Ch. 31]. It is also indicated in the passage [Bhismaparva, Ch. 9] which enumerates the seven principal mountains of India and also by the list of some 200 rivers given in the tenth chapter of Bhismaparva where are mentioned the southerly rivers, Mahānadi, Godāvari, Kṛṣṇā and Kāveri, Narmadā,

* The Arthasastra refers to the story of the Ramayana and Mahabharata thus: "मानात् रावणः परदारान्प्रयच्छन् दुर्योधनो राज्यादंशं च ।" [Mysore. Ed. p. 11.]

* See Arthasastra, pp. 50, 75—81, Mysore Ed.

Krisnaveni, Vena, Tunga Vena. The Bhismaparva, Chapter IX., mentions 157 peoples belonging to Northern India and 50 peoples belonging to the south of the Narmadā. The Vanaparva, as has been already stated, affords interesting geographical data in the lists of holy places it gives. The holy places in the south mentioned are the Godavari, Vena, Payosni, the Agastya tirtha and the Varuna tirtha, the Tamraparni and Gokarna tirtha, the Kaveri and the Kanyā tirtha (probably Kanyā Kumāri, Cape Comorin). The itinerary of the Pāndavas is also similarly interesting. It refers to such places as the Vaitarani in Kalinga, the Mahendra mountain where lived Parasurāma, and the Pandya country whence they reached Surparaka.

Besides this intimate knowledge of the parts the Mahābhārata attempts a conception of the whole of India as a geographical unit in the famous passage in the Bhismaparva where the shape of India is described as an equilateral triangle, divided into four smaller equal triangles, the apex of which is Cape Comorin and the base formed by the line of the Himalaya mountains. As remarked by Cunningham [*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 5], "the shape corresponds very well with the general form of the country, if we extend the limits of India to Ghazni on the north-west and fix the other two points of the triangle at Cape Comorin and Sadiya in Assam."

XVI.

The geographical knowledge of the Mahābhārata is followed up by all the Purānas, which are well-known for their detailed information regarding the places and peoples of India. They also present the conceptions of India as a geographical unit in their description of the country as made up of nine divisions, *viz.*, Indra, Kaserumat, Tamraparna, Gabhastimat, Kumarika, Naga, Saumya, Varuna, Gāndharvā, which agree with those of the famous astronomer Bhāskarāchāryya [*Siddhānta Siromani*, ch. iii, 41].

Varāha-mihira [*Vrihat-Samhitā*, ch. xiv] however gives a different list of the Nine Divisions which deserves a more than passing notice for the wealth of topographical details it presents. It may be given as follows:—

I. Central Division: Tribes—Kurus, Panchalas, Pandus, Surasenas, Vatsas, &c.; towns—Mathura, Sākēta; rivers—Yamuna and Sarasvati.

II. Eastern Division: Tribes—Ambasthas, Kausalakas, Paundras, Pragjyotisas, Tāmraliptikas, and Utkalas; Countries—Kosala, Mithila, Kasi, Magadha, Pundra, Tamalapti, Samatata, Udra, &c.

III. South-eastern Division: Tribes—Chedikas, Dasārnas, Nishādas, &c.; Countries—Anga (Chedi), Upavanga, Vanga, Kalinga, Andhra, Vidarbha, &c.; mountains—the Vindhyās.

IV. South Division: Tribes—Abhiras, Avantakas, Cheryas, Kairalakas, &c., mariners (वारिचर), &c.; Countries—Avanti's berylmines (Vaidūrya), Bhārukachchha, Chitrakuta, places for obtaining conch-shells, Kanchi, Lanka, southern ocean, places for obtaining pearls, Sinhala, Talikata, Vellura, Chera, Chola, Kachchha, Karnāta, Kerala, Konkana, &c.; forests—Dandakavana; mountains—Dardura, Kusuma, Mahendra, Malaya, Malindya, Risyamuka, Sūrpa, &c.; rivers—Kaveri, Krisnā, Tāmraparni and Venā.

V. South-west Division: Tribes—Abhiras, Aravas, Barbaras, Kiratas, Mākaras, Pahlavas, Sindhu, Sauviras, Sudras, Yavanas, &c.; countries—Mahārnavā, Anarta, Drāvida, Kamboja, Pārasava, Surāstra, etc.

VI. Western Division: Tribes—Aparantakas, Haihayas, Mlechchhas, Sakas, Vaisyas, &c.

VII. North-west Division: includes Hārahauras, Stri-rājya, and the river Venumati.

VIII. Northern Division: Tribes—Hunas, Kaikayas, Udichyas, &c.; towns—Puskalāvati, Taksaśila; countries—Gandhāra, Uttarakurū; mountains—Dhanusmat, Himavat, Kailāsa, &c.; river—Yamuna.

IX. North-east Division: includes Kāsmira.

XVII.

We may conclude the above account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge by a reference to the geography of Kalidāsa. In the conquests of Raghu are mentioned (in the east), the Suhmas, the Vangas, the river Kapisa, the Utkalas, the Kalingas with the mountain Mahendra; in the south, the river Kaveri and, beyond it, the Pandyas with their pearls produced at the mouth of the Tāmraparni, the moun-

tains Malaya and Dardura and, crossing them, the Keralas; on the west, crossing the Murala river, Aparanta between the Sahya range and the sea, the Pārasikas; in the north, the Yavanas, the Hūnas, the Kambojas, the Kirātas and other hilly tribes near the Kailāsa mountain; Prāgjyotisa in the extreme east. In the Mēghdūta the places mentioned on the route of the cloud messenger from Rāmāgiri to Alakā are the following: Sātpura hills, Mālava, the Revā (Narmadā), Vindhya range, Dasārṇa, capital Vidisa, Ujjaini on the Sīprā, river Gandhavati, Gambhira, Devagiri, Charmanvati, Dasapura, Kurukshetra, the Sarasvati, the Kānkhal hill near the Ganges, the source of the Ganges, Mount Kailāsa, Mānasa lake and Alakā.

XVIII.

We have now seen how the Indians in ancient times before the era of steam and mechanical locomotion possessed a thorough knowledge of the different parts, tribes and races of India welded together into a whole which was so essential to their realisation of the idea of the geographical unity of their vast country. We have also seen that it was not a mere intellectual conception or an abstract idea but a vivid realisation through the heart; not the happy hit of a momentary inspiration but the settled habit of national thought induced by religious, texts and daily prayers.

But along with the influence of religion as explained above, there was also the influence of *politics* in producing this popular consciousness of Indian geographical unity. History records the names of some Indian rulers who succeeded in realising their ambition of establishing a suzerainty over the whole of India which was accordingly thought of and used as a unit, as the common field of national activity. Such a ruler in mediaeval times was Akbar the Great whose throne at Delhi was the centre of the political system of the day, the rallying point of diverse races and creeds, while the unity of a centralised government helped men to realise that the whole area controlled by it was physically a single territory. Such a ruler in older days was Harsavardhana who reigned from 606 to 648 A. D. over an empire that embraced the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himalayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa,

Gujrat and Surastra and won for itself recognition as a paramount power in the land. Such a ruler too in yet-older days was Samudra Gupta in the fourth century A. D. who carried his victorious arms from the Ganges to the border of the Tamil country and thus achieved the political unification of a large part of India with an alliance extending from the Oxus to Ceylon. Such a ruler again in the past before the Christian era was Asoka the Great, one of the most illustrious in the illustrious roll of Indian Emperors, whose empire extended over the entire territory stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore and became a self-conscious political power with active international relations. And such a ruler finally was Chandragupta, the first historical paramount Sovereign of India under whom also India realised herself as a political unit as she was already by nature a geographical unit.

XIX.

Nor was Chandragupta the first to introduce to Indian politics this conception of a single power dominating the whole country, for the idea was certainly much older than Chandragupta and was handed down from remote antiquity. The conception of a Chakravarti Raja or suzerain receiving the tribute and allegiance of subordinate kings has been one of the most familiar political notions of the ancient Hindus. Vedic literature furnishes a crop of terms for a paramount sovereign. These are:—

(1) *Adhiraj*, which occurs fairly often throughout the early literature to denote overlord among kings or princes. Thus it is found in the *Rig-Veda*, X. 128,9; *Atharvaveda* Vol. 98,1 and IX. 10,24; *Taittiriya Sanhita*, ii. 4,14,2; *Maitrāyani Sanhita*, IV. 12,3; *Kathaka Sanhita*, VIII. 17; *Taittiriya Brahmana*, III. 1,2,9 (*adhirajan*); *Satapatha Brahmana*, V. 4,2,2; *Nirukta* VIII. 2.

(2) *Rajadhiraja*, King of Kings, which is found in the later *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, I. 31,6.

(3) *Samraj* which is used to mean superior ruler, sovereign, expressing a greater degree of power than King; it occurs in the *Rig-Veda*, iii. 55,7; 56,5; iv. 21,1; VI. 27,8; VIII. 19,32; also in the *Vajasaneyi Sanhita*, V. 32; XIII. 35; XX, 5, etc.; also in the *Satapatha Brahmana*

V. 1,1,13 [Ch. XII. 8,3,4; XIV. 1,3,8] where the *Samraj* is asserted to have a higher authority and rank than a King and to have become one by the sacrifice of the *Vajapeya*. The epithet is also applied to Janaka of Videha in *Satapatha Brahmana*, XI. 3,2,1,6; 2,2,3; and in *Brihadaranyaka Upanisad*, IV. 1, 1; 3,1. It is applied in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII. 14,2,3, as the title of the eastern Kings, the Kings of the Prachyas (suggestive of Magadhan imperialism). The title for the Southerners, the Kings of the people called *Sattvats*, is *Bhoja*; that for the western Kings, the Kings of the peoples called *Nichyas* and *Apachyas* is *Svarat*; that for the Kings of the north beyond the Himalayas *viz.*, the countries Uttara Kuru is *Virat*; and that for the Kings of the middle country *viz.*, of the Kuru-Panchalas and Usinaras is simply *Raja*.*

(4) *Ekaraja*: meaning 'sole ruler', 'monarch'. It is used metaphorically in the *Rig-veda*† viii. 37, 3, but in the literal sense in the *Aitareya Brahmana*‡ viii. 15 as well as in the *Atharvaveda*§ iii. 1,4,1.

XX.

According to *Sukraniti*, [1. 183-187, ed. Oppert] the generic term *Nripati* (नृपति) embraces the following classes of kings arranged in an ascending scale of income and

* "साम्राज्याय तस्मादितस्यां प्राच्या दिशि ये के च प्राच्यानां राजानः साम्राज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादितस्यां दक्षिणस्यां दिशि ये के च सत्वतां राजानो भौज्यायैव ते अभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादितस्यां प्रतीच्यां दिशि ये के च नीच्यानां राजानो येऽपाच्यानां स्वाराज्यायैव ते अभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादितस्यामुदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन् जनपदा उत्तर-कुरुव उत्तरमद्रा इति वैराज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिच्यन्ते ।

तस्मादस्यां भ्रुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठयां दिशि ये के च कुरु-पञ्चालानां राजानः सर्वशीशीनराणां राजायायैव तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते राजी-त्येनानभिषिक्तानाचक्षते ॥"

† "एकराजस्य भुवनस्य राजसि शचीपत इन्द्र विश्वामिहृतिभिः ।"

‡ "...पृथिव्ये समुद्र पथ्येनाया एकराडिति ।"

§ "आ त्वागन् राष्ट्रं सह वर्चसीदिहि ऽङ्क विशां पतिरेकराट्-त्वं विराज" which is thus paraphrased by *Sayana*: हे राजन् त्वां राष्ट्रं शशुभिराक्रान्तं स्वकीयं राज्यं पुनरागन् तत्तत्त्वं वर्चसा वल्लेन सह उदिहि उदितः प्रख्यातो भव । अनन्तरं प्राक् पूर्व विशां प्रजानां सर्वासां पतिः पालकः सन् एकराट् निःसपत्नी सुख्यो राजा भूत्वा त्वं विराज विशिषेण दीप्यस् ॥

power, *viz.*, *Sāmanta* (सामन्त), *Māṇḍalika* (माण्डलिक), *Rājā* (राजा), *Māhārāja* (महाराजा), *Samrāt* (सम्राट्), *Virāt* (विराट्) and *Sārva-bhauma* (सर्वभौम).

Along with these terms for the suzerain there were also corresponding terms to indicate paramount power, sovereignty or overlordship. Thus the term *Rajya* is the general word denoting 'sovereign power'. It occurs in *Atharvaveda*, iii. 4,2; iv. 8, 1; xi. 6,15; xii. 3,31; xviii. 4,31; it also occurs in *Taittiriya Sanhita*, ii. 1,3,4; 6,6,5; vii. 5,8,3 etc; in *Aitareya Brahmana*, vii. 23, etc; and *Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana* i. 4.5. In some places the word *Svarajya** 'uncontrolled dominion' is opposed to *Rājya*: e.g., *Kathaka Sanhita*, xiv. 5; *Maitrayani Sanhita*, i. 11,5 [cf. *Taittiriya Brahmana*, i. 3,2,2]. The *Aitareya Brahmana* [viii. 12,4,5, etc.] gives a whole series of terms to indicate various shades and degrees of sovereignty, *viz.*:—*Rajya*, *Samrajya*, *Bhajya*, *Svarajya*, *Vairajya*, *Paramasthya*, *Maharajya*, *Adhipatyā*, *Svavasya*. The term *Adhipatyā* also occurs in *Panchavinsa Brahmana* xv. 3,35; and in *Chandogya Upanisad*, v. 2, 6.†

XXI.

Next there were the well-known ceremonies‡ in connection with the coronations of emperors. These were generally the *Vājapeya* and the *Rājasūya*, the accounts

* Might it not refer to republics or free states such for instance as those of the Licchavis, the Sakyas, the Mallas of Kusinara which were themselves also called by the name of *Rajya* (राज्य) with their Presidents called *Raja* (राजा)? Thus according to the *Arthashastra* [xi. 1,160-161] the title *Raja* applies to the heads of the commonwealths of Licchhivika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Panchala etc. ("लिच्छिविक-हजिक-मल्लक-मद्रक-कुकर-कुरु-पाञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः ।")

What lends colour to the supposition is the reference in the *Aitareya Brahmana* to the kings of the western peoples who were called *Svarat* as distinguished from the eastern King known as the *Samrat*. For the free states and clans of ancient India see Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, pp 174.

† Among other terms preserved in Sanskrit literature to indicate paramount sovereignty are:—*Sarva-bhauma* (सर्वभौम), *Rajaraja* (राजराज), *Visvarat* (विश्वराट्), *Rajarsabha* (राजर्षभ), *Chakravarti* (चक्रवर्ती) etc.

‡ An interesting and informing article on "Rituals at Hindu Coronation: its constitutional aspects" by Kashiprasad Jayaswal B.A., (Oxon), Bar-at-law, appeared in the *Modern Review* for January, 1912.

of which as preserved in Vedic literature demonstrate how firmly the conception of an Ekarāt (one-state) India seized the popular mind. According to the Satapatha Brahman [v. 1,1,13] and also Katyāyana Śrauta Sūtra [xv. 1,1,2] the Vājapeya is the superior sacrifice because it bestows on the sacrificer paramount sovereignty (Sāmrajya) while the Rājasūya merely confers royal dignity (Rājya). In the words of the above mentioned verse of the Satapatha Brahmana: "By offering the Rājasūya he becomes king and by the Vājapeya (he becomes) emperor (Samrāj); and the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; a king might indeed wish to become emperor, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor, the higher; but the emperors would not wish to become king, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher."* According however to other authorities the Vājapeya is the preliminary ceremony performed by a king who is elected paramount sovereign by a number of petty rājās; this sacrifice being followed in due course by the installation and consecration ceremony, the Rājasūya. Thus as laid down in Asvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra [IX. 9,19], 'after performing the Vājapeya a king may perform the Rājasūya.' With this rule would seem to accord the relative value assigned to the two ceremonies in the Taittiriya Sanhitā [v. 6,2,1] and the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa [II. 7,6,1], according to which the Vājapeya is a Samrātsavā or consecration to the dignity of a paramount sovereign, while the Rājasūya is called a 'Varunasavā', i.e., according to Sāyana, a consecration to the universal sway wielded by Varuna (cf. Sāṅkhyayana Śrauta Sūtra, XV.13,4—'for it is Varuna whom they consecrate'). In much the same sense also we have doubtless to understand the rule in which Latyāyana defines the object of the Vājapeya [VIII.11,1], viz. 'Whomsoever the Brahmins and kings (or nobles) may place at their head, let him perform the Vājapeya.'† Among the rites peculiar to the Vājapeya, the

most interesting is the chariot-race in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm and from which the sacrifice derives its name. This might be a relic of some old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot-race the next interesting item is the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer (the king-elect), and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother Earth, followed by the seating on the throne, the symbol of sovereignty, "for he gains a seat above others" [Satapatha Brāhmaṇa V. 2,1,24]. The ascent to the throne as a symbol of kingship is also mentioned in the Atharva-Veda [III.1,4,2] where the throne is most felicitously described as the highest point in the body-politic ("rāstrasya kakudi Srayasva"). The sacrificer is then duly proclaimed King: * "All ruler is he, N. N. All ruler is he N. N." [Satapatha Brahmana, V.2,2,15]. And also in the following words: † There is this state, thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—to thee the state is given for agriculture, for well-being, for wealth, for frugality, i.e. for the welfare of the people, the common weal." [Ibid. V.2,1,25].

XXII.

The Rājasūya, or inauguration of a king, was a more complex ceremony which consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of upwards of two years. It is referred to in the Atharvaveda [IV.8,1; XI.7,7] and later literature such as Taittiriya Sanhitā [V.6,2,1;] Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, [V.1,1,12] etc. The rite is described at great length in the Sūtras but its main features are clearly outlined in the Brāhmaṇas especially in the Satapatha, and also in Maitrayani Sanhitā [IV.3,1 etc], Taittiriya Sanhitā i.8,1,1 etc; while the verses used in the ceremony are preserved in the Sanhitās of the Yajurveda, e.g., Taittiriya Sanhitā

* "समाडयमसौ समाडयमसाविति निवेदितमेवैनमेतत् सन्म ।"

† "इयं ते राजिति राज्यमेवास्मिन्नेतद् दद्यात्ययैनमासादयति यन्तासि यमन इति यन्तारमिधनमेतद् यमन मासां प्रजानां करोति प्रुवोऽसि धरुण इति प्रुवमेवैनमेतद् धरुणमस्मिं ङ्गीकी करोति कृष्यं त्वा चेमाय त्वा रथ्यं त्वा पोषाय त्वेति साधवे त्वेत्वेवेतदाह ।"

* "राजा वै राजसूयेनेष्टा भवति । समाट राजपेयेनावरं हि राजा परं समाजायं कामयेत वै राजा समाड् भवितुमवरं हि राजा परं समाजाम् ।"

† "यं ब्राह्मणा राजानश्च पुरुषवर्गं स राजपेयेन यजति ।"

[i.8], Kāthaka Sanhitā [XV], Maitrāyani Sanhitā [ii.6] and Vajasaneyi Sanhitā [X].

One of the most interesting features of the Rāja-Suya is the ceremony of the Ratnahavinsī or jewel offerings. The recipients of these offerings, the *ratninah*, were all the essential officers of the state representing its principal departments: they are, metaphorically the "jewels" in the crown of sovereignty. They are mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana [V.3.1.3 etc] in the following order: (1) Commander-in-chief (*senani*) (2) the King's court chaplain (*पुरोहित*) (3) the Queen (*महिषी*) (4) the court-minstrel and chronicler (*सुत*) (5) the head of the village community (*ग्रामणी*) (6) the chamberlain (*चद*) (7) the head of the treasury (*संयुह*) which is explained by Sāyana as (*धनसंयुहकर्ता कोशायुक्*) (8) the collector of taxes and revenue (*भागदुघ*) (9) the superintendent of dicing (*अचावापा*) (10) the superintendent of games and forests (*गो-निकर्तन* who according to Sāyana was the constant companion of the king in the chase) and (11) the courier (*पालागल*). There is another list given in the Taittiriya Sanhitā [i.8.9.1, etc] and Brahmana [i.7.2.1 etc] which omits Go-nikartana and the courier and includes Rajanya. Likewise the Maitrayani Sanhitā [ii.6.5; iv.3.8] mentions Rājan, Vaisya-grāmani and Taksa-ratha Karan* i.e., the carpenter and chariot-maker (probably the representatives of industry). The Kāthaka Sanhitā [xvi.4] also fixes the same list but substituted Go-vyacha and omits Taksa-rathakaran.

These lists were a development out of the simpler list given in the Atharva Veda [iii. 5, 7] of the Rāja-kartris or Rāja-Krits who not themselves Kings, aided in the consecration of the King. These were the Suta, charioteer, the grāmani, the village chief, and the people.† The word Rāja-

* The Ratha-Kara, chariot-maker, is mentioned in the Atharvaveda [iii. 5.6] as one of those who are to be subjects to the King and seems to be regarded generally as a representative of the industrial population. He is also referred to in the Yajurveda Sanhitas [e.g. Kathak, xvii 13; Maitrayani, ii, 9.5; Vajasaneyi, xvi. 17, xxx, 6] and in the Brahmanas [e.g. Taittiriya, i. 1.4.8; iii, 4.2.1; Satapatha xiii. 4.2.17] and in all these passages he seems to be of a formed caste.

† Cf. Atharvaveda [iii 1.4, 2]:—

“त्वां विशो हवतां राज्याय”=the people elect you to rulership. In Taittiriya Sanhitā [ii. 3.1.3] the Vis clearly means the people or subject class.

Karta in the Aitareya Brahmana [viii. 17.5] is explained by the commentator to mean the King's father, brother, &c. It is however apparent from these lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function. The relation of jewels to the sovereign's crown must also be implied, to be the relation subsisting between the King on the one hand and the state functionaries, and other popular representatives on the other. Each is necessary for the other.

The next interesting feature in the Rāja-Suya was the Abhisechaniyam, the consecration ceremony. It begins with the offerings to the Divine Quickness, viz., Savita Satyaprasava for righteous energy, Agni Grihapati for householders' prosperity, Soma Vanaspati for growth of trees (flora or agriculture), Brihaspati Vak for power of speech, Indra for lordship, governing capacity, Rudra for cattle, Mitra for truth and Varuna Dharmapati for protection of the law, since “that truly is the supreme state when one is lord of the law.” Then follow the preparation of the consecration water, made up of no less than 17 kinds (including the waters of dew, pond and sea); the sprinkling by a Brahman, a Kinsman of the King elect, a Kshatriya nobleman (*rajanya*) and a Vaisya; the investing of the King with the consecration garments and with bow and arrows, three in number, as emblem of sovereignty, so as “to make all the quarters safe from arrows for him”; the announcements of the Kingship to all classes of people, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, priesthood and nobility, and even animate and inanimate nature; the ascending of the quarters, East, South, West, North and upper region so that “he is high above everything here and everything here is below him;” the anointing with the following significant formula*:—“Quicken him, O gods, to be unrivalled for great chiefdom, for great lordship, for the government of the people whose King he is—

* असंपन्नं सुवहमितोमं देवा अभाहयं सुवहमित्वेवैतदाह महते चत्राय महते ज्यैष्ठ्यायेति नाव तिराहितमेवाति महते जान-राज्यायेति महते जनानां राज्यायेत्येवैतदाहैन्द्र्येन्द्रियायेति वीर्यायेत्येवैतदाह यदा हिन्द्र्येन्द्रियायेति।”

[Satapatha v. 4.2.3].

this man, O ye (Bharatāh in the Taittiriya Sanhita) is your King...!"

XXIII.

Besides the Vajapeya and the Rajasuya, we find two other forms of the inauguration of great Kings described in the Aitareya Brahmana. They are called Punāravisekha and Aindra-mahabhiseka. The object of these special consecrations is thus described:—The priest who wishes that his Kshatriya King-elect should achieve all kinds of conquest, should know (by governing) all peoples, should attain to a position of leadership, precedence and superiority among kings; should secure sovereignty, a dominion of righteousness, absolute independence, highest distinction as a ruler, fulfilment of highest desires, the widest empire, and highest authority, that he might be a Universal overlord, with his powers reaching everywhere up to the limits of the sea, the sole master of his vast dominion—such a priest should inaugurate the Kshatriya with Indra's great inauguration ceremony, demanding from him a promise on oath that he will lose everything, even the accumulated fruits of his good deeds, all he has, even his life, if he attempts violation of right and truth*.

XXIV.

The elaboration of the rituals connected with these imperial inaugurations† which it is unnecessary to follow in greater detail for our present purpose indicates without doubt the nature of the political environment in which it was developed, the height of the ideal which kingship in India strove to realise in practice. The geography of

* अहं सर्वेषां राजां श्रेष्ठमतिष्ठं परमतां गच्छयिं साम्राज्यं भोज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं राज्यं साहाराज्यं आधिपत्यमहं समन्तं पथ्यायैस्त्वां सार्वभौमः सार्वभूष आन्तादापराह्णं प्रथिव्यै समुद्र-पथ्यानाया एकराडिति ।"

†Along with the ceremonies of the Vajapeya, Rajasuya, and Asvamedha should also be noticed the institution of Digvijaya which was inseparable from the conception of a paramount sovereign in the popular Hindu mind. Sanskrit literature, epic, pauranic or classical, is full of references to this institution and the more prominent examples of Digvijaya are those of Satrugna, Arjuna (see Jaimini Bharata), Raghu (see Raghuvansa), Pushyamitra (see Malavikagnimitra), Samudra Gupta, Harsavardhana, Gautamiputra Sataparni, Pulakesi II, Lalitaditya of Kashmir (see Raja-Tarangini), &c.

India has indeed partially influenced her history, her vast expanse had practically no limits in the eyes of the early settlers and colonisers : she was a world unto herself. An infinite stretch of territory produced a psychology, a philosophy that was easily dominated by a sense of the Infinite and eternal. The Hindu Rishi would recognise no limits to the development of his finite self. The Hindu King would also set no bounds to his political ambition. It was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which was reduced by the actualities of the objective environment into the sovereignty of the whole of India "up to the limits of the ocean." The highest class in the hierarchy of Hindu kings was made up of those who were Asamudrakshitisa: ("असमुद्रक्षितिषः"). As the Aitareya Brāhmana puts it: "Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries, it should be territorially all-embracing, up to the very ends uninterrupted and should constitute and establish one state and administration in the land up to the seas." [VIII. 4, i.] Thus it was again his religion which put before the Hindu King the ideal of making the area of authority co-extensive with that of territory. The territorial synthesis leads the way to the political synthesis and is in turn emphasised by it.

XXV.

Side by side with these ideals and conceptions of an all-India overlordship, the books also preserve for us traditional lists of Kings who are said to have succeeded in realising them in life—giving another proof that at least the conception of India both as a political and geographical unit was not foreign to Hindu consciousness. Such a list is to be found in the Aitareya Brāhmana [viii. 14, 4; 19, 2] and mentions the following great Kings each of whom achieved the singular distinction of 'subjugating the whole country up to its farthest limits in every direction':—

(1) Janamejaya Pārikshita with his priest Tura Kavaseya.

(2) Sāryāta Mānava with his priest Chyavana Bhārgava.

(3) Satānika Sātrājita with his priest Somāsusmā Vājaratnāyana.

(4) Ambāsthya with his priests Parvata and Nārada.

(5) Yudhānsrausti with the priests Parvata and Nārada.

(6) Visvakarmā Bhauvana with his priest Kasyapa.

(7) Sudās Paijavana with his priest Vasistha.

(8) Marutta Aviksita with his priest Sanvarta.

(9) Ariga Vairochana with his priest Udamaya Atreya. He is said to have made to his priests gifts of innumerable cows, 80,000 white horses, 10,000 elephants, etc.

(10) Bharata Dausmanti with his priest Dirghatamā Māmateya. He is also said to have given away (i) innumerable elephants of black colour with white tusks and golden trappings in the country of Masnāra; (ii) innumerable cows to 1000 Brahmins of the country named Sāchiguna. He is also said to have kept 78 horses in a place on the Yamunā, and 55 in the place named Vritraghna on the Ganges for purposes of his horse-sacrifices, and thus subdued the enemy's power. As the heavens are inaccessible to human hands, so was the height of Bharata's achievements to all classes of men—viz., the Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Nisādas (Sāyana). It was this Bharata after whom Bhāratavarsa was named as mentioned above.

(11) Durmukha Pāṇchāla with his priest Brihaduktha.

(12) Atyarāti Jānantapi with his priest Vāsistha Sātyahavya. This king was afterwards deprived of his power for his breach of faith with his priest and was killed by his enemy Saivya Susmina. The land of Uttarakuru is also referred to as unconquerable in the story.

Besides the list of great kings in the Aitareya Brāhmana there is another list to be found in the Śatapatha Brāhmana [xiii. 5, 4] of kings who performed the horse-sacrifice and were therefore recognised as paramount sovereigns. For the Asvamedha, as is well known, involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation. The ruling of the Apastamba Srauta Sutra [XX. 1, 1] on the point may be quoted: 'A king governing the whole land [Sarvabhauma सार्वभौम] may perform the Asva-

medhā.* The list of these Asvamedhins is given as follows:—

1. Janamejaya Pāriksita with his Risi Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka.

2. Bhimasena

3. Ugrasena

4. Śrutasena

the Pāriksitas

5. Para Atnāra, the Kausalya king.

6. Purukutsa, the Aikṣāka king.

7. Marutta Aviksita, the Ayogava king.

8. Kraivya, the Pāṇchāla king ("the Pāṇchāla overlord of the Kriyis").

9. Dhvasan Dvaitavana, the king of the Matsyas.

10. Bharata Dausanti ("who attained that wide sway which now belongs to the Bharatas"). He is said to have bound 78 steeds on the Yamunā and 55 near the Gangā and conquered the whole earth. (cf. Aitareya Br. above).

11. Risava Yājñatura.

* "राजा सार्वभौमोऽश्वमेधेन यजेत।"

The Asvamedha sacrifice was performed in the following manner:—"A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative, followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished Rajas in his train; but, if he failed he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return, a great festival was held at which the horse was sacrificed, [Dowson, *Classical Dict.*] In the Asvamedha of Yudhisthira the horse is guarded in its year's roaming by Arjuna who first presses eastwards towards the sea, then turning southwards along the eastern shore as far as the extreme point of the peninsula, turns northwards on the homeward way, passing along the western coast.

The historical list of Asvamedhins includes the following names: (1) Pushyamitra [See Malavikagnimitra Act V.]; (2) Samudragupta [see Udavagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II., 4. 5; Bilsad Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta, 4. 2; &c.]; (3) Kumaragupta I. and (4) Adityasena [See V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 295]. On some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta, there occurs the legend asvamedha-parakramah (अश्वमेध-पराक्रम), "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice." [See J. A. S. B. Volume LIII., Part I. p. 1754, and Pl. ii, No. 9; and Arch. Sur. West. Ind., Vol. II., p. 37f., and Pl. vii, No. 14]. Pulakesi I., the Chalukyan King, is also said to have performed a great Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice. [See Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 37].

12. Sātrāsāha. the Pāṇchāla king.

13. Śatānika Sātrājita.

The Śāṅkhayana Sūtra [XVI. 9] also preserves a similar list of Asvamedhins which includes the following kings :

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| 1. Janamejaya | } Pārikṣitas |
| 2. Ugrasena | |
| 3. Bhimasena | |
| 4. Śrutasena | |
| 5. Risava Yājñātura, | |
| 6. Vaideha Albhāra. | |
| 7. Marutta Avikista. | |

XXVI.

These lists of great kings preserved in literature are also supplemented by other lists in the Puranas and other works. The Kūrma Purāṇa [XX. 31] mentions King Vasumanā; the Padma Purāṇa mentions King Dilipa and his predecessors Manu, Sagara, Marutta and Yayāti-[IV. 110-118]; while the Agni Purāṇa [ch. 219, 50-51] mentions Prithu, Dilipa, Bhārata, Vali, Malla, Kakustha, Yuvānasa, Jayadratha, Māndhātā, Muchukunda, Pururavāh.

The Brahma Purāṇa mentions Pururavāh who is called Prithivipati* (पृथिवीपतिः), Bhima called Rājarāt,† Yayāti‡ who subdued the earth up to the seas, Kārtavīrya-Arjuna§ who is called Samrāt-chakravartti. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa mentions Prithu||. The Mārkaṇḍeya mentions Pururavāh¶ as Chakravartti and Marutta.** The Śiva Purāṇa mentions Chitraratha,†† Prithu‡‡ as Chakravartti, and Hariśchandra§§ as Samrāt. The Linga Purāṇa mentions Yayati,||| Kartavīrya-Arjuna,¶¶ Śaśavinda*

* X. 9.

† X. 13.

‡ XII. 18.

§ XIII. 174.

|| LXIX. 1, 2, 3.

¶ CXI. 13.

** CXXXII. 3, 4.

†† XXIV. 34, 35.

‡‡ Ibid. 65, 66.

§§ LXI. 21.

||| LXVI.

¶¶ LXVIII.

* LXVIII.

and Uśanā.* The Skanda-Purāṇa mentions Kārtavīrya† as Samrāt Chakravartti. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions Māndhātā,‡ and Sagara§ as Chakravartti and Muchukunda|| as Akhāṇḍabhūmipa. The Devīpurāṇa uses the word Ekarāt¶ in respect of a Daitya named Ghora. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa mentions Sagara,** Chandra††, Bharata,‡‡ Mahāpadma Nanda,§§ and Chandragupta.¶¶¶ The Vāyu mentions Sagara,¶¶ Kārtavīrya-Arjuna*** and Uśana.††† The Matsya mentions Pururavāh†††, Puru,§§§ the son of Yayāti.

The Mahabharata in many places refers to the great Indian Kings of old. A complete enumeration of them is contained in the Śāntiparva [ch. xxix] when the following Kings are named :—

1. Marutta, son of Avikṣit.
2. Suhotra, son of Atithi.
3. Brihadrathā the king of the Angas.
4. Śivi, the son of Uśinara, 'who swayed the whole earth as one sways the leathern shield, and the wheels of whose victorious chariot rolled unopposed over the whole earth, who brought the whole earth under one authority, etc.*

5. Bharata, the son of Dusmanta and Sakuntalā, who, as stated above in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, sacrificed 300 horses on

* Ibid.

† Pravasa-khanda, XX. 11, 12.

‡ IX. vi. 34.

§ Ibid. 4.

|| X., li., 14.

¶ II. 39.

** III., iv., 17.

†† VI., iv., 6.

‡‡ XIX., iv., 2.

§§ XXIV., iv., 5.

||| XXIV., iv., 7.

¶¶ LXXXVIII., 144.

*** XCIV., 9.

††† XCV., 23.

‡‡‡ XXIV. 11.

§§§ XXXIV. 25.

* य इमां पृथिवीं सर्व्यां चर्मवत् समवेष्टयत् ।

महता रथघोषेण पृथिवीमनुनादयन् ।

एकच्छवां महीं चक्रे जैत्रिकैरथैश्च यः ॥

the banks of the Yamunā, 20 on the Sarasvati and 14 on the Gangā.*

6. Rāma, son of Daśaratha.
7. Bhagiratha of Iksāku dynasty.
8. Dilipa.
9. Māndhātā, son of Yuvanāśva who subdued the whole earth and vanquished the following Kings, viz., Angāra, Marutta, Asita, Gaya and Brihadratha, the King of the Angas.†
10. Yayāti son of Nahūsa who conquered the whole earth up to the seas and performed a hundred Vajapeyas.‡
11. Ambarisa, the son of Nābhāga, the king of innumerable kings.§
12. Śaśavindu, the son of Chitraratha.
13. Gaya, the son of Amurtharayas.
14. Rantideva, son of Saukriti.
15. Sagara of Iksāku dynasty whose sway extended over the whole earth.||
16. Prithu, the son of Veṇa.

The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya also gives expression to the conception of an all-India overlord and a list of Kings who realised that ideal. The paramount sovereign is called *chaturastoraja* (चातुरस्ती राजा) [Mysore edition, p. 11] i. e. whose dominion extends up to the farthest limits in the four quarters of the country; he is also represented as

* यो वङ्गा विशतं चाश्वान् देवेभ्यो यमुनामनु
सरस्वतीं विशतिश्च त्वङ्गामनु चतुर्दश ॥
[46]

† तमिमं पृथिवीं सर्वां एकाङ्गसमपद्यत ।
यश्चाङ्गारस्तु नृपतिं मरुत्तमसितं गयम् ।
अङ्गं ब्रह्मद्रथञ्चैव मान्धाता समरेजयत् ॥

* * *
यव सूर्यो उदेतिस्म यव च प्रतिलिखति ।
सर्वं तद्दयौवनाश्रय्य मान्धातुः चैवमुच्यते ॥
[87, 88, 90]

‡ य इमां पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां विजित्य सह सागराम् ।
* * *

§ व्यभजत् पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां ययातिर्नृषात्मजः ॥
[94, 97]

|| यः सहस्रं सहस्राणां राज्ञासमुत्तयजिनाम् ।
* * *

शतं राजसंहराणि शतं राजशतानि च
सर्वेऽन्धमैधेरीजानास्तेऽन्वयुर्दक्षिणायनम् ॥
[101, 103]

|| एकच्छत्वा मही यस्य प्रतापादभवत् पुरा ।
[132]

governing the whole country with none to dispute his right (“अनन्यां पृथिवीं सुक्ते”) [Ibid]. His dominion (chakravartī ksetram चक्रवर्त्तिक्षेत्रम्) is specially defined as the country between the Himalayas and the Occan, which is an evident reference to Chandragupta's sovereignty [हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरं चक्रवर्त्तिक्षेत्रं (Mysore ed, p. 33.)] There is a list of kings which includes the following names. (1) Dāndyakya-Bhoja (2) Vaideha-karala (3) Janamejaya (4) Tāla-jangha (5) Aila (6) Ajavindu-Sauvira (7) Rāvana (8) Duryodhana (9) Dambhodbhava (10) Haihaya-Arjuna (11) Vātāpi. These kings all failed to be great because of their want of self-control and subjection of the senses. Among the successful great kings are named Ambarisa and Nābhāga [see. pp, 11, 12, Mysore ed.].

XXVII.

Following this long line of Indian great kings we come across the illustrious name of Yudhisthira who proclaimed his overlordship and paramount-power before the Imperial Durbar at Indraprastha to which were invited kings from the remotest parts of India and beyond to render him homage and realise the unity of that vast empire into which were federated together their petty despotisms. For the Mahābhārata preserves for us a picture of India that was divided politically into innumerable small states, kingdoms and republics whose mutual jealousies and animosities afterwards culminated in the Great war of the Mahābhārata. It was left to the superior power of Yudhisthira to arrest these disruptive tendencies for a time by the evolution of a peaceful confederation in which every state was kept in its proper sphere and orbit to promote the larger life of the whole. That this task of political reconstruction was not an easy one, that the ancient Śāstric ideal of kingship of bringing the whole country ‘up to the sea’ under the yoke of a common authority was difficult to achieve was thus recognised by Yudhisthira [Sabha parva, XV., 2]: “There are kings everywhere living independently, doing what they like, but they have not attained to the rank of emperor, for that appellation is difficult to obtain.”* The situation was indeed full of difficulties. There were powerful kings on

* “गृहे गृहे हि राजानः स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियं कराः ।

न च साम्राज्यमाप्तास्ते सम्राट्शब्दो हि कच्छभाक् ॥”

every side aiming at overlordship. To the north there was Hastināpura, the capital of the Kurus. To the east Mathurā was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south the king of Mālava was a standing menace and to the west there was the principality of Virāta equally ambitious. There were other mighty kings in different parts of India but the most powerful of them was Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, who aspired to suzerainty. His subjugation was the first achievement of the Pāndus in their career of all-India conquest and four grand military expeditions were then organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the northern advance and to his might fell victims the Kulnidas, the Kālakutas, the Avasthas, the Śvākala-dvipis; Bhagadatta of Prāgyjyotisa; the Himalayan chiefs such as those of Uluka, Modapura, Vamadeva, Sudāman, Susankula, Devaprasatha, etc; also the Kirātas, and the Chinās; Arjuna then turned towards the west through Kāshmir to Balkh and on his way back through Kamboja, Darada, &c. Across the Himalayas were encountered the kings of Kimpilla-varsa and Hālaka near Mānasa lake and lastly Uttarakuru. The second expedition was led by Bhima towards the east subduing Drupada, Dasarna, the Pulindas, Chedi, Kosala, Ayodhya, Uttar Kosala, Urulla and the Terāi; then Kasi, the Matsyas, the Maladas, Madādhāras, the Vatsabhumiyas, the Bhangas, the Santakas and Varmakas, and several Kirāta and other races. Mithila courted alliance and Magadha paid tribute. Then the country of Karna (Bhagalpur) was subdued and subsequently the petty chiefs of Vanga. The Southern advance was under Sahadeva, who similarly marched victorious through many petty kingdoms and crossing the Narmadā passed through Kiskindā, Mahismati to Southern India, securing the allegiance of Dravida, Sarabhipattanam, Tāmra island, Timingila (the country of the whale), Kalinga, Andhra, Udra, Kerala, Tālavana, Ceylon and other places. On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Guzrat and finally returned home, laden with wealth and presents. Nakula leading the western expedition passed through Rohitaka and thence Southern Rajputana to Mahēttha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambastha, Nālava, Panch-

kaiphatas, Mādhyamaka, Vatadhāna; thence he turned towards Puskara and through the Abhira country marched on to the Punjab and encountered in the north-west the Pallavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and the Śakas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents and acknowledgment of allegiance.

Thus the whole of India was for a time resounding with the din of the conquering marches of the Pāndavas asserting the authority of a superior power; the whole country was united in submission to a sovereign claiming its homage and alliance. India once again was imagined and used as a political unit: the different parts were integrated into a federal whole: the separated lives of provinces were united in a common life.

XXVIII.

The story of Yudhisthira known to every Hindu has accordingly immensely popularised the old Vedic conception of an all-India sovereignty of which Yudhisthira was such a prominent embodiment. The idea became one of the current political notions of the ancient Hindus, not a subject of thought but an integral part of thought. It lost none of its strength in later times. It had sufficient vitality to stamp its impress on earliest Buddhist thought. We are generally familiar with the influences of Hinduism on Buddhism; we know how Buddhism is rooted deep in the religious speculation of the Hindus. But we do not know that some of the fundamental religious conceptions of the Buddhists were inspired by Hindu *political* thought as distinguished from Hindu religious thought.

For the early Buddhist ideas of the Buddha were dominated by the then prevailing Hindu ideal of the chakra-varti Raja to which the Buddha was always thought and described to conform. The Hindu ideal was understood by the Buddhists and explained in the early Suttas to be that of "a King of Kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, invincible, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures.*"

The first of these treasures was the trea-

* *Maha-Sudarsana Sutta* in S. B. S. vol. xi, p. 248.

sure of the wheel which is represented to roll onwards, like the sun in old Vedic poetry, to the very extremities of the world conquering and to conquer.* The second treasure of the King of Kings is the white elephant which can carry its master across the broad earth to its very ocean boundary like the Airavata of Indra, 'the personification of the great white, fertilising rain-cloud so rapid in its passage before the winds of the monsoon over the vault of heaven.' The third treasure was the treasure of the horse probably also derived from the Vedic 'Charger-King whose name was thunder-cloud.' The fourth was the treasure of the gem called the *Veluriya* (from which our word *beryl* is probably derived) 'the splendour of which spread round about a league every side,' like the jewel of lightning with which Indra in the Vedas slays the demon of darkness. Fifthly, the King of Kings is the possessor of a pearl among women and the two last treasures are a *treasurer* and an *adviser*, faithful servants, like the pearl among women, of the king of kings.

Such a king of kings the early Buddhists saw in Buddha who became the ruler of a supernatural world, an empire of truth; whose wheel was the wheel of the Dharma which the King of Righteousness himself had set rolling onwards, that wheel which will roll over all the world, unchecked in its course; whose Prime Minister was his chief disciple Śāriputta; and whose teaching, like rain cloud, rained down the ambrosia of bliss, fertilising right desires, extinguishing the fires of lust, hatred and ignorance.

Thus the old Hindu conception of a paramount overlordship having reference to an actual empire was seized by early Buddhist thought to describe its achievements which resulted in the foundation of an ideal empire, the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men. The Hindu Chakravarti was he who made the

wheels of his chariot roll unopposed over all the world; the wheel was the symbol of his power. But Buddha was a different kind of Chakravarti: he who set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness. His wheel was the symbol not of power but of Dharma. His work is accordingly described as Dharma chakkappavattana, which is the name given to the famous Sutta in which is embodied the very essence of Buddha's teachings.*

XXIX.

It is thus abundantly clear that in the days of ancient Buddhism the whole of India was comprehended as a single territory to be brought within the scope of one all-embracing authority though the conception was expanded and idealised by Buddhist religious fervour. And Chandra Gupta, who is historically the first paramount sovereign of India, came into the possession of a rich inheritance which his genius utilised and improved to the fullest extent. His success naturally contributed a good deal to the strength and popularity of the ideal he represented and realised. The problem, 'How can a King become a king of kings', soon became a favourite familiar topic of discussion in the ancient schools of political thought. It gave rise to much scientific, systematic speculation, which was embodied in the theory of the Mandala or Circle of Kings as outlined in the works on Niti-Śāstra. We find expositions of this theory both in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya and the Niti-śāstra of Kāmandaka in which there are also references to earlier authorities. The theory postulates the natural, inevitable desire of small kings to become great and finds in that instinct the regulative principle or law which rules the political world in almost the same sense as gravitation rules the physical; which determines the evolution of states and growth of empires and establishes a stable equilibrium and a balance of power.

The whole country is conceived of as a political circle (सङ्खल) at the centre of which is the head (सङ्खलाधिप) who is technically called Vijigisu (विजिगीषु), the would-be-con-

* Cf. Rig-veda [vii. 32, 20]: "The much-lauded Indra I incline by means of the song as a cartwright bends the rim of a wheel made of good wood" and also [i. 32, 35] 'the lightning in his hand rules over all men as the rim of a wheel embraces the spokes.' In the Sutta the wheel is represented to have rolled towards the East, South, West and North followed by the Emperor to whom "all rival kings became subject."

* See Rhys Davids, Hibbert Lecture, pp. 129 and 4, Buddhism, pp. 45, 46, 220, and S.B.E. Vol. XI,

queror, who is to emerge as the paramount power dominating the system, who "shines, in his sphere like the full moon*." The normal political circle is that formed by twelve Kings† including the central victorious King or sovereign round whom are ranged, both in the front and rear, nine subordinate kings in varying degrees of friendliness and hostility and two neutral Kings (called मध्यम and उदासीन). This confederation of twelve kingdoms connected with one another by all possible kinds of political relationship is regarded as an approximation to the actual state of things, a map of the actual political situation showing also its possible developments due to all conceivable changes of attitude of the component units. Thus the variations of the normal political system have been noticed by the ancient authors of polity. Kautilya‡ mentions a confederation or circle of three Kings who may constitute a 'sphere of influence'; Maya§ of four kings (चतुष्कमण्डल); Pulomā|| of six kings; Brihaspati¶ of eighteen kings; and Viśālākṣa** of fifty-four kings; and so forth. Thus the central monarch will find his sphere of action embracing both friendly and hostile kingdoms†† but if he is self-possessed, strong in all the elements of sovereignty, he is bound to achieve pre-eminence and attain to suzerainty ("एकैश्वर्य")‡‡ by his superior policy and state-craft which by a proper manipulation of the various political forces

can easily render his own position invincible, supreme and paramount*.

XXX.

But the ideal of a paramount sovereign dominating the whole of India, besides expressing itself in literature, utters itself in no uncertain tones through some of the early Indian epigraphic records. Thus the term Mahārāja (महाराज), *lit.*, a great king, was used as one of the titles of paramount sovereignty by Kaniska, Huviska, and Vāsudeva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83.† It is also used, in conjunction with the higher title of Rājātīrāja, 'superior King of Kings,' by the same three Kings in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47 and 87.‡ In still earlier days the same title Mahārāja, in conjunction sometimes with the title Rājātīrāja, and sometimes with Rājarāja (राजराज), 'king of kings,' (the two together being equivalent to the Greek *basileus basileon*) was used on the bilingual coins of Hemokadphises § (in conjunction with rājātīrāja) and of Azes || (in conjunction with rājarāja). It was also used by itself to represent the Greek *basileus* on the

* Cf. Kamandaki, VIII 83 :

इति स राजा नयवर्त्मना ब्रजन्
समुद्यमी मण्डलशुद्धिसाचरन् ।
विराजते साधु विशुद्धमण्डलः
शरच्छीव प्रतिनन्द्यन् प्रजाः ॥

Also Arthashastra, VI. i. 17 :

"आत्मवांस्त्वल्पदेशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृति सम्पदा ।
नयच्चः प्रथिवीं कृत्स्नां जयत्येव न हीयते ॥"

Again [VI. ii. 17]:

निमिमेकान्तरान् राज्ञः कृत्वा चानन्तरान्
नामिसामानसायच्छेत् नेता प्रकृतिमण्डले ॥

("The leader of the confederation or circle of states will make himself the nave of a wheel, of which the rim or circumference will be formed by the combination of friendly chiefs (*lit.*, those Kings who are separated from the central King by another King) and the spokes by the inimically inclined chiefs and will thus control the whole system).

† Arch. Sur. Ind. Vol. III., p. 31, Pl. Xiii. No. 4. P. 32, Pl. XIV. No. 9; and P. 34, Pl. XV. No. 16.

‡ Arch. Sur. Ind. Vol. III., P. 33, Pl. XIV. No. 1 and p. 35, Pl. XV. No. 18.

§ Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue* of coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India p. 124 ft.

|| Ibid, p. 73 ft.

* Kamandaki, viii. 2,3.

रथी विराजते राजा विशुद्धे मण्डले चरन् ।

रोचते सर्वभूतैः शशीवाखण्डमण्डलः ।

† सर्वलोकप्रतीतं तु स्फुटं दादशराजकम्

[Ibid. 41].

‡ "विजिगीषुर्भिच' भिचमिच' वाऽस्य प्रकृतयः तिस्रः ।"

[Arthashastra, VI. ii. 17]

§ Kamandaki, VIII. 20

|| Ibid. 71 :—

¶ Ibid. 26

** Ibid. 28

†† Ibid. 21 "आकीर्णं मण्डलं सर्वं भित्तिरिभिरिव च ।

‡‡ Arthashastra, V. vi. 14, 15. The 'elements of sovereignty' are : "स्वात्मसात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि," i.e. the King, the minister, the country (which by the way should have capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the Kingdom—"मध्ये चान्ते च स्थानवान्" the fort, the treasury, the army, and the ally.

coins of Hermaeus. The title Rājādhirāja occurs by itself on some of the coins of Manes* and in conjunction with the title Mahārāja on some of the coins of Azes,† while Rājātirāja occurs in the same sense but coupled with Mahārāja in the Mathura Inscription of Huviska‡ of the year 47 and of Vāsudeva§ of the year 87.

In the Inscriptions of the Guptas the following titles are used to indicate supreme paramount sovereignty, viz., Mahārājādhirāja (महाराजाधिराज), Paramēśvara, (परमेश्वर), Paramabhattachāraka (परमभट्टारक), Rājādhirāja (राजाधिराज) and Chakravartin (चक्रवर्तिन्).

Thus the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta refers to him as "the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Samudragupta" and to his "conquest of the whole world"; it also refers to him as "the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta I." and "the Mahādevi Kumāradevi" || and also to Chandragupta II. as Paramabhattachāraka.¶ The Eran stone inscription of Samudragupta compares him with the great ancient monarchs Prithu and Rāghava ** and refers to his subjugation of "the whole tribe of kings upon the earth." ††

The Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II refers to him as Paramabhattachāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. The Mathura stone inscription of Chandragupta II refers to both Samudragupta and Chandragupta I as Mahārājādhirāja and to himself as the exterminator of all kings who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world and whose fame extended up

to the shores of the four oceans*, and who was the restorer of the asvamedha-sacrifice that had been long in abeyance. The Sanchi Stone inscription of Chandragupta II also refers to him as Mahārājādhirāja who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles.† Another Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to the purchase-money of his powers which bought the earth and made slaves of all kings‡ and uses the epithet Rājādhirāja. The Gadhwa stone inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to him as Mahārājādhirāja.§

Kumaragupta is referred to as Mahārājādhirāja in the two Gadhwa stone inscriptions||; also in the Bilsad stone Pillar inscription¶ which applies the epithet to his ancestors Chandragupta II., ** Samudragupta †† and Chandragupta I and makes a special reference to Samudragupta as the restorer of Asvamedha sacrifice.‡‡ The Monkuwur stone image inscription of Kumāragupta however refers to him only as a Mahārāja, which was then a subordinate feudatory title, either by a mistake or because of the reduction of Kumāragupta to feudal rank by the Pusyāmitras and the Hunas. The Mandasor stone inscription also refers to Kumaragupta as reigning over the whole earth. ("प्रविशो प्रशासति"—L. 13)

Skandagupta is called Mahārājādhirāja in the Bihar stone inscription§§ which repeats the usual ancestral references and exploits. The Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription refers to him as the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas||| who by his conquests "subjugated the earth"¶¶ and repeats the ancestral exploits. The Junagadh

* Ibid. p. 68 ft., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11 and 17

† Ib. p. 85 ft., Nos. 138, 140, and 157

‡ A. S. I. Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12 and Pl. XIV.

§ Ibid. p. 35, No. 18 and Pl. XV.

|| "...महाराजाधिराजश्री-चन्द्रगुप्तस्य-पुत्रस्य-सहादेव्यां-कुमार-देव्यां-उत्पन्नस्य-महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तस्य-सर्व-प्रथिवी-विजय-जनितोदय-न्यास-निखिल-श्रवणीतलम्..."

Mahadevi was a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns along with Paramabhattachāraka and Rajni [cf. Mandar Hill Inscriptions of Adityasena, Nos. 44 and 45 and Deo. Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II. No. 46 in *Corpus. Ins. Ind.*, Vol., III].

¶ L. 33 of the inscription.

** L. 8—

"नृपतयः पृथु-राघवाद्याः..."

†† L. 11— "पार्थिव-गणेशकलः प्रथिव्यां..."

* L. 1, 2; सर्व-राजोच्छेत्तुः-प्रथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दधिसलिला-स्वादित-यशसी..." L. 5 : "अश्वमेधाहर्तुः..."

† L. 4 : "...अनेक-समरावात-विजय-यशस्-पताकाः..."

‡ L. 2 : "विक्रम-आवक्रय-क्रीडादास्य-न्यक्-भूत-पार्थिवा..."

§ L. 1 and L. 10.

|| L. 1 in both the inscriptions.

¶ L. 5.

** L. 6.

†† L. 4

‡‡ L. 2 "...अश्वमेधाहर्तुः..."

§§ L. 22.

||| L. 7. "...गुप्तवंशकवीरः..."

¶¶ L. 14 : "...यो बाहुभ्यामवर्णी विजित्य..."

rock inscription calls him Rājarājādhirāj* who "made subject to himself the whole earth bounded by the waters of the four oceans†," who "destroyed the height of the pride of his enemies and appointed protectors in all the countries;‡ who is the banner of his lineage, the lord of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over Kings;"§ etc. The Ka-haum Stone Pillar inscription refers to him as the lord of a hundred Kings "whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing obeisance) of the heads of those hundred Kings."|| The *Indor copper-plate inscription* of Skandagupta applies to him the titles Paramabhattachāraka and Mahārājādhirāja and speaks of his "augmenting victorious reign."¶

The Meherauli posthumous iron pillar inscription of Chandra refers to him as having attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world and "the breezes of his powers by which the southern ocean is even still perfumed"; who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vāhlikas.*

The Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yasordharman describes him as a paramount sovereign holding sway of a large part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the great kings of old, in

* L. 2.

† "...चतुर्दधिजलान्तं-स्त्रीत-पर्यन्तदेशं श्रवणीमवनतारिष्यिः..."

‡ L. 6: "...एवं स जिला पृथिवीं समगां भग्यदपान्-विषतश्च-कला-सर्वेषु देशेषु विषाय गोतृन्..."

§ L. 24: "ह्यतारिदपप्रणुदः-पृथु श्रीयः-स्ववंशकीतो-सकलावशी-पतेः-राजाधिराज्याहुत-पुण्यकर्मणः..."

|| L. 1: "...यस्योपस्थानसूमिर-वृपतिशतशिरः पातवातावधूत..."

L. 3: चित्तिपशतपतेः..."

¶ L. 3: "...परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री-खन्दगुप्तसामि-वर्द्धमाण-विजयराज्य..."

* L. 2: "तौर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धुजिता वाजिका-यस्याद्याधिविवास्यते जलनिधिवीर्यानिर्लेदं चिणः" L. 5: "...एका-धिराज्यं चित्ती..."

whom the title of 'universal sovereign' shines most.*

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Visnuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramesvara and refers to his subjection of many mighty Kings of the east and north.†

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII applies the epithets Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara and Chakravartin to Dhara-sena IV. and the first three epithets to Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV., Śilādityadeva V., Śilādityadeva VI., and Śilādityadeva VII.

The Mandar Hill rock inscription of Adityasena applies to him the paramount titles Paramabhattachāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

The Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivita-Gupta II. uses the paramount titles Paramabhattachāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramesvara in respect of Devaguptadeva, Vis-nuguptadeva and Jivitaguptadeva II.

The Sonpat Copper Seal Inscription of Harsavardhana applies the paramount titles Paramabhattachāraka and Mahārājādhirāja to Prabhākaravardhana, Rajyavardhana II, and Harsavardhana.

The copper-plate inscription of Samu-dragupta discovered at Gayā repeats the paramount title Mahārājādhirāja and the achievements of Samudragupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India contain references to titles of paramount sovereignty used by some successful kings. In the longest of the four inscriptions at Nasik of Go-tamiputra* Śātakarni and Pulumāyi, Go-tamiputra is spoken of as "king of kings" whose exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Kesava, Arjuna, Bhimasena : whose prowess was equal to that of Nābhāga, Nahūsa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayati, Rāma and Ambarisa. The inscriptions of

* 3: "...स श्रीयो-धाम्नि-समाङ्गिति मनु-भरतालकमान्वाह-कले कल्याणि हेहि भाखन्-मणिरिव सुतरां साजते यव शब्दः ।"

+ L. 6: "...प्राचो वृपान् सुहृताश्च बहुनुदीचाः साम्ना युधा च वशगान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर इति उडूड्डम् ।"

* Arch. Sur. W. Ind., No. 26.

Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 611-634) show his assumption of the imperial title *Paramesvara*, lord paramount. Both Dantidurga, the Rāshtrakuta monarch who overthrew the Chalukyas, and his son Krisnaraja is spoken of in their copper-plate grants as having become paramount sovereigns. Their successor Govinda III. is also made out by his Baroda copper-plate grant to have been a paramount king making and unmaking subordinate kings.

Some of the Bengal Pāla kings also used paramount titles of sovereignty as shown by their inscriptions. Thus a Nalanda inscription refers to Gopala as *Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhiraja Paramesvara*. Another of Buddha Gayā speaks of "*Paramabhattachāraka—Śrīmān Mahipāla Deva*." In a copper-plate inscription at Monghyr Gopāla is called "*king of the world*" and "*likened unto Prithu, Sagara and others*."*

XXXI.

We have now seen how in the past both religion and political experience contributed to the growth of a geographical sense in the people and to the perception of the fundamental unity of India behind her continental vastness and variety. The whole of the country was thus easily and naturally grasped by the national thought as a geographical unit whose strength and fervour triumphed over the physical difficulties of pre-mechanical ages in the way of having an intimate knowledge of the different parts which were welded into a whole. It was in a real sense the conquest of matter by mind; the subjection of the physical to the spiritual. India as a whole was realised as the mighty motherland by the popular mind in every part of India in spite of an unfavouring natural environment.

In modern times, the age of the improvement of transport, when the whole world has been made much smaller in size and is being centralised by railways, telegraphs and electrical machinery, when the ocean itself has been converted from a barrier into a broad highway of international intercourse, we can more easily and naturally realise the Geographical unity of the whole of India. And besides, is not this unity apparent on

the map? That country is geographically one of which the barriers separating its parts are less obstructive than those which isolate the area as a whole from surrounding regions. It is quite evident, and he who runs may read it, that India preeminently satisfies this test of unity. The great barrier of the north formed by the Himalayas which may be easily rendered impregnable effectually isolates the country from the rest of Asia, giving protection to it along a frontier of 2,000 miles while towards the south the advantages of an insular position are conferred by the sea. Thus sea-girt and mountain-guarded India is indisputably a geographical unit.

As regards any insurmountable internal barriers we hardly come across one. The Himalayas overlook the great plain, the Indo-Gangetic depression which covers an area longer than France, Germany and Austria put together, and supports more than one-half of the total population of India. This is the region of which Sir Richard Strachey has said: "It is no exaggeration to say that it is possible to go from the Bay of Bengal up the Ganges through the Panjab and down the Indus again to the sea over a distance of 2000 miles and more without finding a pebble however small." The whole region is of one uniform level, one continuous stretch of land uninterrupted by any barrier, covered with a network of rivers, railways and canals, where one sees only "unbroken continents of wheat, millet and Indian corn, endless seas of rice and limitless prairies of sugar-cane and indigo," an evidence of agricultural wealth oppressive almost in its monotony. Nor is the Vindhya or Satpura range any serious barrier obstructing communication between northern and southern India. Scarcely rising more than 4000 ft. above sea-level both the ranges are now pierced by road and railway and did not even in the earlier ages seriously interfere with the spread of Indo-Aryan civilisation, the diffusion of Hindu culture and learning to the parts of India lying to their south which are even, equally with the north, the great stronghold of Hinduism.

Lastly, among other natural features which distinguish India from other countries may be mentioned the seasonal winds or monsoons which have stamped on the

* Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 114, 120, 122.

whole country a unique aspect. They have created those hydrographical conditions which have made of India preeminently the land of agriculture and one of the best-watered regions of the world. The census reports show that about 73% of total population of India are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. While it may also be ascertained from statistics that out of a total of 226 million acres annually sown in British India only 44 million acres lack the natural water-supply and have to be artificially irrigated by the hand of man. So that fully 80% of the total area sown are naturally irrigated by the rivers of India pouring down in their bounty the streams

of plenty. There also stands out, as the result of the operation of physical causes, the broad fundamental and distinguishing fact that Indian civilisation has developed and rests mainly on a race-basis and the national diet is practically vegetarian.

Thus has India been helped both by nature and nurture, by her geographical conditions and historic experience, her religious ideas and political ideals to realise herself as a unit, to perceive, preserve and promote her individuality in fulfilment of her heaven-appointed mission in the culture-history of the world.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

- I. *A hand-book of English Literature: by W. T. Webb, M.A., and J. A. Aldis, M.A. S. K. Lahiri & Co., 1912. Printed at the Cotton Press, Calcutta.*

Mr. Webb is the annotator of many text-books, and has always given good value for the money which students have been called upon to pay for them. So far as we have been able to examine the contents of the present volume, it deserves the same praise. It appears to be a cross between a regular history of literature and a mere catalogue of proper names such as a digest often is. Every chapter ends with a string of familiar quotations, but they are often too short to illustrate the peculiarities of the author's style and thought. Shaw's Hand-book was undoubtedly the best of its kind, but it has grown largely out of date. One merit of the present book is that the latest masters of English prose and verse have been noticed though briefly. Mr. Stopford Brooke's little book has a distinctive grace of style, which seems to be lacking in the present compilation. On the whole we agree with the high authority of Mr. Charles Tawney that "the present work will prove an acceptable aid to education in every part of the world where English literature is read and appreciated."

- II. *Premchand Roychand: His Early Life and Career: by D. E. Wacha. The "Times" Press, Bombay, 1913.*

This character sketch of Premchand Roychand, the well-known philanthropist and speculator, has been woven by Mr. Wacha round the history of the Bombay share mania of the early sixties of the last century with which he is so competent to deal. Premchand Roychand was a Jain of Surat born in a humble walk of life. Among his princely benefactions may be mentioned the gift of 6½ lakhs for the University Library and the Rajabai clock tower (named after his mother)

of Bombay, and 3 lakhs to the University of Calcutta. The latter has, we know, kept the donor's name green by associating the gift with the blue ribbon of scholarship in Bengal. Sir Henry Maine, the distinguished jurist, was the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in those days, and he proposed to devote the money in enlarging the sphere of physical science in Indian education. The following extract from his Convocation Speech of 1866, in which he replied to the criticisms evoked by his proposal, is still deserving of attention: "I know it has been said—and it is the only stricture which I have seen, and it is of a somewhat vague character—that this proposal to found education in great part upon physical science is too much in harmony with that material, hard, and unimaginative view of life, which is beginning to be common in modern society. I admit that there is some truth in this in its application to Europe and England. But in contrasting England and India, in comparing the East and the West, we must sometimes bring ourselves to call evil good, and good evil. The fact is that the educated Native mind requires hardening—that culture of the imagination, that tenderness for it, which may be necessary in the West, is out of place here; for this is a society in which, for centuries upon centuries, the imagination has run riot, and much of the intellectual weakness and moral evil which afflict it to this moment, may be traced to imagination having so long usurped the place of reason. What the Native mind requires is stricter criteria of truth; and I look for the happiest moral and intellectual results from an increased devotion to those sciences by which no tests of truth are accepted except the most rigid." The contrast between this attitude of an earlier day and the present official enthusiasm for theological and credal education is indeed significant.

- III. *The Essayist: by Surendra Lal Mitra, Agra, 1912.*

This is a big volume of nearly 500 pages in which a

large number of essays dealing with a variety of subjects has been collected. The book also contains some useful hints on composition. It will no doubt be helpful to the examinee, but is likely to check his desire to go to original sources for his English style, and in so far as is to be deprecated.

IV. *The Indian Constitution: An Introductory study*, by A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, B.L., Assistant Editor, "The Hindu." Second Edition. Madras. G. C. Loganadham Brothers, Mount Road. Price Rupees three. 1913.

* This is a notable contribution to Indian political literature, presenting as it does a serious and learned study of the growth of constitutional institutions under British rule. There are chapters on provincial and district administration, local Government, the relation of the legislatures to the executive and of the Imperial to the local Governments; Indian finance, the budget, the courts and their constitution, and the native states. In the Appendix a large mass of constitutional documents, e.g., Lord Ripon's resolution on Local Self-Government, Lord Morley's Reform Despatch, Queen Victoria's proclamation, &c., and the rules guiding the conduct of legislative business in the different provinces, are quoted *in extenso*. The book is well-printed, well-bound, and extremely well got-up, and has a good subjects index. It is by turning out works like this, and elevating the discussion of political questions to the high plane attained in this volume, that Indian politics can expect to gain in breadth, liberality and soundness and avoid the sneers sometimes levelled at its professors by interested persons. The tone is throughout moderate and judicious, and breathes a spirit of detachment essential for the proper study of all great questions. We consider the book decidedly cheap at the price, and we congratulate the "Hindu" on the presence of an Assistant Editor of the type of the author on its staff.

P.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus translated by various Sanskrit Scholars and edited by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., (Retired). Extra volume. The Adhyatma Ramayana translated by Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath, B.A., Honorary Fellow, Allahabad University, Retired Judge, United Provinces, Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu, at the Panini office, Bahadurgunj, Allahabad. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 3.

"The Adhyatma Ramayana is a canonical book of the Vaishnavas and is a part of the Brahmanda Purana. It is very highly respected by all classes of Hindus, for the beauty of its language, its flow of verse, its clear statement of the doctrines of the Vedanta, and like the Bhagabat Gita, for its combination of the path of devotion with that of knowledge.

"Some idea of the popularity of the Adhyatma will be formed from the fact that it is read as a sacred book with all reverence due to the highest work on religion, in the implicit belief that it will secure great religious merit during the *Nava-ratra* (nine days) of and in the month of *Chaitra* the week of the anniversary of Rama's birth, every Sloka is repeated and recited as a sacred mantra. Devout Sadhus and laymen will be found repeating the Ramhridaya or Ramgita daily and as one hears, in the jungles of Rishikesh sung in sweet accents of devotion, the Rama Mantra,

"Jai Rama Jai, Jai Rama Jai, Rama Sita Rama" by devout sadhus and laymen and re-echoed through the hills, one feels, that Rama and Sita are living ideals for the men and women of India."

The book contains only the translation of the Adhyatma Ramayana. The notes given in the book, though few, are important. The author has drawn our attention to places where the Adhyatma Ramayana differs from the Valmiki Ramayana.

It is a good edition and will, it is hoped, have a large circulation.

A Message to the Young men of Ceylon by the Anagarika Dharmapala, Colombo. Printed at the Mahabodhi Press.

Those who wish to have an idea of the past condition of Ceylon and its present deplorable condition are strongly recommended to read this pamphlet.

The author writes:—"Before the British advent the Sinhalese were a distinctly sober people. The Government is (now) forcing the poor villager to drink intoxicants by opening village liquor shops by the thousands in opposition to the united voice of the whole people."

"After a hundred years of British rule the Sinhalese as a consolidated race is on the decline. Crime is increasing year by year, the ignorance of the people is appalling, without local industries the peasant proprietor is on the verge of starvation, cattle are dying for want of fodder, for pasture lands and village forests have been ruthlessly taken from him and made crown property and sold to the European to plant rubber and tea."

"The number of convicted prisoners (1910) is 8050 and the cost per day to feed one prisoner is Re. 1 and 78 cents, while to educate a child the Government spends per annum Rs. 5.44 in a government school and gives as a grant per annum for each pupil Rs. 3.52!"

"The government that we have is of the Colonial form. The Secretary of State for the Colonies sends us a governor, a man who had done service for the empire; he may be humane, or he may rule despotically going against the united wishes of a whole people. And as the Government is conducted on Colonial lines, the Britishers who are supposed to be the Colonists have the voice and the permanent population are looked upon as "aborigines," and for the protection of the latter there is in London a Society for the protection of Aborigines. Our own leaders who have been educated under British influence in England are indifferent to the welfare of the Sinhalese."

"We purchase Pear's soap and eat cocoanut biscuits manufactured by Huntley and Palmer, and sit in chairs made in Austria, drink the putrified liquid known as tinned milk, manufactured somewhere near the South Pole, while our own cows are dying for want of fodder, and grazing grounds and our own pottery we have given up for enamel goods manufactured in distant Austria, and our own brass lamps we have melted, and are paying to purchase Hinks lamps which require a supply of fragile chimneys manufactured in Belgium! Our own weavers are starving and we are purchasing cloth manufactured elsewhere!"

It is an excellent publication and should be widely read.

The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions, by John R. Mott M. A. (Yale) L. L. D. (Edinburgh), General Secretary of the World's Student's Christian Federation. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Memorial Hall, Post Box 3. Madras. Pp. 193. Price Eight annas.

The author says—"Throughout the non-Christian world there are unmistakable signs of awakening of great peoples from their long sleep." (page 2) "It is indeed the decisive hour of Christian Missions. It is the time of all times for Christians of every name to unite and, with quickened loyalty and with reliance upon the living God, to undertake to make Christ known to all men and to bring His power to bear upon all nations" p. 181.

The Future of Africa, by Donald Fraser, Missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, Nyasaland. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. Pp. VI+220. Price eight annas.

The author writes in the Preface "The future of Africa deals solely with Africa and mission-work among the Pagan races of Central and South Africa." The subjects discussed in the book are:—(1) Early Discovery, (2) The opening up of Pagan Africa, (3) The Hand of Europe in Africa, (4) The conditions revealed, (5) The Hand of the Church on Africa, (6) Results of Mission work, (7) The Needs of Pagan Africa, (8) The Church's Task. Appendices and Bibliography.

Some of the chapters are very interesting. The book is written from the standpoint of the Christian Missions.

Victory or Defeat, by Louise Marston. Published by the Christian Literary Society for India, Madras. Pp. 71. Price Three annas.

It is a temperance story, written from the standpoint of the Christian Missions.

The Islam Series: Outlines of Islam by the Rev. Canon Sell, D. D., M. R. A. S. Published by the Christian Literature Society, for India, Madras. Pp. 86. Price 4 annas.

This booklet has been written from the orthodox Christian Missionary standpoint and the conclusion of the author is "The supreme need of the Muslim world is Jesus Christ."

George Stephenson: The founder of Railways. Published by the C. L. Society for India, Madras. Pp. 39. Price one anna.

A good life of Stephenson. Recommended to our School boys.

Proverbs from East and West, published by C. L. Society. Pp. 44. Price one anna.

A good collection.

Picture fables. Published by the C. L. Society, Madras. Pp. 44. Price one anna.

It contains 52 fables (Æsop's Fables).

An Insight into Jainism Pamphlet No. 1. Containing a few articles of Babu Rickhab Das Jaini, B.A., Pleader, Meerut. Collected and published by B. Champat Lal Jaini, Assistant teacher, Church Mission High School, Meerut and Joint Secretary

of Jain Dharma Pracharni Sabha, Meerut. Pp. 92. Price not mentioned.

This pamphlet gives a general idea of the principles of Jainism and deals with the following subjects:—

- (1) A few characteristics of Jainism.
- (2) Jain cosmology.
- (3) Karma Theory.
- (4) Whom do the Jains worship?
- (5) Dharma.
- (6) Jainism not an atheism.
- (7) *Ahimsa* as the Universal Brotherhood of all living beings.

Contains useful information.

MAHES CH. GHOSH.

Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras, by P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, M.A. Printed and published by Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras. Cr. 8 vo. Cloth. Pp. 138. Price not mentioned.

The author, who is no doubt a good scholar, has collected in this book a good deal of information regarding the social life of the Aryans of the Vedic times. I fear, however, that this very useful little book, which discloses very praiseworthy and patient research, will not be much appreciated now, as a fuller work, more methodical in treatment of the subject matter, has been brought out by Prof. A. A. Macdonell and Dr. A. B. Keith under the auspices of the Secretary of State for India. Looking to the dates of publication of both these works, it may be safely said that Mr. Iyengar does not owe anything to the abovenamed European scholars either for his general idea or for the method of treatment of the subject. It must also be mentioned to the credit of Mr. Iyengar that though not in possession of those advantages which the joint authors of The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects had before them, he has not failed to supply such historical material as is necessary to form some idea regarding the social life of the old Vedic days.

B. C. MAJUMDAR.

The Riks or Primeval Gleams of Light and Life by T. Paramasiva Iyer, District and Sessions Judge, Bangalore. Pp. xvi+199. Price Four Rupees.

The author's interpretation of the Rigveda is original and original with a vengeance. According to him, Indra=A mighty volcano. Soma=Bitumen. Gayatri=Marsh Gas (C₂H₄). Trishtap=Acetylene (C₂H₂). Jagati=Ethylene (C₂H₄). Param Brahman=Hydrogen Gas. Purusha=Lava. Rudra=Atmospheric Electricity in the higher regions. Maruts=Snows. Aditi=Elevated Tableland. Diti=The precipitous side of a 'devide.' Dyava=A snowy range. Prithivi=Great longitudinal valley in a line with the strike of the range. Dasyu=Erratic blocks. Rodasi=A snowy range. Rayas=Region of rock-debris which sometimes develops into lovely Alps, the Oshadhi Region and Swarga of the Riks. Vishnu=Basaltic Lava. Visvakarman=Volcanic Lava. Tvashtar=Imprisoned elastic gases.

Even the ten Avatars of Vishnu have been geologically interpreted by the author.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

The Story of Bobbili (as handed down traditionally through minstrels); by M. N. Venkataswami. Secundrabad. 1912.

The following passage reproduced from the

foreword by Prof. Jadunath Sircar, M.A. will explain the scope and character of the book :

"Mr. M. N. Venkataswami has here reproduced the story of the foundation and sack of Bobbili as narrated to him by a wandering Telugu minstrel more than forty years ago...In preserving this tale, Mr. Venkataswami has done us a distinct service. The story, though relating to 1757. A.D., is a vivid picture of ancient manners and its characters truly belong to the Epic age...It is a very interesting 'human document.'"

P.

Speeches of Lord Hardinge: Ganesh & Co, Madras. Popular Edition, Price Rs. 2.

The doings of modern Viceroys are not less important than those of their predecessors who built up the Empire because their work lies mainly in the development of the arts of peace whereas that of the latter lay principally in the acquisition of territory by war and diplomacy. The expansion of the legislature, which, in spite of the premium set on mediocrity by the rules of election, is a step forward, took place immediately before Lord Hardinge came out to India, and the modification of the Partition and the raising of the status of the Bengal Government were his own handiwork. The fact that the redistribution of territory has yet to be made logically complete by the inclusion of the fringe-areas on the East and the West need not deter us from giving the Viceroy his due meed of praise for removing a great grievance. Education and sanitation are in the forefront of His Excellency's administrative policy. The speeches delivered by the Viceroy during his tenure of office are therefore full of interest and form a good, though necessarily one-sided, record of contemporary events. They abound in wise and statesmanlike sayings, which, though they have not always been reduced to action, still point the goal and lay down an ideal which all would be willing to follow. They also exhibit the honesty of purpose of the august ruler of India. The book is neatly printed and bound and covers over 500 pages. It is sure to be welcomed by those for whom it is intended.

POL.

"History of Aurangzib" Vols. I and II. by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., of Patna College, (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta). Pp. I—xxvi, 376; II—viii, 320. Price Rs. 3-8 each volume.

"Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays," by the same Author (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta). Pp. 242.

These three books are the result of the devoted labours of a life-time given to the study of the reign of Aurangzib. Mr. Jadunath Sarkar has collected from a variety of sources an enormous mass of materials, which he has used with judicious care and with the painstaking particularity of scholarship. His *India of Aurangzib* was professedly not a history. It was, as its sub-title indicates, a collection of facts and statistics regarding the life and times of the great Emperor; and thus it has served as a scaffolding by means of which Mr. Sarkar proposes to raise his edifice of the history. The two volumes of the *History* are an earnest of what Mr. Sarkar has promised to give us in the future. In his introduction, he gives

us the scheme of his work, which is to be completed in three more volumes :

"Two volumes of my history are now placed before the public. A third is expected to be ready in manuscript a year hence. To complete this long reign of 50 years and give some account of the condition of the people, trade, life and manners, two more volumes at least will be needed. I am now on the threshold of my subject and can see its distant end but dimly."

These three promised volumes, besides giving us the social history of the period, will narrate the half-century of Aurangzib's reign : the first period of comparative peace spent in Northern India with imperial pomp and circumstance; the war round the frontiers; the struggle against the Rajputs; and then, most important, the Deccani phase, wherein the Moghal Empire makes the beginnings of its last stand in its long war with the 'slim' Marathas; and finally, the pathos of his closing years, when the light has vanished from the morning hills, and when the vision of his early years having faded into gray disenchantment, a lonely decrepit figure, stricken by disease, and sorrow and disillusionment, the conqueror of the world at last becomes the conquered of his destiny. The intense interest of the life of Aurangzib centres in these crowded years; and the final verdict on a history of Aurangzib will depend on the manner how their story is told. The first of the two excellent volumes that are before us for review commences with the story of the great Emperor's early boyhood and education, and then proceeds to tell us of his first apprenticeship in war and conquest, his early viceroyalties of the Deccan and Gujerat, varied by Central Asian and Afghan experiences, his war against the Musulman Kingdom of Bijapur interrupted by the illness of Shahjehan, and the beginnings of the war of the Succession. The second volume continues the story of the struggle between the brothers for the throne of Delhi and brings the narration up to the point of Aurangzib's coronation. So far as they go these volumes are very full of details of the events they are recording.

But in the meantime we get somehow a better idea of the whole *conspectus* of Aurangzib's reign in the *Anecdotes* which give us a curious insight into the character and the intimate thoughts of the last of the great Moghals. Not the least useful feature of Mr. Sarkar's second book is the excellent short *Life* of Aurangzib which prefaces the anecdotes. These are arranged and selected according to a scheme which is the author's own and departs entirely from the two Original Persian works of which the book is the translation. The anecdotes are divided into four unequal parts; i. those relating to himself, ii. those about his sons and grandsons, iii. those about his officers and about the Shiah and the Hindus. It is a pity that this last part is not nearly so full as the others; and it must be confessed further that anecdote No. 71 can hardly be quoted as an instance of Aurangzib's cruelty towards the Hindus as a class. The first part is deeply interesting as it contains the Emperor's last will and testament as well as the story of his one romance, the love-affair with Zainabadi. Scattered among the rest are anecdotes which illustrate the many striking facets of an eminent and many-sided career: such as his piety (§57); his austere attitude towards profligate nobles (§48); his wise cynicism in affairs (§10); his just dealing with officers (§54); his

strict justice between prince and commoner (§18) and so on. One wishes Mr. Sarkar had not followed his Persian text too closely, and given us other anecdotes. Such as the famous one about the burial of music. But at any rate, one rises from a perusal of this book with a kindlier feeling for that strange old figure which occupied so large a space in our Indian annals. *Tout savoir, c'est tout pardonner*; and perhaps if we knew all the inner history of that brilliantly fertile life, puritan in its stately severity, full of strange exits and entrances, of that towering personality which touched excellence in so many points but attained permanence in none,—if we knew all, the verdict would be given in sorrow and not in anger. In the last part of the short life which has been referred to above, Mr. Sarkar has written a few paragraphs on Aurangzib's character, in which every word seems to have been chosen with so much care, wisdom and discrimination that we cannot help making the following extracts from them:

"So lived and died Aurangzib, surnamed Alamgir Shah, the last of the Great Mughals. For, in spite of his religious intolerance, narrowness of mind, and lack of generosity and statesmanship, he was great in the possession of some qualities which might have gained for him the highest place in any sphere of life except the supreme one of rule over men. He would have made a successful general, minister, theologian, or school master, and an ideal departmental head. But the critical eminence of a throne on which he was placed by a freak of Fortune, led to the failure of his life and the blighting of his fame. Pure in his domestic relations, simple and abstemious like a hermit, he had a passion for work and a hatred of ease and pleasure, which remind one of George Grenville, though with Grenville's untiring industry he had also got Grenville's narrowness and obstinacy. His coolness and courage were famous throughout India: no danger however great, no emergency however unlooked for, could shake his heart or cloud the serene light of his intellect. He lacked that warm generosity of the heart, that chivalry to fallen foes, and that easy familiarity of address in private life, which made the great Akbar win the love and admiration of his contemporaries and of all posterity. Like the English Puritans, Aurangzib drew his inspiration from the old law of relentless punishment and vengeance and forgot that mercy is an attribute of the Supreme Judge of the Universe. Art, music, dance, and even poetry (other than "familiar quotations") were his aversion and he spent his leisure hours in hunting for legal precedents in Arabic works on Jurisprudence. His spirit was therefore the narrow and selfish spirit of the lonely recluse, who seeks his individual salvation, oblivious of the outside world. These limitations of his character completely undermined the Mughal Empire, so that on his death it suddenly fell in a single, downward plunge. Its inner life was gone, and the outward form could not deceive the world long. Time relentlessly sweeps away whatever is inefficient, unnecessary, or false to nature."

These lines may well be taken as summing up in a final and authoritative form the verdict of posterity on the reign of Aurangzib.

It is necessary in order to complete the review of this book to refer to the collection of historical Essays mainly on seventeenth-century topics which lend an added interest to the publication. The last Essay

gives a short memoir of that remarkable Indian bibliophile, Mr. Khuda Baksh, the founder of the Patna Library.

A final word as to style. All great histories whether in the English or in the French language—and especially in the latter—have made use of the narrative-interest only in so far as it has been redeemed and unified by the intrusion of philosophic reflections and it is only by the illumination of ideas that we can render intelligible that tangle of passions and strifes and that hurrying succession of events which are the subject-matter of histories. What we have so far received in these volumes under review and especially in the two volumes of the History, is narrative, endless narrative, interspersed with anecdotes and quotation-marks—such as we meet with in the histories of the popular kind. Apart from that, the author has occasionally slipped into phrases that are far from comely, and lapsed into dithyrambs that are out of place in a work that claims to be scholarly. But with these blemishes excepted, the three volumes make excellent reading. The general effect is pleasing: but the author's aim should be not only to *please*, but to *fascinate*, and that by the magic of imagination and the grip of ideas. We are afraid lest through his desire to be popular Prof. Sarkar should detract from the permanent value of his work. A shallow critic, some time ago in the pages of this Review, sneered at the author for writing what he called "a prose epic" on Aurangzib. He was paying an unconscious compliment. We want him to write a prose epic on the seventeenth century, to which we can refer lovingly, in the times to come, much in the same way as we do to the work of Mommsen and Michelet and Taine: and it is because we are convinced that he alone of the present generation of Indian scholars has the requisite qualifications for a task like that, that we write these lines in the hope that he may be minded of them when he takes in hand the remainder of his task.

The books have been well-got-up. In spite of the care given to their production, they have been attended with the usual fatality of Indian printing enterprise—a long list of errata. One other may be added: on page 82, Vol. I, for the date, 1649, read 1647.

S. V. MUKERJEE.

Economics of British India: by J. Sarkar. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Rs. 3.

The days of amateur politicians are over in India. The economic and political development of India during the last two decades or so whether through the efforts of the citizens or through the educative and pioneering activities of the Government has given rise to complexities in the situation, which can no longer be placed for solution in the hands of the man in the street. And the great intellectual awakening of the people in recent years has prepared the way for the rise of specialists in Administration, Business, Banking, Finance, and Legislation as in every other sphere of thought and activity. The result has been a remarkable growth of seriousness in our public life and an all-round heightening of the standard by which to judge of the men, institutions and movements in the country. And both in Industrial India as well as Political India the demand for trained business-

men and industrial experts as well as trained statesmen and statisticians has been rapidly rising.

These are facts which lie on the surface and he who runs may read them. The demand for political and industrial specialists is the one outstanding fact of recent years.

And it is the inadequate supply of such experts that has been more or less retarding our political and industrial advance. It is as one of the means of educating the publicists of our country and equipping them with sound preliminary knowledge about Indian Administration, Finance, Industry and Commercial problems that we welcome the third edition of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's *Economics of British India*. That the book has seen the third edition during the comparatively short space of about four years is sufficient evidence of the popularity and usefulness of the work. What we want to emphasise in this connexion is the character of the work as an aid to general culture, and an item in the curriculum of liberal education. It is not the writing of a school-master designed solely to meet the requirements of B. A. and M. A. candidates of Universities but is eminently fitted to be a hand-book of information and a manual of guidance to the Indian publicists as well to those who want to form correct estimates about the economic and administrative problems of the country. We recommend this excellent work to some of our younger colleagues and co-workers in public life, and congratulate the author on the comprehensive treatment of the subject in a solid scientific style.

The literary attainments and character of Professor Sarkar are too well-known. As an indefatigable antiquarian and the compiler of a voluminous history of India during the seventeenth century from original Persian sources—Mss. and works which were altogether unknown to previous writers, he has earned the reputation of being a strictly critical and scientific student of facts and figures. He is, in fact, one of that growing band of Indian scholars who have been studying their country's past according to the canons of historical method obtaining in modern Europe. The same unprejudiced turn of mind and thoroughly impartial attitude Prof. Sarkar brings to bear upon the study of the current economic and political problems of the country. He is, however, not an abstract philosopher shutting himself up in his scholastic cell and passing therefrom judgments upon his countrymen, for his work indicates an intimate familiarity with the writings and speeches of all Indian celebrities—financiers, statesmen, administrators, businessmen, and lawyers. He has studied not only the Blue books and reports, Statistical Accounts and Proceedings of Select Committees, but has followed carefully the course of industrial evolution and phases of public life that are represented by the practical politicians of his country.

The signal merit of the work is its all-India character. Prof. Sarkar has sought for facts and illustrations from all parts of India, and on almost all questions the reader finds himself face to face with the problems of the Deccan and the Punjab as well as of Bengal and Southern India. The book before us has thus been a lively and concrete story of the commercial and economic geography of India. Another important feature of the work besides its reference to all-India statistics of rents, prices,

wages and other economic conditions and problems is the frequency of digressions into the history of the problems and conditions studied. One would find in it the histories of the roads, canals, communications and guilds in Hindu and Musalman tribes; and these and other anecdotes of the country's past material condition raise the value of the work to that of the Historical Economics of India. These two features of the book make it highly useful to those who want to get within short compass a picture of the secular and material civilisation of India both in the present and in the past. In this connexion we may mention also the social studies introduced whenever necessary. The caste, the family, the socio-religious rites and ceremonies, the legal and socio-economic institutions &c—by which Professor Sarkar has tried to place the economico-political problems in their proper setting and true perspective. The result has been a concrete and realistic study of the national standard of life and comfort, and, as such, is likely to be warmly received by foreign scholars and statesmen who are interested in Indian affairs, social, economic and political.

Professor Sarkar is not a superficial student of economic problems. He has a vigorous intellectual nerve which enables him to fight his way through innumerable details. The work before us shows his remarkable power of marshalling evidences and grouping the facts by undertaking deep and laborious researches. Prof. Sarkar does not leave a problem by merely stating it, but carefully pursues it through its intricacies and complexities and presents before the reader a clear and intelligible statement of all the issues to a question. Thus his treatment of Co-operative Credit, Tenancy Problems, the Factory Question, Inheritance Laws, the Indian Rent theory, Wages Statistics, High Prices and Currency Legislation is at once elaborate and precise. The details of the working of some of these laws and institutions are of a sufficiently high order and elevate the work to a volume which may be profitably used by advanced politicians and publicists of the land. Professor Sarkar has made out the case for Bengal Zamindars in a most learned manner and given concrete pictures of the working of Home charges and Council Bills. Not less elaborate, useful and suggestive is his treatment of technical education, the most vital of all questions of the day. Educationists as well as industrialists should carefully go through the chapter which treats of this.

A word of praise must be given to the clear and simple English in which this book of over three hundred pages has been written. The printing and general get-up of the work are also excellent. It is priced at Rs. 3 only and has been published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Son, 75 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

BENGALI.

Alhade Athkana (Mirth Galore): by Lalit Kumar Bannerjee, M.A. Bhattacharjee & Sons, Calcutta. 1912. Price annas five.

Professor Bannerjee follows up his laudable attempt at popularising the tales of the *Hitopadesha* and presenting them in a form readily acceptable to children toiling through their first lessons. The get up

is nice, and the printing and illustrations are in various colours. How much do we of an earlier generation, fed on the bombastic inanities of the long-forgotten *Sishubodhak*, envy the youngsters their rare good fortune? The schoolmaster's birch loses half its terror when the food provided is as sweet as this. We can prophesy a roaring sale for the learned professor's latest venture.

P.

HINDI.

Nari-updesh, by Babu Vishwambhar Prakash, B.A., 207, West End Road, Sadar, Meerut, and to be had of the author. Printed at the Bhaskar Press, Meerut. Royal 8 vo. Pp. 229. Price—as. 10.

This book consists of three parts. In the first there is a short essay in which the writer has shown the necessity of female education. This is followed by two Domestic Stories. It is clear that these are an adaptation of the Urdu book *Muratuluru's* by Moulvi Nazir Ahmad. But we are sorry to note that we do not find the writer acknowledging his obligation anywhere. We came across a verbatim translation of the aforesaid Urdu novel published by the Nawal Kishore Press with Hindi names exchanged for Musalman ones. But in the book under review we find an improvement in that several modifications have been made to suit the present tendencies as also the varying state of things in a Hindu family. The language is good and the compilation must have cost considerable pains.

Bazaroo Hisab. Parts I, II, and III. By Pandit Panna Lal Kanhaiya Lal Sharma, 3rd Assistant Master, Hindi Middle School, Dhar, and published by Dwivedi Bros. Khetbadi, Bombay. Demy 8 vo. Pp. 20 (1 anna), pp. 30 (1½ annas), and foolscap 8 vo. pp. 21 (1 anna) respectively.

These are short pamphlets on mental arithmetic as taught in the village schools. The rules have in certain instances been given in rhyme. The arrangement is satisfactory and the books should prove useful.

Master Saheb ki anokhi chatta, by Do. and published by Do. Demy 8 vo. Pp. 14. Price—1½ annas.

This pamphlet describes in a somewhat farcical manner the sad lot of the village schoolmaster in India.

Balopdesh, by Pandit Kanhaiya Lal Upadhyay, to be had of Dwivedi Bros., Khetbadi, 7, Bombay. Demy 8 vo. Pp. 12. 2nd Edition. Price—3 pice.

This contains short maxims, which the writer wants, should be illustrated by teachers by means of examples. The purpose of the pamphlet will also prove useful to teachers. The maxims could better have been taken from the Hindi poetry. The printing is nice.

Hindi Vyakaran Prabeshika, by Do. and to be had of Do. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 110. 2nd Edition. Price—4 annas.

This is an advance upon the above introductory book and the subject has been treated here in a more detailed manner. The principle of the author that

grammar should be taught by means of a graduated course of books, in each of which the whole of Hindi Grammar is touched briefly or elaborately, is preferable to that according to which parts of the same grammar are taught in different standards. Nesfield's Grammars in English have been written on the same principle. From the book under review a respectable knowledge of grammar can be attained. A short chapter on Prosody is also added. The printing and binding are excellent.

Dharmashikshavali, Part 1. by Mr. Ramchandra, B.A., Head Master, Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Ambala. Printed at the Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 117. Price—as. six.

This is a short treatise for moral and religious training. The author is right in thinking that even young children should be made to feel that the soul is imperishable and requires development; and it may be said to the credit of the writer that he has not made the discussion of this subject too unintelligible to boys. The compilation will prove useful in the hands of those for whom it is intended. The poems given at the end of each chapter are, however, not good. Instead of composing his own poems or borrowing from second-rate poetry, the writer could have gone to Tulsidas, Surdas, Raheman; etc., where he could have found everything expressive of his own ideas. The poems in some cases violate the rules of prosody. There is a short life of Swami Dayanand Saraswati towards the end of the book. The object of the book is indeed good and we have nothing to object against the prose portion of the book which contains much valuable information.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

Samajic Sevana Sanmarg, by Dayabhai Lakshmanbhai Pant, published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 258. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1912).

This book is based on the Rev. Mr. Fleming's "Suggestions for Social Usefulness." It is not a translation but an original work, following the lines laid down by the English author. It takes note of almost every institution in India which works for social uplift. The Sevasadan of Bombay, the well-known Math at Belur, the Nishkam Karma Math at Poona, and all cognate Societies have been taken into consideration, and wherever useful and practical suggestions have been found necessary, they are given in the most concise, but effective form. The work is written, not only in a very intelligent way, but it bears the stamp also of having been written by one who knows the needs of the task, he has undertaken to write about. First aid, ambulance work, night schools, village sanitation, and a number of such subjects of public utility have been treated and handled in a fashion which is simple, and therefore, giving promises of making the book popular.

K. M. J.

NOTES

Mr. Stopford A. Brooke on the "Gitanjali."

We are indebted to the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Satyendranath Tagore for the privilege of publishing the following letter written to his brother Mr. Rabindranath Tagore by the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke:—

DEAR MR. TAGORE,

I wish I had written before this to you, and not only spoken to you through Mr. Rothenstein, but indeed I have written to you in my spirit during the last two months, letters of homage and gratitude to the Poet and his poetry. Yet I ought to have embodied these on paper, for though things done only within have a life of their own and pass beyond us, yet we ought to shape them, since perchance they may be of some good or pleasure to those we love and honour.

Therefore, though late, I send you this small letter, and beg forgiveness for delay. I was deeply interested in the Autobiography of your father, not only by the history it gave me of the whole of the vital religious history it records, but chiefly by the character revealed in it and by the movement and life of his spirit. It made a deep impression on me and awakened many new thoughts in me,—too many for me to put into words. I see how many elements in *his* soul you have passed through your own soul; reshaped them there, and given them a new form in your poems.

These poems of yours, however somewhat derived from him, are vitally your own; sealed with your own personality. But the others, the greater number, are, I think, the most individual, personal, and original poems I have ever read; and how much more intense their personal originality would be, if I could only read them in their own language!

Yet as you yourself have translated them, their native air and light still suffuses them. We have no new soul and atmosphere im-

posed in them; one person, and one only, is in them.

They make for peace,—peace breathing from Love. They create for us, too storm-tost in this modern western world, a quiet refuge and a temper in which we realize that the real world is outside our noise,—some world in the things and ideas that are eternal in immortal Love.

And because the poems all spring from union with this undying Love, they appear in beauty,—in a thousand shapes of beauty. It is well for us, over here, amid our crowded varieties and useless philosophies, to have a book which, without denouncing us, leads us into the meadows of peace and love, and refreshes us when we are weary, but yet, is not content till it bids us to pass from quietude, to shape what we have learnt there into the life of men and women, and bring them also into peace.

I am old and I wish I had more of peace, of certainty in it. But I am very grateful to you for bringing so much of it to me by day and while I lie alone at night. I send you the last volume of sermons I have published, as a little mark of a great gratitude. It may interest you to dip into it here and there when there is leisure, and see what a man thinks, who has lived through stormy times into old age, and is sure that Love is, and was, and will be for ever.

I am,

Most sincerely yours,
STOPFORD A. BROOKE.

Emigration from England.

The London *Outlook* says that the dwindling of the population in England, "the citadel of the Empire," is the result of England's unceasing efforts to fill and occupy the vast waste places of the colonies with "adventurous scions of the British stock." Australia contains an area fourteen times the size of Germany and twenty-five times that of the United Kingdom, yet

Australia has a population of but 4,500,000. In South Africa and Canada a parallel condition of things exists. How can England, with its population increasing at a rate below that of Germany and Russia, keep strangers from seizing her territory? To quote the words of *The Outlook*:

"British supremacy in naval and commercial power was never before so fiercely and persistently challenged. We are caught in a competitive struggle of which it is impossible to imagine the end. The English race has inherited a territorial domain greater than any empire in the past and comprizing nearly all the unoccupied surface of the globe on which the white man finds his congenial home. Other nations who have entered the field of competition later, and are now in growing need of colonial outlets for surplus energy and population, are brought up in every direction by our notice-boards to 'keep off the grass.' A nation which puts up so many of these warnings round the most wealthy and attractive spaces of the globe needs to have its fences pretty strong and high. Two important questions which the Briton of to-day may well ask himself are, Whether his race has the strength and vitality to settle and develop these vast dominions, and whether other nations of the East and West will abstain from all trespass while that race makes the Empire British in deed as well as in name?"

The following statistical estimates illustrate the sweeping statements and dire forebodings of this leading London weekly:

"Emigration carries away from the shores of this country a good half of our natural increment 'on the wings of the stork.' In 1911 the net emigration from our islands of the 'native-born' amount to 261,809, the largest figure ever recorded, but certain to be greatly increased by the record of 1912. How long can this country stand this incessant drain without a dangerous weakening of the body politic? Can we afford, even in imperial interests, to draw thus heavily upon the garrison that hold the citadel of the Empire? And while we are doing this, the gross German emigration had declined in 1911 to 22,592, and this figure was exceeded by the incomers from Austria, Russia, and Italy. Germany adds every year 900,000 to her population, the United Kingdom only 400,000. All this suggests reflection, and the problem before the British people to-day is—how they are to settle sufficient of the genuine breed in the aching solitudes of the Empire to ensure the British character of its institutions and civilization. The stream of immigration into the dominions must be kept mainly British. Otherwise the Empire will cease to be British except in name, and the foundation of all Imperial sentiment and policy will disappear. How can this be done without a serious depletion of the United Kingdom? Already many complaints are heard, especially from Scotland and our English country districts, that the emigration agent is carrying off our best people."

The writer comes to the conclusion that if England can not hold her territory by British men, she must do so by British

ships. But ships alone will no longer suffice in the near future. There must be air-ships, too, in which Germany is at present far superior to every other nation.

Mr. Taft's salary as Professor.

The salary at Yale for ex-President Taft as Kent Professor of Law will be \$5,000, which is the maximum now paid to the upper grade of full professors. The salary will include the \$305 income paid by the Kent endowment, the balance being made good from the general fund of the academic department. A dollar is three rupees. So says the *Indian Daily News*. America is a very rich country and the cost of living is there very high. Such a country pays its upper grade of full professors Rs. 1250 *per mensem*. Our European professors are not satisfied with a maximum salary of Rs. 1500, though India is a very poor country and the cost of living is comparatively low.

National decay and death.

In the *International Journal of Ethics* Mr. R. M. Maciver expresses the opinion that "because a society lives, it does not follow that it shall die." To the historians' mechanical "decline and fall" the writer opposes the argument:—

Defeat, pestilence, and famine may decimate a people and not crush its spirit or its vitality. It is the strength and character of its spiritual unity that makes or unmakes a people. Not decimation of number—a loss speedily reparable—but enfeeblement of spirit is the ultimate social misfortune, and the cause of social disaster.

In truth societies grow in experience, in knowledge and in power, as each generation hands down its gain. They do not grow in age, for each generation is new as was the inconceivable beginning of life, indeed with an increased capacity of life in so far as past generations have striven to improve it. We can discover no law which burdens the new generations with an inherited weight of age. Society alone is granted that rare and inestimable possession, the advantage of experience without its penalty of powerlessness.

The rejuvenescence in modern times of many nations with a very old civilisation shows that Mr. Maciver is right.

Let us not think that because we are an old people, we are necessarily decrepit and decadent or are about to die. To all our people, particularly our young people, our exhortation is: Keep your spirit pure and strong. Avoid all pleasure-seeking, softness, voluptuousness, luxury, effeminacy and im-

purity. Let faith and hope and courage be your motto. Scorn delights and live laborious days.

Students and Military Training.

From an article printed in this number it will be seen how students are given military training in the United States of America. Reuter telegraphs that an unofficial meeting of the resident members of the senate of the Cambridge University has passed a resolution unanimously approving the influentially supported suggestion that students should not be permitted to take the Bachelor's degree unless they are efficient Territorials. It was resolved to invite the co operation of the Oxford University.

We are against jingoism and big standing armies. But we think every able-bodied man ought to know enough of soldiering to be able to take part in the defence of his country when occasion arises. It is a grievous disability that the vast majority of the Indian people can have no opportunities for receiving military training.

"Prosperous" India.

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson concludes his financial statement with the sentence: "I rejoice exceedingly that I shall leave her [India] loyal and prosperous." We do not think that a prosperity budget necessarily means a prosperous country. It is beside our present purpose to discuss whether India is getting richer or poorer day by day. Even if we take for granted the official view that India is getting richer, we are not precluded from saying what is a stern and mournful fact that India is a very poor country, a country which is far from being prosperous. A country cannot be said to be prosperous when there is chronic scarcity in it, when a very large proportion of its inhabitants have scarcely one full meal a day, when the same proportion have only a scanty strip of rag to cover their nakedness, when poverty prevents them from giving education to their children, when pestilences caused directly or indirectly by poverty carry away millions of souls every year to the next world; when famines occur in some part of the country or other almost every other year and when the proportion of lean, shrunken figures in it is

larger than in any other country. In July 1907, we received from Messrs. Cassell & Co., a new book called "The Other Side of the Lantern" by Sir Frederick Treves, Bart., Sergeant-Surgeon to His late Imperial Majesty King-Emperor Edward VII and Surgeon-in-ordinary to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, now King Emperor George V. In our August (1907) number, we made the following extracts from that book:—

"India leaves on the mind an impression of poorness and melancholy, even if in certain districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains the country is brilliant with blossoms which no meadow in England can produce."

"Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and 'toiling for leave to live.' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp. Whither they go, Heaven knows, for they look like men who have been wandering for a century. Their meagre figures are found against the light of the dawn, and move across the great red sun as it sets in the west, and one wonders if they still tramp on through the night."

"They appear feeble and depressed, * * *"

"The country would seem to be overrun by a multitude of men, women and children, all of about the same degree, a little below the most meagre comfort, and a little above the nearest reach of starvation."

".....At night there is no dark alley without the sleeping figures of homeless men."

"These are some of the great hordes who provide in their lean bodies victims for the yearly sacrifice to cholera, famine, and plague. Plague will slay 20,000 in a week, cholera will destroy ten times that number in a year, and the famine of one well-remembered time accounted for five and a quarter millions of dead people."

The Amrita Bazar Patrika refers to the well-known fact that "in the seventies of the last century the Government laid down the rule that a district should be declared a 'famine district' when rice would sell there at 8 seers per rupee." Judging by this standard, one must say that there is at present famine every year throughout the country, or in the greater portion of it. The same paper observes:—

There is then scarcely a spot in India which is not under the grip of malaria, plague or cholera. These scourges either singly or combinedly, have already destroyed many of the fairest districts in India and the mortality which they are yet causing simply staggers humanity. And is it necessary for us to explain this unique phenomenon? The people would have been able to defy these diseases if they had had sufficient healthy food and wholesome water to nourish their bodies with. But they are too poor to get them. In Bengal, said to be the most prosperous of the

provinces, tens of millions have to drink what is diluted sewage. They are indeed so poor that even thirty years ago, when the country was in a better condition, forty millions of them, according to the celebrated Government statistician, Sir William Hunter did not know what a full meal was throughout the year. Evidently Sir Guy Wilson clean forgot all these facts when he rejoiced, in the fullness of his heart, at the so-called prosperity of India.

The Indian ministers labour under one great disadvantage. They see only the principal cities and towns of India, and from their prosperous condition they conclude that Indians are very well off and prospering wonderfully under their administration. But Calcutta is not Bengal, nor does the city of Bombay represent the Western Presidency. As a matter of fact, India is a country not of cities and towns but of villages and hamlets. If ministers had their seats of Government in villages and hamlets, which present desolation all along the line, and not in cities and towns which loll in wealth and luxury, they would have possibly to tell another story about the "prosperity" of India, and their kind hearts would perhaps revolt at the idea of creating a new Capital by spending crores of rupees at the cost of their starving and pestilence-stricken wards.

Canon Durrant on our moral ideas.

At a meeting of the Church Missionary Society held last month at the Allahabad Government House, the Rev. Canon Durrant (late Principal, St. John's College, Agra, and now Bishop of Lahore) is reported to have spoken as follows:

I am going to make a confession here which nobody really cares to make. My 15 years in India have made me more narrow-minded. I hope to justify that statement before I have done. When I came out to India, I believed very much in the revelation of God to all mankind, and that there must be a good many glimmers of light in the Indian religious systems. So I believe there are, but after all what you really judge a creed by is the kind of thought tendencies it produces. Those of us who are engaged in education are brought into very close contact with the Indian character, and we see the results on that character of the creeds that have held this country so long; and though it may sound uncharitable to say it, I cannot help thinking there are certain results which we see in Indian college work which are simply deplorable. One of them is as to whether or not there is any real distinction in the mind of Hindus and Mahomedans between right and wrong, and the conclusion I have come to, in giving you my opinion for what it is worth, is that long long generations during which the stress has been laid upon ceremonial offences rather than on moral offences, have brought about a moral obliquity in the mind of Hindu and Mahomedan which is nothing less than deplorable.

We pity the speaker. Hindus and Musalmans are not morally perfect, but it is a calumny to say that in actual life there is no real distinction in their minds between right and wrong, a calumny which only a

very foolish and narrow-minded bigot is capable of uttering. We have no desire to retaliate by commenting on the public and private morals of Christian peoples, or on their thought tendencies; for that would not prove our ethical condition to be better than it is.

When remonstrated with, the reverend gentleman is reported to have observed in effect that he thought that the meeting was private and that his speech would not be reported. If that really represents his attitude, we must say that he lacks both courage and wisdom.

Balkan atrocities.

Reuter has cabled as follows:—

"The Montenegrins have refused to allow the Austrian Consul to take part in the enquiry into the murder of a priest named Palic, at Djakova, and the alleged coercive conversion of Albanians to the orthodox faith, and have evaded the demands for the punishment of the officials in connection with the "Skodra" affair.

"Accounts of the murder of Palic, published in Vienna, recall mediaeval martyrdoms. Palic and three hundred others were bound with cords. An orthodox priest, pointing at the soldiers' rifles, then said: 'Either sign this document showing that you have embraced the only true faith, or these military missionaries will send your souls to hell.'

"All signed, except Palic, whereupon the soldiers tore off his habit, and beat him with their rifles till he fell with limbs and ribs broken. He still refused to apostatize, and a bayonet through his lungs ended his sufferings."

"The 'Daily Telegraph's Vienna correspondent says that fresh cases are reported of horrible atrocities by Montenegrins and Servians in Albania. Wholesale outrages of women are reported; after the massacre of men, and old men and women have been burnt alive."

Filipino Freedom.

Senator O'Gorman of New York says:—

"It would be decidedly impracticable to grant the Philippines an independent Government now or to fix a definite time when they shall be left to administer their own affairs. Such a proposition was submitted at Baltimore when the platform was under consideration, and was rejected. How long a time may be required to train these Filipinos in the art of self-government I do not know. It may require one or two generations of training.....

"At present only a small proportion—a few hundred thousand out of the population of 7,000,000—can read and write. There is still much to be done, and until it is done we must defer fixing any exact time for turning over to them the difficult task. I believe that we

should do this as soon as possible, but the time has not yet arrived."

To this the *New York Evening Post* replies:—

"We thus face the classic argument of the Imperialist. He never means to stay permanently in any foreign territory he happens to occupy to the discontent of its inhabitants. He is quite prepared to retire as soon as the time is ripe for such a move, which is another way of saying as soon as he is good and ready."

China and Japan.

The following passages are taken from Mr. E. Bruce Mitford's article on "The Future of Japan" in *The National Review*:—

Since the war, upwards of eight thousand Chinese students have completed their education in the Higher Schools of Tokyo and Kyoto, and many of these, profoundly impressed by the progress made by their neighbours in the arts of peace and war, have returned to play their part in urging their own countrymen to a new way of life—which, in its essence, is Japan's way of life. As to the change in the form of government in China, while the Japanese authorities would have preferred for reasons already suggested, that even the shadow of a monarchy had been retained, popular sympathy in Japan was on the side of the revolutionists. The Japanese as a whole, official and unofficial, would have preferred—and still prefer—anything to that last of all calamities—the partition of China among the Powers of the West.

The real revolution that has taken place in China—and it is one with which Japan, from the lessons of her own history, is in the fullest sympathy—is the recognition of the fundamental value of material strength. The nation in whose eyes the profession of the soldier ever ranked the lowest has learned that, for her own security, she must call her sons to arms. In preparing herself for self-support and self-defence China will need assistance. For this, as surely as the flower turns towards the sun, she will turn to Japan. Already Chinese warships are being built in Japanese yards; and Japanese officers are engaged in the organization of Chinese land forces. Already Chinese papers are urging that important works of development in connection with mines and railways should be entrusted to Japanese rather than to foreign experts. And when the hour strikes for the Middle Kingdom to shuffle off the toils of Western tutelage, the opportunity for which the more virile section of the Yellow Race is waiting will have arrived.

For that supreme moment in the history of the East the Japanese, on their part, are preparing. In a sense, Japan needs China more than China needs Japan. China's immensity, her vast reserves of man-power, will render her valuable as an ally, formidable as a foe. While China's immediate needs are military rather than commercial, Japan's are commercial rather than military. The two nations will therefore serve as complements the one of the other. Just as the Japanese look to the development of their trade with China—and with the Yangtse Valley in particular—to furnish the sinews of economic strength, the Chinese are looking to the Japanese to lay wide and deep the foundation of their military strength and teach them the once despised, but now essential, art of war.

No doubt the bare suggestion of an offensive and defensive alliance between the Chinese and Japanese Empires as one of the probabilities of the near future will suffice to conjure up in many minds that still uninterred bogey, the "Yellow Peril." The simple fact that the two great branches of the Mongolian race muster between them a third of the world's population can be made to acquire, on paper, a most portentous look; and—in the view of certain imaginative publicists, among whom history includes a Royal orator—has bred visions of yellow hordes innumerable pouring from the East on to the plains of Europe, to launch humanity upon an Armageddon of race and color in which sheer weight of numbers prevails. Of this, however, the world may rest assured—that if the "Yellow Peril" ever materializes in the shape, or anything like the shape, its exponents assign to it, the responsibility for the ensuing cataclysm must be laid at the door of the West, and of the representatives of its civilization in the East. Aggressiveness—the chief attribute of the West in its dealings with the East—is utterly foreign to the Chinese character; prudence is the key-note of the Japanese. The union—one might almost say, the fusion—of the two races is inevitable; but only a keen and unquenchable sense of resentment—the memory either of material wrongs inflicted, or of accumulated insult endured—can ever arm the East against the West, or precipitate a War of Hemispheres.

Evil results of holding the I. C. S. Examination in England.

Some of the witnesses before the Royal Public Service Commission stated that Indian youths ambitious of entering the Indian Civil Service should be sent to England while they are of thirteen or fourteen years of age to receive training in that country and to be thoroughly anglicised. The evil effects of this process of anglicisation were very clearly pointed out by Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I. C. S. (Retd.), in his evidence before the Public Service Commission at Bombay on the 24th January, 1887. He said:—

There is a great deal of dissatisfaction felt with the existing system of recruitment for the covenanted Civil Service. This dissatisfaction is of a twofold nature:—

(a) The first is produced by the positive disadvantages under which Natives have to labour if they wish to enter the service as at present. This kind of dissatisfaction is felt most keenly only by the classes who feel that they are deprived of their chances of passing by the present arrangements, *i. e.*, only the most educated classes, such as the University graduates &c., &c.

(b) The other kind of dissatisfaction, which is much more universal, is derived from the above, but not the same. It is the feeling of the apparent unfairness with which Native candidates are treated simply because they are Natives. The only answer which is given in justification of such unfairness is that Natives are unfit for higher administrative posts until they have thoroughly anglicised themselves from dress upwards,

This answer aggravates the feeling of dissatisfaction ten times more. It brings home the sense of foreign conquest and national degradation. It touches the tenderest feeling of all newly rising and aspiring nations—their national self-respect. This dissatisfaction is of course felt most keenly by the educated classes, and they naturally do not scruple to use their growing influence with the masses to leaven them with the same ideas. * * *

"The positive disadvantages under which Natives of India labor at present are various, according to the position in life of the parents of the candidate. What generally happens is that, if he has got rich parents, whose means are equal to their ambition, they send him over to England at a young age. The latter varies, but is seldom above thirteen. The boy gets every facility and is placed under the best teachers. Intellectually and physically he is, as a rule, well taken care of, and if he is intelligent he stands a good chance of getting through. But in the meantime his recollections of India have become dimmer and dimmer; his affections for his parents and his connection with his fellow-Natives have become looser and looser; this is but natural with a child of tender years. But the result is most pitiable. When he returns to India after an absence of eight or ten years, or even more, he is no longer the child of his parents nor a Native of India as far as fellow-feeling goes, but a sort of hybrid who seeks to hide his origin in every way; and as is the case with renegades, treats his fellow-citizens very often far more offensively than many a haughty and hot-tempered Anglo-Indian. I know personally some cases where parents have regretted sending their sons to England in this way, because practically they have lost both their children and their money, whilst their fellow-Natives would much have preferred Englishmen in their places. Such is the case with those who are successful. As to those who are unsuccessful, of whom there is a much larger number, the case is still worse; the denationalization has taken place without even the compensatory advantage of a high place."

What Mr. Khareghat said more than a quarter of a century ago, holds true even now.

The All-India Moslem League.

At the Lucknow sittings of the All-India Moslem League the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, said that Islam taught the principles of self-government long ago and now the British Government was only bringing the Moslems back to their old and time-honoured ideal. He said that the British Government had brought about conditions which would help in re-stirring the old Moslem ideal and this ideal self-government suitable to India was sure in event. He fully and strongly supported simultaneous examinations and the separation of the Executive from Judicial functions. He decidedly said that a separate examination in India was a short-sighted policy.

At the second sitting it was decided after a prolonged and heated discussion by a overwhelming majority "to adopt the idea of the League, which is the attainment under the aegis of the British crown of a system of self-government suitable to India." Mr. M. Huq wanted to substitute "self-government on colonial lines" for "self-government suited to India," but was defeated. He may have better luck next time. Some of the other important resolutions passed by the League are as follows:—

That the All-India Moslem League desires to draw the attention of the British Government in England to the cumulative evidence from disinterested sources appearing in the press of neutral countries bearing on the Macedonian butcheries, and demands in the name of all that is true and honest in the life of the English nation; which owes a duty to its fellow-subjects of other creeds, that the British Foreign Office should take such action with regard to the wholesale massacres and outrages that have been perpetrated by the Balkan invaders amongst the Musalman population of Macedonia as would do credit to its sense of justice and humanity. That the League deplores the unjust war declared by the Allies against the Turkish people, and deeply regrets the attitude of Christian Europe, which means the destruction of the Musalman power in Europe and of the integrity and honour of the Ottoman Empire. That the League views with great dissatisfaction the open expression of sympathy by responsible Ministers of the Crown with the Balkan States in their unrighteous war on Turkey.

The All-India Moslem League is of opinion that the present system of recruitment by open competitive examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service entails great injustice on the Indian subjects of His Majesty, and expresses the hope that the Royal Commission on the Public Services will be able to devise a system of recruitment equally suitable to the various sections of His Majesty's subjects in India and in Great Britain.

That the All-India Muslim League, in view of the persistent and unanimous demand on the part of all sections of the people of India for the separation of Executive and Judicial Functions is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to take early steps to bring into effect this desired reform.

That the All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend exclusively on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities, deprecates all mischievous attempts to widen the unfortunate breach between the Hindus and Musalmans, and hopes that the leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to restore the amicable relations prevailing between them in the past and find a "modus operandi" for joint and concerted action in the question of public good.

The Bengal Provincial Conference.

The Bengal Provincial Conference has done the right thing by sending a message of congratulation to the All-India Moslem

League on its placing before itself the goal of self-government for India. No community in India which sets to itself the task of political thinking in a patriotic spirit can fail to place before itself the goal of self-government and autonomy.

A resolution of the Moslem league quoted above shows a desire for Hindu Musalman unity. A similar significance attaches to the eighteenth resolution of the Bengal Provincial Conference moved by Maulvi Wazedat Ahmed urging Hindus and Mahomedans to buy Turkish Bonds and make united efforts to bring about union between Hindus and Mahomedans. It was strongly and eloquently supported by several Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen, including Mr. B. N. Basu, who proposed to purchase at least ten Bonds and further purposed starting an organisation through the Red Crescent Society for the sale of Turkish Bonds, about which it was said that there was absolutely no risk or danger. The proposal was adopted with great enthusiasm.

The Conference was held this year under peculiar difficulties. "We had hoped," said Babu Ananda Chandra Ray, "that with the removal of the partition and the advent of a Governor imbued with British ideas of administration, the nightmare that was sitting on us would lift. Unfortunately it has not and the petty and unnecessary exasperation of pinpricks continues. We have practically been debarred from enlisting our young men as volunteers. Those who agreed to serve did not belong to any Government school or college but the police wanted their names and particulars. Our young friends were unwilling to figure in the rolls of the secret police as no one knew what might be in store for them."

The Reception Committee, however, proved equal to the occasion. They enlisted elderly men, doctors, landholders, barristers, pleaders, etc., as volunteers, and thus proved their manhood by overcoming an unexpected difficulty and making the Conference as successful as any of its predecessors. But though the immediate object was gained, the Conference was deprived of its character as a training ground for future self-sacrificing workers for the country. The Government expects the public to co-operate with it. Evidently it is forgotten

that co-operation is reciprocal. If Government servants place difficulties in the way of the most open, constitutional and legitimate movements of the public, the most natural result is strained relations between the public and the Government. Hearty co-operation on the part of self-respecting men becomes impossible under such circumstances. It is said that the people of India are peculiarly vicious in not co-operating with the police in the detection of criminals. We cannot endorse this indictment unless we are shown another country on the face of the globe, where the system of government and the police are of the same kind as here but where the people are nevertheless more helpful to the police.

Babu Aswini Kumar Datta's Presidential Address.

In the presidential address of Babu Aswini Kumar Datta at the Bengal Provincial Conference the passage which is most full of faith in our capacity and of self-reliance and which is, therefore, the most inspiring, runs as follows :—

The upheaval of the last few years, the restless agitation against the Partition of Bengal and the tremendous force of the Swadeshi movement—have they not proved that we still have *that* left in us which would stand us in good stead if we wanted to occupy a place in the scale of nations? Did not the life, the vigour, the power, that was in them lead even distant nations to change the opinion that they hitherto entertained about the Bengali race? Yes, Ladies, and Gentlemen, we have found out the strength that is in us. We now know that we can, if we will, shape our destiny. We have not to wait for some Deva's aid. We have got to take our destiny in the hollow of our hands and shape it as we will. We have to awaken the divinity that is in us and it will be as we want it to be. It is our will that will bend all forces at work according as we want them to. The pride of intellect is ours. That the race of Sri Chaitanya, of Ram Prasad, of Vidya-sagar is an emotional race no body can doubt, —sometimes our emotions in excess mark our failings and it cannot be gainsaid that a nascent love for Motherland is visible in the sphere of our emotions: but the will is torpid, dormant. We have to rouse the will by all means, the fire that blazed in the hearts of our ancestors of old. It is smouldering in us, we blew it into a flame, ashes again are collecting over it, we have to blow on it again, kindle it and keep it up, so that its warmth may reach the farthest corners of the land. We must see it consume all the evils that have accumulated here for ages. No "*non possumus*," no. Let us brace ourselves up for another continuous round of work. There are some who say that public spirit is on the wane and we have been tired of the activity we

exhibited recently. I do not believe it. There is a spell of apparent inaction because we have not embarked on a systematic plan of work. Let that be defined and taken up, and you will see how satisfactorily it will speed on.

He was of opinion that the village organizations should be placed on an autonomous basis.

I know that the wishes of the people are consulted by officials in forming "Punchayets" but that is not sufficient. Those appointed do not feel that they owe their position to the suffrage of the people and the villagers do not feel that they have the rights of the electors and the claims of constituents on their representatives. It is urged by some, that the principle of election is an exotic and is against our grain and it would take a long time before it could be assimilated. But the history of the village communities clearly show that the underlying principle was at work from time immemorial. We also in our boyhood used to see the election of the principal men of the village to decide disputes, to superintend local works and to administer the affairs of the village generally, although the election took place by tacit consent without the intervention of any official.

It seems the system of voting was not altogether unknown to the people of our country. I find a clear cut definite system of voting by ballot enjoined by the great Buddha about two thousand and five hundred years ago. Addressing the Bhikkhus he says :—

"I direct you, O 'Bhikkhus,' to decide such cases by 'yebhu, asika—the vote of the majority. You will appoint, as the distributor of 'salaka' (a slip of wood used as a voting ticket) a Bhikkhu who possesses these five qualities : (1) that he is not capricious; (2) that he is not led astray by ill-feeling; (3) or by affection; (4) or fear and (5) is discriminating about votes properly given and not given.

The 'salakagahapaka' was the ticket issuer and the 'Bhikkhus' voted by 'salaka,' a sort of ballot.

I do not pretend to say that such a system was popular, but it is not unlikely that the Buddhist Kings adopted it in certain departments of their administration.

The Bengal Provincial Social Conference.

The Bengal Provincial Social Conference met this year at Dacca. It was presided over by Mr. B. N. Basu and the pandal was almost full. The president delivered an introductory address and the first resolution ran thus :—"That in the opinion of this Conference the custom of child marriage is disastrous to the best interest of the country and holding this view the Conference records its deliberate opinion that the present marriageable age of girls should be raised to at least fourteen years." Among other resolutions the one which was given very large prominence was "That this Conference urges upon the

community to take all such measures as may be practicable to elevate the neglected classes and to spread education among them." Amongst the speakers, Mrs. Sarajubala Dutta, who edits the "Bharat Mahila", and several gentlemen from the so-called neglected classes also graphically described their humiliation and disrespectful position and how despised they are in society. It was impressed that the real strength of the country lies in the neglected classes, like the Namasudras, etc., who form more than 87 per cent. of the population and are really the backbone and strength of society. The lifting up of them would mean an evolution both in the political and social spheres. They formed the main but paralysed limb and if they are not restored to a sound condition the whole political agitation is bound to end in failure. The Conference further adopted a resolution for the acceptance of widow marriage in society. There was some controversy about the subject. Several speakers spoke upon the subject with eloquence and the audience were quite moved by the heart-rending descriptions of the sad lot of child widows. The matter was at last put to the vote and carried by a majority.

Honesty of Subordinate Indian officials.

One of the objections urged against the holding of the Civil Service Competitive examination in India is that questions would leak out. The following passage from Sir G. F. Wilson's concluding speech at the Budget Debate shows that in all ranks and positions Indians may be found who can be safely entrusted with a secret :—

Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes it was imperative that their nature should remain secret till they were officially announced. Everybody in the department and some concerned with but outside of it has to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of those from high officials to the low-paid compositors of the Government Press would have become relatively a millionaire by using that secret improperly. Yet so well was it kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax.

Terrorist crimes and political rights.

A paper has appeared in an English Review called the *Round Table*, making all those who criticise and oppose Government measures, in however lawful a manner, res-

possible in the last resort for bomb-throwing and other terrorist crimes, and advising the Government, at the next occurrence of any such crime, to withdraw all political rights or suspend their exercise and enjoyment. We do not think that the writer has been joking; he seems to be in deadly earnest. We also think that an influential class of Britishers will be disposed to attach great importance to his views and his advice. But from the little knowledge of past and contemporary history which we possess, we find that in the freest countries there has been bomb outrages and other similar crimes, and yet the people of those countries have not been deprived of any of their rights. Yet it seems insulting threats may be hurled with impunity at the heads of the most sober and moderate of India's sons by any fool who has a tongue in his head to wag or a pen in his hand to wield.

If Englishmen think that absolutism pure and simple, greater than what exists in India at present, is a remedy for political crimes, if they think that the withdrawal of the mere semblance of representative institutions shorn of its substance which we enjoy at present, is such a remedy, if they think that a bigger dose of coercion is such a remedy, if they think that what little political rights we have, have been granted to us out of sheer generosity and solely for our benefit, without a very much greater advantage accruing to Englishmen themselves from them than to us; then we say, they are welcome to do what they please. India has survived many calamities, many forms of eastern despotism; she will certainly survive this proposed form of western despotism, mutely to point the moral of its utter failure.

Let not Englishmen be too sure that it is an Indian or Indians who are responsible for the Delhi outrage.

It seems to be thought that non-official Indians do not care to help the police in the detection of terrorist crimes because they feel that they are themselves quite safe. We wonder what relation such a theory may bear to the explosion at the house of the Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar, who is esteemed and loved by all sections of the community.

A change in the constitution of the Moslem League.

A passage in the address which the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi delivered at Lucknow last month as President of the All-India Moslem League draws attention to a significant and important change in the constitution of the League.

According to the revised constitution the first object of the League is 'to maintain and promote among the people of this country feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown.' The substitution of the words 'the people of this country' in the place of 'Indian Musalmans' and of 'British Crown' in that of 'British Government' constitutes a distinct improvement which I have no doubt you will unhesitatingly accept. The traditional loyalty of the Indian Musalmans to the empire under the banner of which we live in peace and prosperity does not need to be proclaimed with a flourish of trumpet nor is it one of those monopolies, the successful possession of which depends upon extensive advertisement. The 'British Government' denotes change while our loyalty to the Empire is unchanging and unchangeable. It is the British Crown alone which is the permanent and ever-abiding symbol of empire. It is not to this Government or to that we acknowledge allegiance, it is to the British Crown itself that we owe unswerving and abiding loyalty.

The Law of Conspiracy.

It has been said that the conspiracy bill which has been passed in such hot haste is only a replica of what exists in England adapted to Indian conditions. The accuracy of that statement has been challenged by *Capital*, saying that the Indian conspiracy law has been now modelled on what existed in England in the seventies of the last century, not on the present British conspiracy law. But assuming that the Home member's statement is true, we ask him to consider the following observations of the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee on the Seditious Bill:—

Mr. Chalmers (said Mr. Bonnerjee) to make his proposed amendment of the law palatable to us, says that his only object in proposing the amendments is to assimilate the law of sedition in this country with the law on the same subject as it exists in England. Well, I have no objection at all to the law of sedition in this country being made the same as the law of sedition in England, provided, of course, Mr. Chalmers gives us in this country the same machinery for the administration of the law as exists in England. In England, as we all know, trials for sedition are held before a judge who is a countryman of the prisoner, and by a jury who are also countrymen of the prisoner, and no trial can take place unless a true bill has been found against the prisoner by a grand jury who are also countrymen of the prisoner. Let Mr. Chalmers give us this mode of trial, and we shall hail

him, however severe he may make the law, as the greatest lawgiver that has ever come to this country. The present machinery for trial of cases of sedition is bad enough in all conscience. In the presidency towns it must be held by a jury. But so far as her Majesty's British Indian subjects are concerned, the jury may consist entirely of Europeans. I do not think, I say so with all submission to Mr. Chalmers, that his Bill proceeds on the lines of the English law of sedition at all. He is entirely mistaken in thinking it does. But assuming it does, Mr. Chalmers is prepared to give us the poison in the shape of his amendment, and not the antidote to the poison in the shape of the English machinery for its administration.

Nor must we forget that in India there is not the same powerful public opinion, nor the same unfettered right of criticism in the press, to check abuses of power by the executive and the police.

We consider the new law to be fraught with the possibility of the gravest danger to the public. It makes even civil wrong a crime. It makes, implicitly, the enforcement of social discipline by caste panchayets and similar bodies liable to a criminal prosecution, and is thus an encroachment on the immemorial customary social rights of the people. If this law had been in existence in the days when the swadeshi agitation was at its height, large numbers of Hindus could have been prosecuted for the crime of conspiring to boycott British goods, and such prosecutions would have, owing to well-known facts, assumed the aspect of a Hindu-Musalman conflict. Now that Musalmans in many places in public meeting assembled have resolved to boycott European goods, this law may be set in motion. It may be that the memory of the defunct swadeshi-boycott movement, and the nascent Musalman boycott movement have something to do with the passing of the conspiracy law.

Perhaps the Government will set the law in motion only in a few extreme cases, though we can not be quite sure. But it is certain that people will feel terrified by its hanging over their heads like the sword of Damocles. Enlightened statesmanship should set its face against such demoralisation of the people.

Whenever a new criminal law is passed, there is the foolish familiar argument trotted out, "honest and innocent people need not be afraid:" as if only really guilty people are in every case prosecuted and harrassed. There is another stock argu-

ment, namely, that loyal people should support the Government, with its implication that all who oppose the government are disloyal; whereas the real truth is that there is no greater act of loyalty than to fearlessly criticise and expose the blunders of the Government and their wrong methods. It is probable that many of the Indian members who supported the conspiracy bill were influenced by the fear of being considered disloyal. All the more honor, therefore, to Messrs Surendranath Banerjea and Viraraghavachariar for the bold stand they made against it. It is they who truly reflected public opinion, not the supporters of the bill, whose votes should show how microscopic is the representative character of our legislative councils.

Criticism of the Dacca University Scheme.

The Calcutta University has criticised the Dacca University committee's report unfavorably and unsparingly. What the University has said was supplemented by its Vice-Chancellor in his last convocation address, which was as militant as under the circumstances it could be. But in certain respects, perhaps the most searching and damaging criticism is that by the Standing Committee of the Bengal Provincial Conference. If it is a misfortune that the Indian dailies of Bengal do not generally interest themselves in the affairs of the other provinces of India, it is no less a misfortune that some journals outside Bengal write on the problems of Bengal in a cocksure fashion without caring to be sufficiently well-informed. The Dacca University scheme is a case in point. Some of these journals seem to think that it does not matter that all influential associations and public bodies of all shades of political or non-political opinion in Bengal have condemned the Dacca scheme, and that all the most influential and most widely circulated Bengal journals have disapproved of it. These journals outside Bengal stick to their guns; they think they are right and the Bengalis are wrong, perhaps for the very good reason that the Bengalis know where the shoe pinches. We commend to these colleagues the observations of the Standing Committee of the Bengal Provincial Conference on the proposed Dacca University.

We do hope the Standing Committee will

submit to the Government and publish similar observations on important public questions, and thus complete the justification for its existence which has been so well begun.

The Public Services Commission.

The proceedings and methods adopted by the Public Services Commission or by the local Governments in connection with it, continue to evoke adverse comments. Thus the *Indu Prakash* of Bombay says:—

It seems that the Commission has been successfully terrorised by the criticisms of the bureaucratic organs of the press and Anglo-Indian correspondents. The *Statesman* and the *Pioneer* and the *London Times* have charged the Commission with missing the points really at issue and with raising bitter racial feeling by allowing questions and answers on such points as:—are Indian I. C. S. men as competent as European I. C. S. men or have the Provincial Service Indians appointed to "listed posts" of the I. C. S. reserve acquitted themselves well or not, etc. We know what has prompted these criticisms. At Madras and in Calcutta most trenchant and convincing evidence was given to show that nothing could be more false than the cruelly wanton allegations of the bureaucracy that the Indians had not proved or would not prove equal to any duties they had been or may be called on to discharge. If this raised bitter racial feeling the blame rests on the representatives of the European bureaucracy and the European merchants, who are dead against any further increase in the Indian element in the higher services of the country and would therefore bring such false pleas as the incompetency of Indians, necessity of a preponderating British element, etc. What we insist on is that these are very vital issues. If the allegations against Indians are true, our claims shall have to be abandoned. If they are not, our demands must be granted. The Indians court a full enquiry. The Anglo-Indians would burke it and the motives cannot possibly be unselfish. We are sorry therefore to observe that these points have been altogether removed from the Commission's enquiry since its coming to Bombay.

In regard to Bombay, we also see an attempt to minimize as far as possible by artificial means the large volume of Indian opinion of the truly popular size. A number of gentlemen of this party have, we know, sent written statements but only very few of them have been called to give oral evidence so that a false appearance of public opinion in Bombay will be given by the oral evidence of the 32 witnesses that have been selected for the purpose—selected arbitrarily and on no fair principle. Out of these 32 selected men, we find so many as 17 Government servants, many I. C. S. men. One is a Gujrattee Sirdar, one a Native State Minister of no repute. The Press gets only one representative, Mr. Kelkar of Poona and none from Bombay. There remain Principal Paranjpe, Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, Mr. Karandikar, Mr. H. A. Wadia, Sir P. M. Mehta, and the Hon. Mr. Kothari and two European merchants. How poorly the independent men of the

popular party and the educated classes are represented in these 32 witnesses as selected for oral examination need not be dilated upon at length!

We wonder why such men as the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas and Mr. Wacha were not called at all. On the other hand some have been called upon who were unwilling.

Many of those that sent written statements and some of them men of very great note, were not called at all. We hear that the written statements of those not called for oral evidence have not been read, would probably never be read and would not be incorporated in the final Report of the Commission! Their fate is to be the W. P. B. And yet the statements were submitted in accordance with the Public Notification in the Government Gazette which was specially sent to certain gentlemen.

But for Mr. Madgamkar's protest, no Indian I. C. S. would have been included and even he too was examined in camera.

The Leader of Allahabad says:—

We notice that the only Bengali gentleman asked for his opinions is Mr. Justice Banerji. The readers must think each for himself whether it is easy or difficult to account for the omission of such names as Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, Babu Durga Charan Banerji and Mr. A. P. Sen among non-official Bengalis, such men as Rai Srish Chandra Basu Bahadur among officials and Major B. D. Basu among retired officials. In the list of public bodies invited to express opinions we miss the People's Associations of Lucknow and Cawnpore and the Sujana Samaj of Benares. Then, why have the Hon. Babu Brijnandan Prasad and Rai Bahadur Lala Baijnath been left out? The most serious dissatisfaction, however, will be caused by the omission of the names of Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, ex-presidents of the Congress; the Hon. Rai Ganga Prasad Varma Bahadur, a veteran publicist, and the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru from the list of witnesses to be orally examined. Imagine a serious body like the Services Commission coming to ascertain public opinion in these provinces and not hearing Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya! Not one more word is necessary to expose the absurdity of the thing. Is the enlightened and advanced public opinion of these provinces to find its spokesmen in Rai Nathimal Bahadur—does he know English?—and Nawab Abdul Majid? Is the National Congress view to be all but ignored?

Babu Motilal Ghose's Memorandum for the Public Services Commission.

Babu Motilal Ghose's memorandum is a very able and convincing production. We are glad to find that our contention that justice requires that the Indian Civil Service Examination should be held only in India, finds support from his views. His remarks on the alleged British character of the Indian administration are in many cases similar to those expressed in this review. His plea for the reduction of the pay of covenanted civilians (a point that we, too, have urged)

is unanswerable. We quote one of his arguments.

Here is, again, a stubborn fact which ought to be conclusive on the subject. The Indian and the Colonial Civil Service examinations are absolutely identical in their nature. The two services are recruited exactly in the same way. So far as educational tests are concerned, there is not the slightest difference between the members of each. Yet the maximum pay of the Ceylon Civilian is Rs. 2,000, the only exception being in the case of the Colonial Secretary who gets Rs. 2,500 per mensem. With what show of justice can the members of the Indian Civil Service demand higher salaries than their congeners in Ceylon, who are fully their peers in every respect?

The Indian Daily News says:—

He makes decided points when he quotes the average pay of the administration of Ceylon. The American in the Philippines, he might have added, seems to get very efficient public servants for very much less than is paid in India. Their Public Works Department according to Mr. Warwick Greene works out an average of 4,000 pesos or Rs. 6,000 a year. And the Philippine climate is far worse than India. Mr. Greene, however, says it is not sufficient.... All the arguments about the standard and quality of the Civil Service are foolish when one finds, as is often the case, one brother as a Civilian on Rs. 2,500 a month and another brother in the police on Rs. 700, the difference between the two being as often as not in favour of the policeman as regards efficiency.

The Aga Khan's evidence.

The Aga Khan ought to rise higher in the estimation of all Indians by the able, reasonable, firm and patriotic manner in which he gave his evidence before the Public Services Commission at Bombay. But we cannot account for his irrelevantly dragging in the name of Mr. Aravinda Ghosh as an example of the evil effects of sending young boys to England for education. The evil effects are twofold: (1) these boys may succumb to temptations and become immoral; (2) they may be thoroughly denationalised. The worst enemy of Mr. Aravinda Ghosh cannot insinuate that his life and character has been anything but very pure. And he has been by precept and example a consistent and distinguished exponent of nationalism not only in politics, but in dress, food, religion and social practices. It may be said that the Aga Khan referred to his political views. But, in the first place, Mr. Ghosh's views have never been judicially pronounced to be seditious, though he has suffered much for them. In the second place, even if one classes his views with those of men like

Krishnavarma, Savarkar and Dhingra, for which there is no justification, there is nothing to prove any causal connection between such views and residence in England from childhood for education. Krishnavarma, Dhingra, Savarkar and men like them all went to England long after they had left childhood behind.

Let us quote the exact question and answer.

Do you regard the result of boys having been sent to England at an early age unsatisfactory as a whole?—On the whole, yes; none of those have shone out.

Could you give a remarkable instance?—Well Arabindo Ghosh; and I can not give a single instance of one who could be said to have given eminent satisfaction.

The Aga Khan should be aware that there is a large number of Indians in no respect deficient in intelligence, culture and patriotism who think that as a scholar, thinker and writer, and above all, as the ablest spokesman of nationalism, Mr. Aravinda Ghosh has shone out very brilliantly indeed.

Urban and Rural Sanitation.

In the financial statement for 1913-1914 Sir G. F. Wilson says that he proposes to distribute the surplus as follows:—

There are certain relatively small requirements which we intend to meet: but the bulk of the money will go in grants to secure a steady progress in education and sanitation, an object which has the support of both official and non-official opinion. We propose to make the following distribution of funds:—

2½ crores for non-recurring expenditure on education.

1½ crores for urban sanitation.

30 lakhs to Burma for communications.

20 lakhs to Assam for development.

1 crore in aid of general provincial resources.

It is very unfortunate that there is here no grant for rural sanitation. Rural sanitation ought to have a prior claim, both because the vast majority of Indians live in villages and because for looking after urban sanitation there are the municipalities, but for the villages nobody seems to be responsible. British officials and non-officials for the most part reside in urban areas. They have, therefore, neither any direct knowledge of the sanitary condition of rural areas; nor, it may be said without injustice to them, any direct interest in the improvement of that condition.

Gold in Bengal.

The news of the discovery of gold, copper and coal deposits in the Dhalbhum Estate in Bengal has not given us much pleasure. Circumstanced as India is, her mineral wealth cannot, generally speaking, enrich her sons to any appreciable extent; it will enrich foreigners and to that extent lead to the permanent impoverishment of the country. We do not blame foreign exploiters. We urge our countrymen so to increase their own political power as to be able to control the granting of mining rights and concessions for the benefit of the India of the Indians, so to increase the number of Indian geologists, mineralogists and mining engineers as gradually to make it unnecessary to require the help of foreign skilled workers of these descriptions, and so to organise indigenous capital and direct its flow towards the development of the resources of the country as to be able to occupy more and more of the industrial field as the years pass by.

The discovery of gold mines in a country attracts to it numbers of adventurers who are not very good specimens of humanity. Looked at from this point of view the possession of gold fields is not a blessing.

The generous attitude of a powerful country.

There are many European nations which do not like that any Asiatic country should have an independent, strong, settled and popular government; for that would stand in the way of its exploitation by them. Many are the ways in which Asiatic governments are sought to be embarrassed. The granting or forcing of a loan is one. This may lead to the annexation of particular sources of revenue, which, again, may be followed by the annexation of territory. So far as China is concerned President Woodrow Wilson has declined to participate in this policy of plunder. In a statement approved by the Cabinet, the President announces that the administration has declined to request the group of American bankers to continue negotiations with a view to participation of the United States in the loan of 125 million dollars desired by China. The representatives of the bankers interested declared that they would continue to seek to share the loan only if

expressly requested to do so by the U. S. A. Government. The reason why Dr. Wilson declined to make this request was that the administration did not approve of the conditions of the loan, or the implication of responsibility on its own part, which, it was plainly told, was involved in the request. Dr. Wilson continues: "The condition of the loan seem to us to touch very nearly the administrative independence of China. This administration feels that it ought not, even by implication, to be a party to these conditions. The responsibility on its part, implied in requesting the bankers to undertake the loan, might conceivably go to the length, in some unhappy contingency, of forcible interference in the financial, or even political, affairs of a great Oriental State which is just awakening to a consciousness of its power and obligations to its people."

Dr. Wilson further objects to the perpetuation of certain antiquated taxes as pledges for the security of the loan. He declares that the American people desire to participate very generously in opening to the Chinese and to the world the almost untouched and unrivalled resources of China.

While this statement only explains the attitude of the Government to the Chinese loan, it is authoritatively stated that the same policy will apply throughout Dr. Wilson's administration to parallel situations in Central America and elsewhere.

"Kach and Devayani".

Our frontispiece this month is an illustration of the well-known story of Kach and Devayāni. It was narrated at length in the December, 1911, number of this Review in the article "Star Pictures" by Sister Nivedita. Kach, the son of Brihaspati, the high-priest of the gods, becomes a disciple of Shukra, the high-priest of the Asuras, the enemies of the gods. When Kach was in Shukra's hermitage, Devayāni, the daughter of that old sage, fell in love with Kach and proposed marriage. Kach did not agree, whereupon Devayāni cursed him that his learning would be of no use to him.

The fall of Adrianople.

Adrianople has fallen and the town of Chatalja is also in the hands of the enemies

of Turkey. The besiegers of Adrianople will now join hands with those who have been trying to break through the lines at Chatalja and march on Constantinople. Altogether the prospects are very gloomy for Turkey and cannot but fill all unprejudiced hearts with sadness. But the Turks have made a most heroic defence. The future of such a brave people cannot be dark, if there be wisdom in their leaders.

"A Saraswati Yatra."

In climate and scenery, flora and fauna, in varieties of religion, culture and social customs, and in the many different stages of civilisation, India is almost an epitome of the whole world. All Indians, young and old, should complete their knowledge of our wonderful country by travelling all over it. This duty is particularly incumbent on our students; for they can never 'finish' their education except in the university of travel. The approaching long summer vacation is eminently suitable for travel in the cool hill tracts. For spiritual uplift, and as a mental and bodily tonic, nothing can be better. We, therefore, hope many students will undertake a "Saraswati Yatra."

We ought to have schools and colleges in the hill regions; and for the students of

institutions in the plains, organised educational pilgrimages to the hills.

The beautiful photographs reproduced in "A Saraswati Yatra" were specially taken by Mr. Myron M. Phelps, and we are grateful to him for their use.

Indians in America.

We regret to learn that owing to some unworthy Indians trying to make money by lecturing in America, it sometimes happens at present that lectures by Indians do not attract hearers.

But what is a matter of greater regret is that the unwholesome views or the culpable conduct of some Indians, residing in the U. S. A. as students or for other purposes, are lowering the name of India in the estimation of the American public. We have often recorded the small achievements of our young men there just to encourage self-help; but it would seem we must henceforth be very strict in requiring proof of irreproachable character and undoubted ability before we mention anybody's name.

In fairness to all students accounts of whose successes we have published or received for publication, we should state that we have not heard anything to their discredit.



THE MADONNA OF THE MAGNIFICAT.

BY BOTTICELLI.

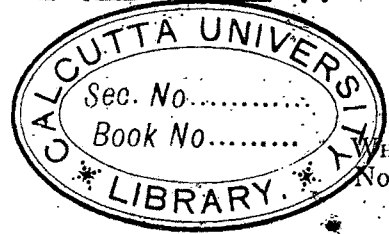
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NOTES ON THE EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA*

BY KUMAR NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L.

I. MUHAMMADAN PERIOD. MUHAMMADAN EDUCATION. *Introduction.*

THE Muhammadan invasions of India mark the beginnings of momentous changes not merely in the social and political spheres, but also in the domain of education and learning. No longer did the air resound exclusively with the chanting of the Vedic hymns or the recitation of the Buddhist scriptures, but side by side with these, and sometimes in supersession of these, were heard the *Aits* of the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet. The settlement in India of a foreign nation with its own ideals and culture developed by evolution through centuries and their acquisition of political supremacy in the land, naturally placed indigenous ideals and culture at a disadvantage. And so the indigenous system of education was for a time deprived of the stimulus and support of state or royal patronage, which now applied itself to the promotion of the new Islamic learning, and the old learning was made to shift for itself and thrown upon the resources of popular support. Sometimes, it was even put down and persecuted by the political power flushed with its first victories, and we have harrowing

tales of old Universities broken up, libraries looted, and the votaries of indigenous learning, Hindu or Buddhist, murdered or driven away homeless. These were however the days of unrest and transition, of the travails of a new birth, when the old order was changing yielding place to new.

The day will yet be long to come when we shall find the Muhammadan rulers patronising the education of their Hindu and Moslem subjects alike, and encouraging with equal ardour the growth of other learning besides the Muhammadan; but for about a century or two after the first Muhammadan conqueror had set foot on the Indian soil, Hindu education and literature followed their own course supported by their own votaries. It goes without saying that in these early days, the personal character of the reigning sovereign was the most important political factor affecting popular well-being, and it was especially true in the case of education.

If the emperor were of literary tastes and encouraged the cause of education and learning, we find his Court a bee-hive of literary men, poets, philosophers and scientists, and a great impetus is given to the literary life of the day. We find noblemen imitating him and lavishing endowment after endowment upon schools and colleges and distinguished literary men, for their support and encouragement. On the other hand, if the Emperor be devoid of literary tastes, and addicted to low

* From the author's forthcoming work "Notes on the Educational History of India from the Earliest Times".

pleasures and licentiousness, there is a corresponding setback in learning. We find his Court deserted by the literati, and there is a paucity of learned men. The reason for this is not far to seek. The sovereign was the largest fountain from which the educational institutions, professors and literary men drew the greatest portion of their sustenance, and a slight change in his literary taste produced a corresponding change in the literary world. Centralized as all power was in the Emperor alone, the changes in his will and desire made themselves felt in all directions of national activity. The Emperor's taste was, so to speak, a barometer of the then literary atmosphere. Sometimes we find, as in the case of Alauddin Khilji, that the literary life of the day was in a vigorous state, though the Emperor was devoid of literary taste and even did positive harm to the cause of learning when in the beginning of his reign, he confiscated the endowments that fed the literary institutions and learned men. Such a state of things is surely abnormal, and we cannot explain it unless we bear in mind that private munificence played not a small part in the sustenance and encouragement of education and literature. So, if education and literary life appeared to flourish in spite of the Emperor in the early part of his reign, it was owing to the momentum they had already received and the large encouragement they obtained from private individuals, landholders and petty chiefs. State encouragement is vital to the literary and educational advance of the country and in the days when the Emperor himself was virtually the state, we can realize the important role played by him for good or evil in the literary world. It is when we look at the matter from this standpoint that we understand the importance of carefully observing the literary tastes, education and other such traits in the character of the long roll of Muhammadan invaders and emperors who came to influence the destiny of India.

BOOK I.

(The Pre-Moghul period)

CHAPTER I.

We shall begin with Sultan Mahmud and review seriatim the work of Muhammadan sovereigns, noticing at the same time all

relevant facts bearing on the educational and literary history of the period.

Sultan Mahmud, notorious as an iconoclast, had one great redeeming feature in his character. He was a great patron of education and learning, and a staunch friend of learned men. But a bigoted Musalman as he was, he did not care to encourage the learned men of any other faith, or to foster the education of the people of any other persuasion.

It need hardly be pointed out that it was at his capital in Ghazni that he showered the largest portion of his munificence, and so to the Hindus, the darker aspects of his character were better known than the brighter. The name of Mahmud has become with them a synonym for bigotry, cruelty and rapacity combined. A Hindu who hears of his 17 successive invasions of India, of his destruction of Hindu temples and images of gods and goddesses, of the numberless people he massacred and put to cruel death, of the havoc and horror he created and of his plunders and devastations, does naturally paint him in the blackest dye. In justice however to this Sultan, some of the redeeming qualities of his head and heart should be properly and adequately emphasised.

The House of Ghazni.

The following anecdote related by Hamdulla Mustafi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Guzida*, is very suggestive. "Mahmud's features were very ugly. One day, regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazir inquired as to the cause of his sorrow; to which he replied, 'It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye, but the form with which I am endowed is enough to strike the beholder blind. The Wazir replied, 'Scarcely one man in a million looks on your face, but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one.'* To make an impartial estimate of Mahmud's qualities, it is therefore necessary to describe these "qualities of mind" which are less known than the sterner aspects of his character.

Mahmud's large-hearted munificence for the encouragement of learning is well worthy of record. The *Guzida* mentions

* Elliot III. P. 63.

+ Ibid.

that annually he bestowed upon learned men and poets the princely sum of 400000 dinars. But his zeal for education was not confined to the mere support of learned men: he also founded institutions for the permanent promotion of learning. In the neighbourhood of the magnificent mosque of marble and granite, richly furnished with carpets, candelabra and ornaments of gold and silver,—the mosque which received the endearing appellation of the Celestial Bride,—was founded a university supplied with a vast collection of curious books in various languages. It contained also a museum of natural curiosities. For the maintenance of this establishment, he appropriated a large sum of money, besides a sufficient sum for the maintenance of the students and proper persons to instruct youths in the arts and sciences.*

Ferishta moreover adds the interesting piece of information that Unsury, the scholar, who was profound as a scientist, well-versed in all the learned languages, great as a philosopher, and, as a wit and poet, the greatest of his age—the man who acted to Mahmud as a censor of literature, was appointed as a professor of the University of Ghazni and his versatile talents no doubt made him quite fit for the post which he was selected to adorn.

The establishment of this university and the encouragement of *belles lettres* and learned men was somewhat of an expiation for the ill-gotten hoard of wealth acquired by plunder and bloodshed. Within a short time the city of Ghazni became an attractive resort of literary men, poets, philosophers and scientists, which made it a most renowned centre of learning, as it was at the same time fast becoming a great civic centre adorned with the beautiful works of architecture and sculpture, with public buildings and private palaces, with mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, baths and reservoirs. The city rose to be as famous as a Bologna or a Padua of mediæval Europe. Of the many learned men of genius and eminence who shared the munificence of the Sultan, one was Utbi, who composed the *Tarikh-i-Yamini* which was an account of the descendants of Subuktigin. Another was Uzery Razy, a native of Persia, who on one occasion received a present of

14000 dirhams from the Sultan for a short panegyric. Assudy Tusy, a native of Khorasan and a poet of great fame, was the master of Ferdusi. The Sultan often requested him to undertake the *Shah Namah* but he excused himself on the ground of his old age. However, when Ferdusi fled from Ghazni, he entreated Assudy to supply a part of the *Shah Namah* consisting of 4000 couplets. Munucheher, a noble of Balkh, was also famous for his wit and poetry, and lived at the royal court. Unsury, the greatest poet of his age, a great philosopher, scientist and linguist, whom we have already mentioned in connection with the University of Ghazni, was a great panegyrist of Mahmud—writing quite a crop of odes and quatrains in his praise. A curious story relates that the Sultan “having one night in a debauch cut off the long tresses of his favourite mistress, was much concerned in the morning for what he had done. He sat, he rose, he walked by turns, and his attendants were alarmed to approach him. The philosopher Unsury accosted him with some extempore lines which so pleased the king that he ordered his mouth to be thrice filled with jewels. Calling then for wine, he sat with the poet and washed down his grief.” Unsury was appointed by the Sultan to superintend literature and no work could be brought before Mahmud without his approval. Four hundred poets and learned men as also the students of the University of Ghazni acknowledged him as their master who was invested with the recently created dignity of a poet laureate able by his verdict to open the way to royal favour for rising talents.* Asjudi, who was a powerful poet and a pupil of Unsury, composed a *Quasidah* lauding the virtues of his patron on the occasion of the sacking of Somnath, as also Farrukhi, another pupil of Unsury who amassed great wealth through the generosity of the monarch, of which he was deprived by robbers on his way to Samarkand, were also of the number of learned men patronized by him. Nor must I omit to mention in this connection the name of the famous poet who has been the subject of an anecdote that has been iterated, times out of number, by historians to exemplify Mahmud’s literary ardour. I mean the author of the *Shah Namah*, the immortal Ferdusi who was

* Briggs’ Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 61.

* Preface to Alberuni by Sachau, p. 1.

attracted to Mahmud's court by the fame of his liberality and was charged by the Sultan with the difficult task of completing the historical poem left unfinished by Dakiki whose life was cut short by a servant. The death of Ferdusi as well as his appointment by Mahmud took place in an equally curious way which may well repay a detailed narration.* "It is written in the books of the learned authors that during the first years, Ferdusi took great pleasure in versification. It happened one day that he received ill-treatment from somebody, and he went to Ghazni to lodge his complaint to Sultan Mahmud. On arriving near the city, he saw three men conversing together in a garden, and the poet talked with them, hoping they would help him in the matter for which he came. The men said that they were the Sultan's poets and they did not talk with anybody who was not a poet (the three men were Unsur, Asjudi and Farrukhi) and they took into their society only that man who could add a fourth verse to the three verses they would recite." When Ferdusi heard this, he consented to supply the complementary verse, and the readiness with which he did so, astonished the poetic trio, and they made him one of them. He achieved his immediate object, and was introduced to the Sultan, whose discerning eye did not fail to appreciate the merits of the poet. Having afterwards been appointed to compose the *Shah Namah*, he wrote a thousand verses, for which the Sultan gave him 1,000 dinars when they were shown to him for his approval. When Ferdusi finished the poem, the verses amounted to 60,000, and he expected to get a dinar for each verse. The Sultan however on the advice of a few persons of mean disposition sanctioned only 60,000 dirhams to be given to Ferdusi as his remuneration. This amount was brought to the poet when he was just coming out of a bath. He was so much disappointed at the reward which fell so short of his ambition, that he gave a third of the sum to the bath-keeper, another third to a sherbet seller who had brought some beverage for him, and the rest to the person who brought the money.

Ferdusi was stung to the quick by the Sultan's injustice, which dashed all his hopes

and a literary man as he was, he avenged this wrong in a literary way. He composed about 40 verses which hurled a biting satire at the Sultan, incorporated them into the *Shah Namah* and fled to Tus, his native city, to be out of the reach of the power he had attacked. One day, some time after this incident, Atmad bin Hasan Maimardi, who was also one of the poets who enjoyed the Sultan's patronage, was out a-hunting with the Sultan and having come close to him repeated to him several verses out of the *Shah Namah* which were exceedingly applauded by him. Being asked whose poetry it was Hasan answered that it was composed by Ferdusi. The Sultan repented of his neglect of the incomparable poet, and ordered men to take 60,000 dinars at once to Tus, and ask the poet's pardon. In the *Baharistan* it is written that when these presents came in at one gate of Tus, the coffin of Ferdusi was carried out at the other. An only daughter was his heiress, but she refused to accept the presents when offered to her, saying "I have enough wealth to last me to the end of my days, I have no need of this money". The daughter's answer was indeed well worthy of the high-souled father.* The Sultan built a caravansarai with that money in the neighbourhood of Tus, characteristically loath to appropriate for himself the sum once given away as reward to a deserving man and anxious to apply it to the original purpose.

Magnanimous towards literary men as he was, his literary bias dominated on one occasion his martial instincts, and made his zeal for war yield to dictates of peace. In 1023 A. D. he invested the fort of Gwalior and after a while, Nanda Roy, its chief, willing to conclude peace, sent out 300 elephants without riders for the Turks to seize and take them.† Ferishta has a somewhat different version of this event and says that Nanda had intoxicated the elephants with drugs in order to put the bravery of the Sultan's troops to the test, and also adds that along with these presents, which were surely of doubtful benefit to the Sultan if they were actually in the state mentioned by Ferishta, were offered a few other presents

* For the above information vide *Habibus Siyar of Khondamir*. Elliot IV 188 ff and *Ferishta* vol. 89 ff.

† For the above information vide *Habibus Siyar of Khondamir*. Elliot IX. p. 190 ff.

† *Tabakati Akbari*-Elliot II. P. 467.

also *. Whichever account be true, it appears that the Sultan could not have been propitiated, had it not been for a complimentary poem sent to him at the time. Its poetry was so much admired by the learned men of India, Arabia and Persia attached to his court and Mahmud was so much pleased with it that in return he conferred on Nanda the government of 15 forts among which was the strong fort of Kalanjar. This was indeed a rare example in all history of the triumph of poetry and literature, the victory of idealism, and it speaks volumes in favour of the man through whom this triumph and this victory were achieved.

We have thus seen that Mahmud, who is popularly known for his militarism and plunder, was also a great patron of Mahomedan learning, and, indeed, in the words of our historian Ferishta, 'no king had ever more learned men at his court'† than the Sultan Mahmud.

Mahmud also bequeathed to his successors his own zeal for education. The House of Ghazni throughout maintained its reputation for its patronage of learning. The successor of Sultan Mahmud was

"generous to prodigality particularly to learned men of whose company he was so fond that many were induced to come from all parts to his court. Among the most celebrated, we must reckon Anvury Khan Khwaruzmy, a great philosopher and astronomer who wrote an excellent treatise upon astronomy called *Musaudy*; in reward for which he was presented with an elephant's load of silver. Abu Mahomed Nasahy was a man of eminent learning in his age. He wrote a book entitled also *Musaody*, in support of the doctrine of Abu Hanifa, which he presented to the king. In the beginning of his reign, Musaud built many mosques, and endowed several colleges and schools which he caused to be erected in the different cities of his dominions."‡

So in Musaud we find a worthy successor of Mahmud, maintaining the traditions of his father, erecting magnificent public buildings, including schools and colleges, making provision for their maintenance by rich and adequate endowments, keeping up the attractiveness of Ghazni for learned men, paying particular attention to diffusion of learning and placing its benefits within the easy reach of the general public by establishing educational institutions in the

several cities of his large dominions. Mirkhond, the author of the *Rauzatus Safa* informs us that he was very fond of the company of the learned, whom he obliged in manifold ways; for which many an author dedicated his book to him. During his reign, on the evidence of the same authority, so many colleges, mosques and religious edifices were built in the various parts of his dominions that it is impossible to enumerate them.* For the unstinted liberality of this Sultan towards the learned and the cause of learning, we have the testimony of the famous savant Alberuni, who flourished at this time. He could not rise in the good graces of Sultan Mahmud, most probably for the political antagonism that existed between him and Mahmud's chancellor Maimandi. And so, like Ferdusi, he has taken a literary man's mild revenge upon the Sultan by accusing him of "having failed in the duties of a protector of art and science imposed upon him by his royal office" and by lavishing his praise upon his successor in whose regime he could obtain his full share of royal protection and encouragement.

From the writings of Alberuni, we can get an insight into the rapid progress that Arabic and Persian literatures were then making in laying under contribution the rich store of knowledge imbedded in both Sanskrit literature and Greek. Indian mathematics and astronomy, astrology, medicine and pharmacology were favourite subjects of study with the Muhammadan scholars, and translations of Indian works including a large portion of narrative literature into Persian and Arabic were fast being made by these energetic and inquisitive students.†

The next four Sultans who came successively after Mahmud to sit on the throne of Ghazni, were not noted for their literary zeal. Ferishta on the authority of the *Jaml-ul-Hikayat* informs us that Sultan Ibrahim was of a religious disposition and used to hear lectures regularly on his favourite subjects of religion and morality from Imam Yusuf Shujawundy; and on such occasions, he showed in a remarkable degree, patience and resignation, with which he used to bear the reproofs of his moral

* Ferishta Vol, I pp. 66,67.

† Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 32.

‡ Ferishta vol I. pp. 113,114.

* *Rauzatus Safa* by Mirkhond. Elliot IV, p. 138.

† *Vide* preface to Alberuni by Sachau.

tutor. He was not certainly a sovereign in the eye of the guardian of his moral self, and both the pupil and the preceptor acted accordingly.

This Sultan excelled in the art of fine writing cultivated in the East by the Muhammadan Emperors as a separate subject of study requiring particular attention, and like many a Musalman Emperor, before and after him, he sent two copies of the Koran which he had transcribed with his own hand during his leisure hours to Mecca and Medina as presents to the Caliph to be deposited in their respective sacred libraries.*

The next Sultan, Beiram bin Musaud, was possessed of an uncommon thirst for knowledge. He infused new blood into the literary world by his ardent promotion of literature, and liberal and open-handed patronage of learned men. Of the many literary men who flocked to his court, the names of Shaikh Nizami and Syed Hassan Ghaznavy, the former being the author of the *Mukhzam-asar*, dedicated to the Sultan his patron, and both of them being poets and philosophers of wide spread fame, are worthy of note. The Sultan caused several works in foreign languages to be translated into Persian, among which was the Indian book *Kalila Dimna*.† This work along with a chess-board had been sent as a present by an Indian king to Nowsherwan, the Persian monarch, by whose vizir Buzurjmehr it was translated into Pehlvy from the Sanskrit original. It was afterwards rendered into Arabic by Ibn-ul-Muklea in the reign of the famous king Harun-ul-Rashid; it was from this Arabic version that Sultan Beiram ordered it to be translated into Persian. The work was accomplished but it bristled with Arabic words and was full of Arabic poetry, for which it had to undergo a subsequent transformation at the hands of Mulla Husain Waiz Kashfy in the reign of Sultan Husain Mirza Khwaruzmy, and it then got the new title of *Anwar Soheily*.‡

We have now done with the educational history of the House of Ghazni, which as we have seen, counted among its members

several Sultans having marked literary predilections and applying the resources of the state to the promotion of learning.

CHAPTER II.

The House of Ghor.

We now reach the period of the House of Ghor, under which learning did not fare so well as it did under the House of Ghazni. The first chapter of Ghor history is associated with the vandalism of Alauddin Ghor under whose orders the city of Ghazni, perhaps the noblest and the most beautiful in the whole of Asia at the time, "was given up for three, and some say seven, days to flame, slaughter and devastation. All the superb monuments of the Ghaznevite kings were demolished and every trace of them effaced; except the tombs of Mahmud, Musaud and Ibrahim; the two first of whom were spared for their valour and the last probably for his sanctity."* The real founder however of Ghor greatness was Muhammad Ghor, better known for his conquests, which surpassed those of Sultan Mahmud, than for his devotion to letters.

In the interim of more than half a century, we have a period of chronic war and unrest, and so far as literary matters are concerned, it might be called a very dark epoch. But as unrest was gradually settling down, we find Muhammad turning his thoughts towards the literary progress of his dominions, but it should be remembered that these efforts were all marked by a religious exclusiveness which looked to the progress of the Moslem subjects alone. While he was at Ajmere, Muhammad Ghor, it is related by Hasan Nizami,*

"Destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges; and the precepts of Islam and the customs of the law were divulged and established."

In his zeal for conquest and the spread of Islam, in the hurry and bustle of battles and the consequent mental preoccupations, he did not forget his duty towards the peaceful cause of education.

Besides his work at Ajmere, Ferishta records his work of private tuition undertaken

* Ferishta, vol. I., p. 137.

† An adaptation of the Indian tales of the *Panchatantra*.

‡ Ferishta, vol. I, p. 149, 150 and C. Huart's *History of Arabic Literature*, p. 211.

* Elphinstone, vol. I, p. 596.

† *Fajul Masir* by Hasan Nizami, Elliot, II, p. 215.

in respect of some of his Turkey slaves and —says he :

" Muhammad Ghori having no children except one daughter, took pleasure in educating Turkey slaves whom he afterwards adopted. Four of these slaves besides Kutbuddin became great princes of whom Tajuddin Yelduz was one."*

Three of these were in possession of extensive governments at the time of Muhammad's death: Kutbuddin in India, Yelduz in Ghazni and Nasiruddin Kubachi in Multan and Sindh.† It appears that in the instruction of these proteges of his, he used to combine a literary education with a training in the difficult art of practical government, which was so essential to princes.

CHAPTER III.

The Slave Dynasty.

The House of Ghor was succeeded by the Slave Dynasty. Its founder Kutbuddin received his early education in a school at Nyshapur where he became proficient in Persian and Arabic and acquired also some knowledge of science.‡ When he came to power in India, he was already known for his literary tastes and scholarship. Muhammadan learning was promoted by the establishment of hundreds of mosques which like the churches of Mediaeval Europe were centres of both religion and learning. But Kutub set the unhappy example of destroying Hindu Temples§ and raising mosques on their foundations, which was so ruthlessly followed by his lieutenant Bakhtiyar Khilji.

The destructive work of Bakhtiyar with its tragic details throws some light on the state of indigenous learning which was being jeopardized by the alien power. The first object of attack was the monastic university at Bihar which was then teeming with Buddhist students and monks and was well equipped with libraries.|| The atrocities of Bakhtiyar did not leave a single scholar alive. The massacres at Bihar were followed by the destruction of Nadiyāh which was then both the political and intellectual capital of Bengal. Bakhtiyar

then made a partial amends for his destructive work by his construction of mosques, colleges and monasteries in different parts of the country for the spread of Muhammadan learning.*

The next king Altamash with his political preoccupations does not seem to have given much thought to the encouragement of learning. There are however proofs that Delhi continued to be the resort of learned men. There sought refuge the most learned Persian poet and philosopher of his age Amir Ruhany† who fled from Bokhara when it was sacked by Chengiz Khan, and the court of Delhi was sufficiently attractive to draw him thither for asylum and protection, and during his stay there, he wrote a great many poems. Again Nasiruddin, the author of the popular collection of historical anecdotes in Persian, lived at the Sultan's court, receiving his encouragement and patronage.‡ Moreover, the choice of Fakhru-Mulk Assamy, formerly vizir of the Caliph of Bagdad for 30 years and much renowned for his wisdom and learning, as the Sultan's prime minister, shows that Altamash had a discerning eye and was not slow to recognize literary merit. We further learn that a Madrasa was built by this monarch and that this edifice had fallen into a dilapidated condition in the time of Sultan Firoze Tughlak more than a century afterwards, and Firoze with his characteristic liberality shown in educational matters rebuilt the college and furnished it with sandal-wood doors§. Lastly Altamash faithfully discharged the duty of giving a sound education to his son Mahmud for whom a separate arrangement was made at Loni befitting his position.

Sultana Razia, the gifted daughter of Altamash, on whom devolved the difficult task of government, who fills a high place in the illustrious roll of Indian women-rulers, owed her success, in no small degree, to a liberal education. Ferishta records that

* Ferishta, vol. I, p. 200.

† Elphinstone, vol. I, p. 618.

‡ Ferishta, Vol. I. pp. 189, 190.

§ Fajul Nasir by Hæsan Nizami, Elliot, II, pp. 222, 223.

|| Tabakati Nasiri by Minhaj-us-Siraj.

* Tabakati Nasiri by Minhaj-us-Siraj, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 306-309.

† Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 210.

‡ Nuruddin Muhammad Dofy was the full name of the author—(Ferishta, vol. I. p. 212.)

§ Futuhati Firoze-Shahi, Elliot, III, p. 383 and also Calcutta Review, LXXIX, p. 59.

she was well-versed in the Koran, which she could read with correct pronunciation.*

The next two reigns of Behram and Masaud are educationally unimportant except for the patronage of Siraj, the author of the *Tabakati Nasiri*, who was appointed the principal of Nasiriya College and Superintendent of its endowments†.

The next Sultan Nasiruddin occupies an important place in literary history. He was himself a scholar and during the long period of 20 years that he ruled, he found ample opportunities of advancing education. Even when a sovereign, he lived the life of a student and a hermit—a trait of character so rare in a king, and he had the whimsical habit of purchasing his food with the sale proceeds of the products of his penmanship‡. A copy of the Koran transcribed by this sovereign with great taste and elegance was shown by Kazi Kamaluddin to Ibn Batuta when he visited India about a century after §. A scholar as he was, he respected and encouraged scholarship. He rose to be a great patron of Persian literature and the celebrated *Tabakati Nasiri* which is so much drawn upon by historians for information regarding India and Persia, was written at his court and took its name from the Sultan.

Nasiruddin was followed by Balban, who was also a great friend of literature, and his court was the resort of many learned men. This was partly due to the political condition of India and some of the neighbouring countries. It was at this time that Chengiz Khan was ravaging Khorasan and other places, which made more than fifteen princes seek an honourable asylum at Delhi. Allowances befitting their position and palaces were assigned to each of them and it was this fact upon which Balban used to pride himself, whenever he had occasion to speak of his own reign. In the retinue of these princes were some of the most illustrious men of learning whom Asia of that time produced. The court of the Indian Sultan was therefore at once a centre of learning and wealth.||

* Ferishta, vol. I, p. 217.

† *Tabakati Nasiri*, Elliot, II, p. 344.

‡ Ferishta, vol. I, p. 246.

§ Ibn Batuta, Elliot, III, p. 593.

|| Ferishta, vol. I, pp. 251, 252, 258, 259.

A remarkable feature of Delhi at this time was that it was honey-combed with literary societies. Prince Mahomed, the eldest son of the Sultan, was a youth of very promising talents and evinced great taste in literature. He himself made a choice collection of poems extracted from the most celebrated authors. This work contained twenty thousand couplets, which were esteemed the most select specimens then extant. This prince, with his marked literary tastes, took the lead in the formation of literary societies. Amir Khusru, the famous poet, was the tutor of this prince and used to preside in the prince's literary society and the place chosen for the meeting of the members of this society was the prince's palace.*

There was another society initiated by the second son of the Sultan named Kurra Khan Bagera. In this society, musicians, dancers, actors and story-tellers (*kissagos*) were the members and they used to hold their sittings frequently at the prince's palace.

The *Omras* followed suit. Within a short time, various societies were formed in every quarter of Delhi.* The Imperial House thus set a fashion in these refined amusements, which was fraught with possibilities of great good to the country at large.

The reputation of the Royal Court in the literary sphere was kept at its high level, mainly through the patronage and literary tastes of Prince Mahomed. The Court of this prince was frequented by the most learned, excellent and accomplished men of the time. His attendants used to read to him the *Shah Namah*, the *Diwani Sanai*, the *Diwani Khakany* and the *Kamisah* of Shaikh Nizami. Learned men discussed the merits of those poets in his presence.†

Besides Amir Khusru, the prince's tutor, he had several other literary companions, among whom may be mentioned the name of Amir Hasan also a great poet. The prince delighted to honour the two poets and marked his appreciation of their merits by grants of lands and proper allowances.

The literary ardour of this worthy scion of the Royal House, expressed itself in the importunity with which he used to invite

* Ferishta, vol. I, 252, 258.

† *Tarikhi Firoze Shahi* by Ziauddin Barni, Elliot, III, p. 109, 110.

learned men to come to his Court and live there in the midst of all the advantages of literary life that a generous prince could shower on them. At Lahore, he visited Shaikh Uthman Turmuzy, the most learned man of that age, but no presents or entreaties could prevail on him to remain out of his native country Turan. He twice sent messengers to Shiraz to invite Shaikh Sadi, the famous Persian poet, and forwarded with them some presents and also money to defray the expenses of the journey. His intention was to build a *Kharkah* (monastery) for him in Multan and to endow it with villages for its maintenance. The poet through the feebleness of old age was unable to accept the invitations but on both the occasions, he sent some verses in his own hand and made his apologies in writing, commending also in high terms the abilities of Amir Khusru, the president of the prince's learned society.*

The prince was extremely fond of the company of the learned and could not forego it even in his expeditions, in one of which the prince was killed and Khusru taken prisoner.

The attitude of Sultan Balban towards the literary world was no less commendable. The advice which the Sultan gave, on one occasion, to prince Mahomed shows that the monarch respected learned men and also realized the important help they can render to Government if only their wisdom were adequately utilized. He said, "Spare no pains to discover men of genius, learning and courage. You must cherish them by kindness and munificence that they may

prove the soul of your councils and instruments of your authority."*

Again his unique conduct in showing his respects towards learned men on his return to Delhi from his successful expedition to Bengal reflects much credit on the Sultan. After conferring dignities upon Fakhruddin Kotwal, who had ruled Delhi with much wisdom and ability during his absence for 3 years, he visited the learned men at their own houses and made them rich presents.†

In the long reign of Sultan Balban extending for a fifth of a century, many an eminent and learned man flourished at Delhi. Besides the persons mentioned, there were Shaikh Shukurjung, Shaikh Bahaduddin and his son, Shaikh Badruddin Arif of Ghazni, the philosopher, the pious and learned Kutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaky, Siddy Mowla and many others, eminent in various branches of science and literature.‡

Delhi had been gradually rising in eminence through the attention of the Sultans as a centre of learning and a resort of learned men. At the present moment, its literary position was very high,—so high that it inspired a few verses of Amir Khusru in which he with just pride declared that Delhi could now successfully compete with Bokhara,—the great university city of Central Asia.§

About this time Siddy Mowla, whom we have noticed above, founded an academy and an alms house at Delhi. Of these, we shall have occasion to speak in a later reign.

* Ferishta, vol. I, p. 267.

† Ferishta, Vol. I, P. 265.

‡ Ibid, P. 271.

§ Vide Amir Khusru's poem the *Asika*.

* Tarikhi Firoze Shahi of Ziauddin Barni, Elliot, III, p. 110 and Ferishta, vol. I, p. 259.

THE BELL-METAL INDUSTRY OF BENGAL

§1. *Its stability, important centres, processes of manufacture and implements used.*

THE bell-metal industry is one of the few village industries which have not suffered from the competition with imported machine-made articles. Inspite of the extensive demand for enamelled ware,

especially among the Muhammadan population, the industry still continues to thrive in its important centres. They are Kamarpara, Dainhat, Purbasthali (Burdwan), Khagra (Murshidabad), Ghatal, Kharar (Midnapore), Patna, Bankura, Santipur, Islampur, Malda, Rajbari, Kalam,



The furnace : the artisan pouring the molten *Kansa* into the earthen crucibles.

Gomnati and Rungpur. A short account of the industry with a few suggestions for its improvement may be interesting to the readers of the *Modern Review*.

Throughout the Presidency, the industry is chiefly carried on by *Kānsāris*.

The *kansari* is a sub-caste of the *kamars* which has severed its connection with the main caste and set up as an independent group working in *kansa* or bell-metal. They buy their material in the form of brass sheeting, and manufacture the *kansa*,

which is an inferior alloy of copper, zinc and tin. Bell-metal costs Rs. 30 to 40 per maund. At present no other alloy except *bharan* seems to be made locally. Bell-metal utensils which were formerly made from *kansa* manufactured by the artisans in their own shops are now exclusively made by melting down the metal of the old *kansa* vessels.* The artisans have told me that the risk involved in manufacturing good *kansa* in the shop far outweighs the possibility of profits, and that utensils made from old *kansa* generally have more polish than if they make the *kansa* themselves.

Of the two methods of the manufacture of bell-metal ware, (1) the *dhala* or casting in moulds and (2) the *pita* or hammering, the latter is much more common. In Khagra, Murshidabad, which is one of the important centres of the bell-metal industry in the province, there is only one family which follows the process of moulding, while there are more than fifty which have adopted the *pita*

process, and that family, again, does not belong to the locality but has come from Rajshahi. It uses an inferior alloy of copper and zinc, the vessels are not durable and

* A mahajan in the bell-metal trade repeated to me a saying which is quite popular among the artisans: all *kansa* are alike. Any mixture with *bharan* or an inferior alloy would break the *kansa* in the hammering process. Hence it is believed that the *kansa* made by the *pita* or hammering process is much more durable than *kansa* cast in moulds, as in the latter some alloy might be mixed.



Hammering the utensil on the anvil.

an artificial polish is used, as the utensils do not get the natural glaze of the *kansa*.

The preparation of the mould may be described thus: The outer mould called the *dalee* is made first in earth (mixed with cowdung, lime stone, grain husks and jute cuttings) upon a standard vessel. It is divided vertically in two and the two halves are joined again when the vessel is taken out. Then the *anten* or the mould of the inner surface is made by ramming earth inside the vessel. The moulds are then dried, the inner core receiving a scraping and fine polish. If a tumbler is to be

manufactured, the *chaki* or the mould of the rim is fitted into the former and the whole turned upside down. There is space left between the outer mould and the inner core as also the rim for the casting. Into the rim now at the top, the *muchi* or the earthen vessel with the chips of old metals is fitted. To ensure that the *muchi* fits well with the moulds, these are provided with an earthen mouth called the *nali*. A hole is made on the surface of the rim and the whole is placed in the fire. After three or four hours when the molten liquid has filled the hollow space, the moulds are taken out of the furnace, and the vessels allowed to cool and undergo the processes of chiselling and polishing. The *jali* or the earthen net is sometimes placed above the hole or the rim to skim off the flux.

In the hammering process the *muchi*s or the earthen crucibles are larger. Being filled with the chips of old *kansa*, these are placed in the furnace. Two *jhapnas* or semi circular earthen discs cover the surface. The *muchi* is placed in the furnace for several hours. It is then taken out and the molten liquid comes out of the *muchi* through a hole made in it into the *auks* or small earthen cups. Oil is placed on their bottom and when the liquid has been poured, grain-husks are burnt on its surface. The burning of the carbon reduces the scum and prevents any free zinc from forming an oxide. The scum is then skimmed off. This operation being rather difficult is undertaken only by the master-artisan. The metal is allowed to cool and then made to undergo four



The filing and the scouring processes.

separate processes, one after another. (1) The *pita* or the hammering process. The *nehais* or anvils are of various kinds. Some are hook-shaped and called *saboles*. With the help of their hammers, the artisans beat out the metals on the anvils to any shape they want. (2) The *ghasha* or the filing process. The black colour on the surface of the vessels is removed by means of the file. (3) The *chancha* or the scouring process. (4) The chiselling and the polishing process. The bottom of the vessel is fixed with resin to a cylindrical wooden bar and this is made

to revolve backwards and forwards by means of a rope. The labourer holds in his hands the double ended rope and the artisan applies the chisel to the revolving vessel. The *nuhali* or the chisel is of various kinds. They are : (1) *shoman*, flat; (2) *tikelo*, oval; and (3) *chaku*, elongated. The first kind is used for the convex and the second for the concave surface. The *chaku* is used for chiselling the inside of tumblers. The vessel is rubbed with oil, hair, brickdust, lard and rag as it is chiselled and gets a fine polish. The *khura* or the rim is made in this last process of chiselling.

§ *Economic organisation. The apprentice. Relation of the artisan to the mahajan. Prices.*

The master artisan employs many apprentices. The wages of the boys vary from Rs. 2 to Rs. 8 per month. The boys are chiefly employed in filing the vessels, or in preparing the earth for the *muchis* and the *aaks*. They cannot make the earthen crucibles themselves, these are prepared by the master

artisans. The apprentices belong to all castes. In one firm I found a Mussulman boy filing a cup. I also saw kolhu, bagdi and *kaibartta* master artisans, so that it can be safely said that the industry is not confined to *kansaris*. The artisans told me that the demand for their goods had been increasing for some time and so they had to recruit their workmen from all castes. The number of *kansari* families in Khagra and Berhampore at present is about 60, there has been an increase of almost 25 in recent years.

There are several mahajans in the localities where bell-metal wares are manufactured, who supply the artisans with the chips of old vessels from which to make *kansa*. These mahajans have their *byaparis* or middlemen in Cuttack, Dainhat, Kharar and a few other places, who send them the old vessels. These are now charged at Re. 1-6as. per seer. The artisans of khagra prefer the old *kansa* of this place to the *kansa* of Cuttack or Dainhat. The *kansa* of Khagra, they say, gets a better polish. The mahajans pay wages (*banee*) to the master artisans at a rate determined per seer

of the metal. The following is a fairly approximate wages list:

BANEE PER SEER.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Tumbler | From Re 1-9½ as. to Rs. 5-2 as. |
| 2. Cup | „ Re 1-4 as. to Rs. 3-2 as. |
| 3. Cup with Sarposh | „ Re 1-13½ as. to Rs. 6-10 as. |
| 4. Thal | „ Re 1-1 a. to Rs. 4-2 as. |
| 5. Dish | „ Re 1-9½ as. to Rs. 5-2 as. |
| 6. Dish with <i>naksas</i> | „ Re 1-9½ as. to Rs. 5-10 as. |
| 7. Dibia or betel-case | „ Re 2-9½ as. to Rs. 4-2 as. |

The artisans, however, in a few cases get their wages per piece without any reference to their weights, e.g., in the manufacture of tea-sets, receptacles for *ghee*, jhinuks or spoons for children, etc. This is called the *ticca* system.

One of the *mahajans* told me that the *banee* has increased by 1a. for every rupee during the last three years. Before this period for twenty years the rate of wages was almost constant. The *mahajans* and the artisans live on friendly terms. The *mahajans* understand how to sell the wares to the best advantage. They take the risk of buying and selling, give out contracts to different artisans for making the goods on which they risk their capital. The artisans supply the *mahajans* with the wares in the stipulated time. Though the *mahajans* retain a large number of artisans, sometimes 50 or even more, on their books, they never play off one artisan against another. If bad times come the capitalist traders might be tempted to do so but no pressure has as yet been exercised by them upon the artisans.



The hand-lathe for chiselling and polishing: the artisan applying the chisel to the revolving vessel.

In their retail rates the *mahajans* take 2 as. to 4 as. per seer of the wares they sell. From wholesale dealers they take only 1 a. for Khagra and 2 as. for Calcutta *Kansari-para* wares. The fluctuations in the price of the *kansa* metal affect only those wares which the *mahajans* get by giving banee to the artisans. Those which are manufactured according to the *ticca* system are not so affected.

§ Improvement suggested.

The following improvements in the mechanical methods of the industry may be suggested. (1) Stamping from dies instead of hammering. The necessary machinery and hydraulic press, however, can be set up only in small factories, for individual workmen cannot afford to buy the machinery costing not less than Rs. 300. (2) The introduction of improved hand lathes for chiselling and polishing. In the latter now used, one coolie, pulling a double ended rope, gives a reciprocating movement to the axle, and thus there is waste at every reverse pull. The hand lathe of the Madras pattern, by which one coolie can turn two lathes simultaneously, by producing a continuous rotatory motion with the help of the crank-handle and a rope passing round the shaft of the lathe, is most useful and easily adapt-

able under the present conditions of the industry. The adoption of such a lathe will be quite inexpensive and at the same time it will save much time and labour. (3) The introduction of punching machines to save the trouble of cutting with scissors. (4) The introduction of better and more permanent plate-moulds. A copper pattern may be used as a mould, made in two vertical halves, the pieces being kept together by four small friction clutches.

But more than any improvements in the mechanical processes, the industry needs advertisement. There is a large demand in bell-metal wares throughout Bengal. The middlemen cannot cope with the demand and they charge prices which are often quite disproportionate to the wages they give to the artisans. The employment of agencies which will push on the sale of the wares will greatly stimulate the industry. Again, most of the wares manufactured by the artisans have become stereotyped, the handicraft being degraded to mere automatic work. The diffusion of technical and art-education and the adoption of improved artistic patterns and designs will give a new life to the industry, in which art seems to be now almost extinct.

RADHA KAMAL MUKERJI.

THE INDIAN PEASANT

TO me the most interesting figure in India is the peasant. I would not put even the swami above him; the peasant feeds the swami. The artisan class in the towns comes next in importance,—the weavers, the shoemakers, the factory-hands, the blacksmiths and tinsmiths, the carpenters and masons. This urban class is also very fascinating for me, as I contemplate its manifold activities.

Third in usefulness and interest comes the unskilled menial class—the sweepers and scavengers, the *kahārs* and *doli*-bearers, the cooks and *khansamas*, the *syces* and coolies—the immense and varied underworld of India, the submerged humanity that longs to break its chains. In this

kingdom of labor, there reigns a stillness as of death. The peasant, the artisan, and the servant are all dumb. Who will give them a voice? Who will be their poet? Who will write a *Ramayana* and a *Mahabharata* for them? India waits for her true poet. For the people live in huts and hovels, not in bungalows and palaces.

And why am I chiefly interested in these classes and not in the well-dressed “respectable” people who make so much noise like crickets in a field at night? The reason is plain. These laboring classes constitute the people of India. There are a few princes, nobles, graduates, lawyers, bankers, physicians, swamis, and pundits, in India, but there are millions of peasants, artisans

and scavengers. The vast numerical preponderance of these laboring classes entitles them to the place of honor in our society.

Besides, these classes produce all the wealth of the country. They do all the work that is done from year's end to year's end. They feed and clothe all: they build houses and carriages and roads for all. They plough and dig in rain and sun, and create all that sustains social life. The peasant is the *anna-dātā*, the Vishnu of society. He is the source of all life and strength. He is the sun: other classes are like planets shining by his light. Above all swamis and sheikhs, pundits and *prachāraks*, lawyers and bankers, Rajas and Maharajas, stands the Peasant, the giver of bread.

The artisan completes the work of the Peasant. He moulds into shapes of beauty the cotton, the raw hide, the uncouth timber of the forest, the formless mass of metal from the mine. His deft fingers give us clothes, houses, utensils, shoes, glasses, pens and *rudrāksha-mālās*—all things that distinguish the civilised man from the savage. Verily the artisan is a magician.

The menial class performs the most necessary services for society. What would a town become without the scavengers? What would our ladies do without the *doli*-bearers? The scavengers are the masters of society: but they don't know it. A strike of the scavengers would bring the proudest prince to his knees in a week.

Therefore let not "educated," caparisoned, perfumed, eloquent, indolent India be offended and alarmed, when I declare my allegiance to the unkempt and coarsely-clad peasant and artisan. Let not the graduates begin to murmur when I say that I am not interested in them as such. I look at society from below: they look at it from above. They begin with the raja: I worship the creator of wealth. They honor the rich who live in fine mansions: I honor the poor who build those mansions. I am the mouthpiece of the disinherited millions.

I propose to discuss a few interesting things about the laboring classes of India.

It is remarkable that Indian tradition and history should have neglected and despised the peasant and the artisan from time immemorial. The theory of the four castes assigns the third and fourth places

to the laboring classes, while the priests and the soldiers stand at the top. A more absurd inversion of the natural order of society cannot be imagined. We hear people speak in rapturous terms of this fourfold division. They do not see that it reverses the true measure of social importance.

The social degradation of the bulk of the nation, which is implied in this theory, condemns it as altogether irrational and mischievous. I am not discussing the caste system as a barrier to unity and "national" co-operation. On this occasion I wish to point out the pernicious effects on our minds of a tradition that makes the peasant the social inferior of the priest and the warrior. We teach the peasant to despise himself. Labor has been continually told that it occupies the third place in society. No wonder that it has lost—self-respect.

Suggestion is as powerful in social ethics as in hypnotism.

We must change the national psychology in this respect and by "national psychology" I mean the psychology of the peasant and the artisan. There is not much use in preaching this truth to the priests, the princes, the bankers, the landowners or the warriors. The graduate will not admit that the carpenter is a worthier person than himself: he is blinded by his diploma. The raja will not bow in the street to the blacksmith: his palace cuts him off from the realm of truth. The peasant alone will hail the message with joy. He will know his own worth, when he is told that he is the first, not the third. Nay, we should teach him that he is the first and the rest nowhere. When he hears it proclaimed that he is the true Arya (the agriculturist), he will rise to his full human stature. He will cease to cringe before the idlers, the pundits and soldiers, the lawyers and mahajans. It is time that this soul killing tradition of old world sociology be set aside. New modes of thought must be implanted in the minds of the people.

The Hindus seem to have had a fatal predilection for kings and queens. Even in our fairy-tales, we always begin with the raja and the rani. The imagination of the child is thus poisoned at the source.

The social prestige acquired by the orders of monks also degrades and demoralizes the

peasants and the artisans. Buddhism and other cults condemned economic activity as "worldliness." The "spiritual" aspirant must look down upon such material pursuits as corn-raising, house-building and latrine-cleaning. This trend of thought impaired the dignity of labor and made the peasant almost apologize for his work. The hymns of the Middle Ages are full of sentiments that exalt the parasitic "spiritual" ascetic above the laborious peasant and mechanic. The psychological effects thus produced have been disastrous for the social welfare.

Even our swamis and saints hover round princes and rich men. Some of the most noted swamis of Modern India visited the courts of princes, and thought that the princes were the strategic points in social and religious reform. It is strange that persons who have renounced wealth and rank, should try to form an unholy alliance with those who spend their lives in pleasure and indolence. The people of India are indeed unfortunate. Even their saints go to princes, but do not visit the peasant's humble cottage.

Other preachers and reformers have addressed themselves to the middle classes, the lawyers and civil servants, the physicians and bankers, the "safed-posh" literate people. Alas! how true it is that wealth attracts to itself all that is valuable in the world, even the opportunities for education and moral self-culture. When the swamis lean on the lawyers, the people are indeed doomed to servitude.

Every new movement voices the aspirations only of the well-to-do classes. The Congress demands a larger share in the administration for them. The various sects establish schools and colleges for them. The princes give the peasant's money for the establishment of Universities for the sons of the rich and the respectable. Scholars are sent to foreign countries to qualify for industrial careers. All these benefits or supposed benefits accrue only to the middle and upper classes. What does the peasant gain from them? He really pays for all these movements, but he does not share in the culture and comfort that they bring. Even the self-denial of noble patriots engaged in educational work in the Punjab and the Maharashtra is placed at the service of the selfish and ambitious sons of the

middle class. Is it worth while to devote a lifetime of persistent self-sacrifice to the manufacture of lawyers and clerks and bankers? Is this called progress? What good does the peasantry get out of all this activity?

It is curious to find that even the "Extremists" do not care much for the peasantry and the artisans. They perhaps aim at the establishment of a national government with a hierarchy of princes and two Houses of Parliament and so forth. If they are wiser and more democratic, they talk of a republic, with representative government, which would mean the rule of the educated classes and the landowners, bankers and manufacturers. The people of India seem to be left out of the calculations of all parties and movements. How is it that we do not think of the peasants and the artisans first? Our psychology is fundamentally wrong. Our imagination stops at the border line that separates the clean and literate classes from the dirty and illiterate masses. Where we stop, there humanity begins. We waste our lives in the service of false gods. The rich classes are only counterfeit coin. They are caricatures of the true humanity that lives its busy life on the field, in the factory and the workshop. The pearl lies at the bottom of the sea: the weeds float on the surface. Even so it is with Society.

The condition of the laboring classes of India to-day is one of extreme misery and ignorance. The Peasant is over-taxed, under-fed and ill-clad. He is the first victim of plague and famine. He pays the princes, the government official, the landlord, the lawyer, the village usurer, and the priest for their "services," and at the end, little is left for his own family. As he stands near the furrow,

"The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world,"

he is the symbol of India in her helplessness and despair. Mute in his anguish, half-unconscious of his own sorrows, dead to the outer world, insensible to the higher life of culture and progress, the Indian Peasant needs a voice to sing his woes. Then would be heard a dirge the like of which was never heard before. The Book of Job, the lamentations of Jeremiah, the wail of the widow and the orphan, would be but as a

child's sob drowned in the mighty chorus of indignant labor. Let the Peasantry begin to speak of its burden of grief, and all poets and poetasters would be hushed into shame. The real epic of India remains to be written. The artisans and unskilled laborers in the towns live in poverty and squalor. They are disunited, unorganized, devoid of real social consciousness. They have very little self-respect.

The task devolves on the rare spirits among the "educated" classes. To the eternal glory of human nature be it said that the pioneers of the emancipation of labor have often come from the upper classes. Love transcends all barriers of class and caste. The few who dream dreams and see visions feel for and with the poor. They are ostracized and persecuted by their own class, but they are adored by those whom they serve. They know that their culture is a gift from the laborers, who maintain the colleges but never enter them. They realize, with an ever-deepening sense of obligations, that they must repay this debt with unwearied service of the Peasantry. They turn away from the artificial and selfish world of Idlers, and throw in

their lot with the workers. Such heroes and heroines are the saviours of labor.

All those who wish to serve the poor must be poor themselves. If you would help the peasants, go and live among them. Share their coarse meal and talk their rough speech. Do not go to them as gentlemen. Go to them as fellow-workers. Do not preach to them from the platforms of conferences and congresses, with all the marks of your parasitism upon you. Divest yourselves of your silk and satin and then go to serve and organize the artisans of the towns and the peasants in the country. Princes and ministers, lawyers and bankers, demagogues and journalists will not and cannot help the peasants.

If there are some among our educated men, who yearn for the higher life of love and self-denial, they should not waste their energy in furthering the material and political interests of the rich classes. The People deserve the full measure of your sacrifices. Leave the talkers, the idlers, the parasites, the cowards, the well-off animals of the middle class. For lo! the Peasant stands beside the furrow and wistfully asks, "When will the light come to me?"

X. Y. Z.

THE WAY TO ART

An address delivered before the Panjab University

BY SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

THE object of this lecture is to lay before you a general outline of the meaning and significance of Art. But before I proceed to do so I should like to make the reservation that you will not expect me to give you an exhaustive and self-complete analysis of all the different phases of art. Also I think it right to make it clear, to avoid misapprehension, that you will kindly not expect me to make expositions entirely new or original. It is possible I may have to reiterate old truths and some of my own ideas and convictions may be shared by others, for they may be based upon observations of the same kind.

The impulse of the culture of art comes to man by intuition. The secret keynote of art is joy which may be transferred to any recipient. (Human nature has an instinctive love for the beautiful and the greatest delight of art is to establish familiar relations between the human life and its self-conscious love of beauty. The sense of beauty is more or less present within every individual. But it has to be developed under proper guidance.) All of us have eyes to see, but most of us require to be taught what and how to see. There are things both good and bad, transcendental and vulgar, and there are different stand-

points from which observations of judgment may be made. (The mission of art is to teach us the lesson of selection and choice so that we may safely omit the infinite complexity of things and sentiments and try to appreciate and realize some of the emotions and delights of art more definitely and thus make the sense of beauty more active and alive.

The human mind contains both the creative and receptive faculties. Both of these faculties are capable of development, even when they happen to have the average limitations. Amongst artists and art-workers these faculties are present generally in a very healthy condition. But it must not be supposed, that they are entirely absent amongst those who are not artists. I do not believe that artists, like poets, are always born and never made. Artists may have keen perceptive, retentive, and reproductive faculties, but at the same time it must be admitted that the power to see, to conceive and to imagine is by no means a monopoly of artists only. Even if it be true that most of the artists of the world were born with a certain amount of intuitive gift, which generally helped them to give expression to their art, it must be acknowledged that they required a considerable amount of application, industry and guidance to mature their natural gift. It is true that mere application and industry will not make any one an artist. But it has never been found that the mere birth right has made any one an artist. What is essentially demanded for the making of a true artist or an art-lover is the emotion of joy and pleasure. It does not matter whether this emotion is in a rudimentary or developed form. All that is required is the mental tendency of taking delight in something. Few, if any, men are born with a great enthusiasm for art. It is a faculty which may be established, gradually cultivated and developed. Sympathy is the keynote of growing this faculty of enthusiasm for art. 7

There are persons who do not take pleasure in any of the attainments of the fine arts. It is of course almost hopelessly impossible to create in them any desire for the emotion of pleasure. Such men however need not be taken into account, for they are either the absolutely uneducated

or those who have their mental faculties in an abnormal condition.

(The impulse of art culture originated through observation, knowledge and culture. We have therefore to take into consideration only those who are sensitive to the language of art. Such men are the artists and the art-lovers. Strictly speaking there is hardly any difference between the two from an aesthetic standpoint. Artists are no doubt the makers of art, and art-lovers are those who have to depend upon the artistic creations of the artists for their enjoyment. The essential difference between an artist and an art-lover is, that the former has learnt by practice the skill required to produce a work of art; whereas the latter has not that acquirement. But there are elements beyond this superficial skill which are more vital for all forms of genuine art. The sense of beauty, the power of conception and realisation of sentiments may be alive equally in the artist and one who is not an artist. He who has developed in in himself these faculties and has also acquired the skill of giving expression in a material form to some of the feelings which they suggest to him is an artist. But it is possible that one who appreciates art, but at the same time is not himself an artist, may be as keen and sensitive an observer, if not keener, as the artist himself and may be quite familiar with all the sources of inspiration of the artist. Take a concrete example. One who has learnt the art of drawing may very easily draw a true and beautiful outline of a flower. But one who has not acquired this technical skill will not perhaps be able, if at all, to make so clever a drawing as that made by the artist, but he will have hardly any difficulty in saying what the drawing was. This shows that although he is not himself an artist, yet his perceptive faculty is perhaps as strong as that of the artist himself.

For the fulness of art both the artist and the art-lover are equally essential. Art has no absolute being. If there is an art, there must be some one sensitive to that art. The chief delight of art is a relative gratification of joy of the art-producer and the art-appreciator, of the maker and the admirer. In the beginning the artist necessarily makes his own delight the end of his endeavours. He first wants to please him-

self by his art and the higher the ideal of his enjoyment, the truer and the nobler in his accomplishment. And he can produce genuine works of art only when he has been himself entirely satisfied with the possible delights of his own creations. No true poet transfers his sentiments in his art unless he has himself experienced the thrill of an inexpressible delight in the flights of his imagination. No true musician has ever poured forth a rich melody of music, unless he has been charmed by his own performance and accomplishment. No true painter ever painted a picture until his inspiration had elevated the better part of his nature and held before him visions of beauty, form and sentiment infinitely superior to what he has actually seen or felt. Such self-conscious enjoyment is the origin of all true art. But this emotion of delight, this expression of an elevating sense of the beautiful in feeling and imagination does not restrict itself to a limited circle. It expands, grows wider, and tries to embrace common humanity. This is why although artists are few, their works quicken in a vast number of people a keen interest for and appreciation of the many noble feelings which the artistic creations suggest.

¶ The place of the art-critic and art-exponent is also very important. The work of an artist ends with the production of a work of art. His domain does not extend beyond that. Let us take an example. Suppose I am painting a picture. It is mine and mine alone as long as I am painting it; yours and of the whole world when I have finished it. Whatever may be my inspiration and impulse of artistic endeavours, I work all alone, entirely absorbed in my consciousness that I am painting it, principally to satisfy my own fancy and to derive pleasure myself. No one then has the right to dictate to me anything. But once I have finished it, it is open to all sorts of appreciation and disparagement, informed or uninformed criticism. The duty of the art-critic is to regulate such comments on proper lines. Art is a form of expression—an expression of sentiment which may or may not be sometimes quite familiar to all. All genuine art has this characteristic quality. The art-critic has to interpret and explain this quality and even sometimes throw new light sug-

gestive of a fairer creation and expression than exhibited or suggested in a work of art, so that its intrinsic merits may be easy of comprehension and its appreciation more direct. Criticism is itself a form of art. By criticism is meant the art of defining and judging the merits of a work of art.

An art-critic must essentially be an art-lover. His love for the merits of a thing should be the guiding instinct of his observations and judgment. It is a great mistake to think that the primary object of criticism is to find fault. Difficiencies are more frequently found in everything than excellencies. All art has its necessary limitations. It is easier to find out faults and mistakes than to recognize virtues and merits. It is easy to find fault, as the fault-finding faculty is generally very strongly present in human nature by intuition; but the faculty of appreciation has always to be quickened by an effort. And then there is always this danger that if the finding of only the faults of a thing is made the principal part of criticism its merits may be greatly, if not entirely, overlooked. The duty entrusted to the art-critic is thus a sacred trust for, he has to inquire into all the possible forms of excellencies which the objects under notice may contain or suggest. ¶ There are always two forms of criticism possible, one from the standpoint of the artist and the other from the standpoint of the observer. As all genuine art is the embodiment of the inspiration of the artist, the works of art may be best judged if they are reviewed from the standpoint of the artist. What may be the ideal of the artist he himself has the best right to tell us. Guesses or mere speculation may be misleading and it cannot be expected that the standard of observation and judgment of both the artist and the observer will always be the same. A difficulty may arise if the question is raised whether the artist's conception of the ideal and its delineation are entirely rational and would meet with the approval of the observer. But after all the artist is the creator of his work and it is his art and not of the observer that is to be judged and appreciated. Every ideal has infinite complexities and one and the same ideal may present various different aspects to different persons. It is therefore desirable to review works of art from the

standpoint of the artist to derive at least some of the pleasure which the artist himself has experienced.

((The supreme enjoyment of all the fine arts is to delineate expressions of sentiment through the channels of conventionalism. A mere superficial analysis of the inceptive idea of the fine arts will show how strongly this spirit of conventionalism is present in them all.)) Poetry has the first and the highest place amongst all the fine arts. We do not always see or hear the object of a poet's creation as described or conceived by him. If we stick to facts and the ordinary manifestations seen in nature only, it will be found that the poet's outpourings have no actual being in a material and visible form. What the poet has to tell us is some conclusions which he has arrived at by making certain observations and feeling some sentiments. The poet starts from some data but is at liberty to proceed in any direction he may choose. Convention is the basis of his art, and the more he is able to suggest and represent new feelings and varied objects the truer is his art. Although entirely conventional we accept and appreciate the poet's art as a matter of an obvious convention. (We read poetry not to reason but to enrich our storehouse of sentimental conception and to develop the faculty of realizing and expressing conventional thoughts. The art of the poet teaches us to see and feel things, not only as they are but what and how they appeared and appealed to the poet when the higher part of his nature was eminently active.)

Take music. It is also a conventional expression and enjoyment. Music has charms and the subtle sense of true music appeals more to the imagination than to the ears. But, for the realization of those charms it is essential to take for granted, as a matter of convention, that only a particular form of sound will come under the category of music. Both a song and a cry are fully voiced sounds and it is only conventionalism that distinguishes one from the other. The human soul has an inborn longing for music, for it is an expression of melodious harmony. But music does not exist in nature exactly in the same form that we long to enjoy. The voice of the singer is affected in the sense that it is not entirely natural, yet it is tolerated as

a matter of convention. The merit of real music is to express a particular sentiment and a feeling of tenderness and melody. This is why we are sometimes reminded of a *Bhakta's* untiring faith of devotion, of the undying passionate love of a lover, of joy immeasurable and grief unfathomable, of rage, fury, supplication and entreaty and other emotions when under the hypnotic influence of true music.

(Take sculpture and painting. Both are entirely conventional representations. We have sculptured flowers and figures. The sculptured flowers have neither the fragrance nor the beauty of real fresh flowers and the sculptured figures have neither the grace nor the beauty of living beings. But we sometimes give them a higher place than even to the fragrant flowers and living beings. What could be more conventional than this?) I wonder what we would have done had nature produced some flowers and figures of stone—flowers hard and crude, and forms and figures, lifeless and soulless. I think it would have produced a revulsion of feeling which would have been the reverse of admiration.

(Painting is likewise an entirely conventional representation, for the very desire of delineating an expression of sentiment in the limited compass of a picture is nothing short of conventionalism. Both drawing and painting are mediums of expression of the artist's ideals. Drawing is more vital than the art of colouring, for the identity of an object solely depends upon it. It is the backbone of painting. Patches of different colours will not produce a painting. The chief expression of a painting lies in its drawing. But we never actually see either outlines of objects or such definition of colours as shown in drawings or paintings. And yet we represent things both by the convention of lines and different tones and shades of colours. The sense of this conventionalism comes to us by natural instinct.) For instance take the outline drawing or a coloured representation of a human hand or face and present it either to an educated or an entirely uneducated person. It will be found that none of them will experience any great difficulty in telling what they represent.

(The sense of colour has also a conventional basis. In paintings colours may be represented either in flat or shaded masses. Light and

shadow are also as conventional as mere outlines. As we do not find definite outlines of things, so we do not find well defined light and shade in nature just as they are emphasised in pictorial art. Throughout the infinite manifestations of nature, one tint is so harmoniously adjusted against another that we seldom feel the difference of light and shade and the various gradations of colours. Light and shade do not form any part of objects, but they reside in the mind of the artist who treats them as a conventional symbol or a part of the technique of his art to represent or suggest the appearance of things.) A ball has no light or shade in itself and does not require any for being round. But the artist, while trying to convey the sense of roundness may have recourse to shadows and gradation of colours, not because, they are a part of the ball itself but that they are essentials relative under certain conditions. In that case the artist is not only trying to represent the appearance of the ball but also to suggest the condition under which it has such an appearance, namely whether in light or shade.

(Conventionalism in painting offers a very vast latitude to the artist to express his sentiments. There are some symbols accepted by a common conventional consent which are held essential and useful for the definition of the appearance of things. Reasoning has no control over these conventions however objectionable or unreasonable they might appear to be. They may be exaggerations even to such an extent that they may have no truth in them. But they have to be accepted, for otherwise the appreciation of art will not be possible. One must be prepared to make certain allowances for such conventions to be able to conceive the mysteries and subtleties of art.) I shall take an example to show to what an extent conventionalism may sometimes be present in colour representation. Take a landscape. Let it be granted that it is a most vivid and true representation of a particular place. But if one happens to go to the very place he is sure to find out to his great disappointment that most of the colours in the painting were mere exaggerations. Neither the sky, nor the trees, and hills and other objects, whatever they are, have exactly the same colours as painted in the picture. And it will become quite evident that the picture was

more a false than a true representation of the landscape.

The same spirit of conventionalism is present in the size of works of sculpture and painting. We have both colossal sculptured figures and miniature painted human beings, none of which are present in the same form as represented in art. If a colossal figure were to come to life it would be an object of terror. Similarly if a miniature human figure were to come to life, it will be looked upon as a monster. But curiously enough both are objects of admiration and appreciation in art.

(There are three kinds of representation in art, namely, conventional, traditional, and natural forms of representation. As previously said the spirit of conventionalism is present in all these forms of art. Every form has a sentiment and every sentiment its basic material. Idealism means the selection of certain forms or sentiments or both. It is the highest and noblest conception of either a form or sentiment—perfect in the sense that it is never conscious of any mistake or weakness. The ideal directs whatever the artist does. It is the driving force of the artist which awakens the power of intuition, insight and imagination in the artist. This is the function of the ideal and its presence is vital for the aspirations of art. We all possess certain mental faculties but they are not always in a conscious state. We can see things as well as feel or fancy them in the mind. There are things visible and conceivable. We feel sensations which have a direct reference to visual things but then we have sometimes sensations which have a deeper root and which carry us far beyond the realm of visual objects. The ideal is a thing of this realm. It has never any real being, for it is a thing of the imagination. It is never complete, for imagination has no limitations. Consequently the realisation or representation of an ideal is also never complete. But the higher the ideal the nobler is the realisation and achievement of the artist.

The chief expression of conventional representations is newness. Such representations may be as remote from truth as may be imagined.) The dragon is entirely a grotesque and conventional representation and it has no existence except in the

imagination. But it is only an exaggerated conception of perhaps a lizard. Whoever was the first artist to draw a dragon he must have first seen the swift and peculiar movement of a living lizard. The field of imagination is very wide and man's contemplativeness very deep. Our imagination can make us conceive things such as we have never seen and make us feel such sentiments as we have never felt before. But the power of imagination has an essential limit. Whatever we conceive or feel must be necessarily based upon what we have actually seen or felt. None of us have seen either hell or heaven but most of us have conceptions of both of them. It hardly requires any analysis to show that our conceptions of both heaven and hell are entirely confined to our conceptions of our actual experience and knowledge of life. Heaven is but an expression of the highest ideal of human joy and pleasure; hell an intensified and exaggerated expression of the bitterest kind of misery and suffering experienced in actual life.

Take another example—the conventional form of an angel. Both in European and Persian art angels are representations of human beings with wings. The Indian idea of an angel is very much the same. *Kinnaras* are representations of human beings with the termination of birds. The angel is unquestionably a fictitious object and it dwells only in the imagination. But on a closer examination it will be found that the idea has been derived from natural objects and living men and women. Birds fly because they are possessed of wings. They soon fly high up in the ethereal blue which is inseparably associated with the human idea of heaven and God. Man has no wings to fly but he longs and aspires to reach this Better Land which he believes and for which he craves. This physical inability in man to fly led to the conception of a winged angel—a human being with the wings of a bird, presumably with the idea that he may have the heart and soul of a human being, so that he could feel and conceive like man, and the wings of a bird to enable him to float in the air and come down from heaven to earth with the message of love and peace.

The traditional form of representation

in art has also a similar basis and may be reasonably called a part of conventional representation. Certain conventions become a part of the faith and belief of the people of a country which gradually assume the form of traditions. They do not admit of any reasoning, for faith is always stronger than evidence. Miracles are impossibilities if put to a test of rational argument, and yet they have a strong hold even over some of the most cultured and advanced races of mankind. Belief is a hypothesis, not always an axiomatic truth. In traditional representations such hypothesis is always very strongly present. The appearance of God on earth as a human incarnation is a mythical belief which has appealed to different faiths in different forms. This traditional idea owes its inception perhaps to the human desire of having some supernatural forces of good amongst them to dispel the spirit of evil. According to Hindu mythology, Vishnu the preserver, has ten incarnations all of whom appeared at some critical stage, in the affairs of men. I shall take the liberty of telling you one of the legends connected with the incarnation of Vishnu to show how a traditional belief finds impression in art.

The legend goes that Hiranyakasipu, the lord of the Asuras, by virtue of severe penance obtained from Brahma, the boon that death would not come to him through any created being nor would he die on the earth or on water. The Asuras are the declared enemies of the Gods. The boon of Brahma was apparently an assurance of immortality and Hiranya in his pride and vanity aspired even to the throne of Vishnu. But it was destined that his pride would ultimately lead to his ruin. Hiranya had a young son, Prahlad, who was a most devout worshipper of Vishnu. This was intolerable to Hiranya and when he found that no amount of persuasion would induce Prahlad to give up worshipping Vishnu, he ordered the child to be put to death. He was thrown into the fire but the fire would not burn him. The leaping flames touched Prahlad with the balmy touch of a thousand lotus flowers. He was next thrown under the feet of an elephant to be trampled to death but no harm befell him. Thrown down from a great height he was quite unhurt, and even the veno-

mous fangs of infuriated serpents could not do him any injury. He was next chained to a heavy stone and cast into the sea, but behold, such was the power of faith that the stone floated like a cork. Thus all attempts to kill Prahlad failed and the exasperated Hiranya demanded what had saved the boy. Prahlad who had the praises of Vishnu always on his lips replied that Vishnu was his Preserver and He was everywhere and no injury could come to His worshipper. Maddened with the passion of hatred the Asura king said "If your Vishnu is present everywhere and in everything, let him come out of this pillar." And saying so he struck a stone column. "Yes," said Prahlad, in his supreme consciousness of the presence of the Divine in every place and every thing, "My Preserver is here." He touched the stone pillar, which was at once rent assunder and Vishnu issued forth from it in the form of *Nrisingha-Avatar* or the incarnation of the lion-man. Seizing Hiranya, Nrisingha laid him across his knees and tore open his body and killed him. And so Hiranyakasipu died neither on land nor on water nor was killed by any created being. The story of the death of Hiranyakasipu is a myth, but it has the essential moral of the victory of faith and devotion over unbelief. The Gods were powerless, for according to the boon of Brahma, Hiranya could not be killed by any created being, which made him a terrible power for evil. To keep the boon of Brahma intact, it was necessary that the destroyer of Hiranya should be some one other than a created being. This difficulty was got over by an incarnation of Vishnu who assumed a form combining the images of man and lion. This image of Nrisingha is very often the object of art in India, and neither the grotesqueness of the conception nor the terrible work done by the incarnation of Vishnu is considered repellant.

Finally we come to the form of natural representation in art. Man's love of Nature has been evolved ever since he became conscious of the beauty of form and the beauty of colour in natural manifestations. But the study of nature and its interpretation and representation in art is a new and modern development. It is more of a science than an art and its chief enjoyment

is in the strictest sense, a mere exercise of the skill of imitation. In none of the works of old masters do we find natural representations deliberately emphasised. They suggested or even sometimes represented certain elements of nature but such representations or suggestions were always incidental and never formed any vital part of their art. In some of the Ajanta paintings, there are representations of hills and mountains, forests and gardens, seas and lakes, and fruits and flowers. Some of them are entirely conventional in form and the others are exceptionally clever imitations of natural objects. But they always have a secondary place in the subject of the painting. It was not the chief object of the artists to paint them merely for the sake of reproducing or imitating them but their presence in the composition of the paintings was solely due to the inseparable or important relation that they had with the subject matter of the paintings.

Nature is replete with beauty and suggestions of beautifulness. We live in nature and our very being is a part of it. And thus our conception of form and the sense of beauty is gradually and unconsciously developed through the appeal of the emotions of delight arising from the sight and feeling of beauty manifested in nature. It is in the nature of man to be responsive to some kind of beauty, more or less, and as he sees natural manifestations he begins to study, admire and then love nature. But the study of nature is only the beginning of the theory which teaches us to search for beauty and forms, and it should not be mistaken for the final, highest and noblest achievement in art. The secret of natural representation in art is the attempt of man to transfer and project in his art the suggestion of that beauty which has appealed to him through the observation of nature. *Truth to nature* is an inexact and almost meaningless idea. There can be no absolute or complete truth to nature in art, for nature includes truths and manifestations more numerous than the particles of sand on the sea shore. No truly literal copy or imitation of a natural object or effect may be attained; but even if such achievements were possible they could not come under the category of true art. For in that case it would be a question of skill only. The

mission of art has a wider and nobler outlook than the mere physical imitation of objects. Truth to realism and nature cannot cover the entire field of art. Had the climax of all artistic endeavours been only an admirable representation of its like in nature, where would be the sublimity and greatness in art?

By natural representation in art it may be meant, at the utmost, that an attempt has been made to show a partial representation of the effect of nature under certain conditions. No amount of labour and technical skill, can reproduce in art any natural object, just as it exists in nature. When an artist wants to make any representation of a natural object he only means to try to attempt to copy, out of its infinite complexity, only a few features which have appealed to him.

For instance take a portrait or a study of a flower from nature. In both of these cases it will be found that only certain elements which are essential for the identification of the individual or the flower have been imitated. The skin colour and the correctness of the features in the portrait and the imitation of the form and colour of the flower have only so much of truth to nature in them as to make them recognizable. But neither of them have the infinite charm and grace which they possess in the natural state. Thus it will be found that in the definition of a natural object, the artist omits its elements infinitely more than he includes in his work.

A suggestion of the beautiful is the quest of art. But there can be no definite standard of beautifulness. Every one has his own standard of judgment and it is only a truism that no man can probably be sensitive to every kind of beauty. This is the reason why we sometimes appreciate and like a particular work of art better than others.

Art is creative. A national spirit is infused by art. It is always the expression of the highest and noblest culture of a nation. Thus in all true art the character of a people under certain conditions is distinctly represented and as the wheel of time turns round this characteristic representation changes. The change may take the form of either a conscious sinking down or a self-sought rising up. It all depends

upon the ideals, for all art is the interpretation of the national ideals. The human intellect has an inborn power of reasoning and judgment, of feeling and expression. Intellectual culture develops and complements this power, and art chastens it to formulate its own ideals. It is in this aspect that art becomes vital to nationality.

Art is an expression of enjoyment. If the artist did not derive any delight in producing works of art they would not have been made at all. The feeling of pleasure which is the basis of all art may be shared not only by the artists but by others. The poet's verse, the singer's song, and the painter's painting produce emotions of delight in the heart of all their appreciators. It is true that all the different forms of the fine arts do not appeal to all men alike. Obviously this is quite natural, for the temperament and mood of all men are not one and the same. But if a particular form or style of art does not appeal to some one, it should not be concluded that it has no true æsthetic merit. The expression or representation of art always comes from within. The creative faculty in man remains inert so long as his receptive faculty is inactive. An artistic creation is nothing but a visible embodiment of the conception an artist has realised through his receptive faculty. Whatever may be the actual achievement of an artist it must be admitted that he must have seen or felt some beauty which led him to try to transfer it in his art. His success or failure is dependent both on his acquired skill and also on the nature and quality of his ideal.

If we admit that the keynote of art is joy, it becomes self-evident that every artistic work is the embodiment, of at least some part of the pleasure which the artist derived at the thought and endeavour of producing it. No artist has or can make any one else see or feel beauty in his work unless he himself sees or feels it, for representations in art are but the projections of the emotions of delight which the artist feels through the appeal of the Sense of Beauty. The artist feels this delight for he is sensitive to the beauty which is the quest of his art. This pleasure may be felt by all who are likewise sensitive more or less. Poetry, music and painting please us only when we are sensitive to them. Education, culture

and familiarity produce and develop this sensitiveness in us. This is why we sometimes feel a hypnotic charm in the muse of a poet, the voice of a musician or the art of a painter. He who is sensitive to this hypnotic suggestion, to this touch of an indefinable joy, is never thereby rendered less manly, rather he becomes the manlier man, for there can be nothing more ennobling than the conception and realisation

of the beautiful, the culture and appreciation of the arts and graces. Human life is not all work, drudgery and suffering. All healthy human nature requires a certain share of the influence of the graces and the muses. The function of art is to offer to man all the possible delights that the culture and appreciation of aesthetics can bestow. This is the divine destiny of Art.

THE ELECTIVE CALIPHATE IN MEDINA

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. WEIL'S ISLAMITISCHE VOLKER,
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I. ABU BAKR.

MOHAMED who issued laws and directions regarding quite unimportant questions and ceremonies maintained as regards the constitution of the state the profoundest silence. The unbiassed reader can scarcely find the smallest hint in the Qur'an as to how the newly-founded Islamic Empire was to be governed after his death. Not only as an inspired prophet did Mohamed fail to give any direction as to the most important branch of the law of the constitution but even as a temporal ruler he made no arrangement as to how and by whom the Arabs whom he had reduced to subjection were to be governed. No other reason for this silence can be suggested or accepted than his desire to avoid all reference to his death. Many faithful, even if they did not perhaps take him to be immortal, still expected that his end would be something extraordinary such as it was with Christ and other prophets. And even Omar would not believe in his death until an improvised verse of the Qur'an, unknown to him, was cited which spoke of the mortality of the Prophet. This verse is said to have been revealed after the battle of Ohod, at which Mohamed was taken for dead and the faithful had lost all courage and all confidence. It runs thus: Mohamed is a mere messenger of God. Many have died before him. Should he die a natural death or

were he to die in battle—would you turn away from him, i. e. would you become disloyal to him? If this and similar verses of the Qur'an had really been revealed earlier—this fact at least proves this much, that besides Abu Bakr, who was anxious to exhort the Muslims to remain firm in their loyalty to God and to his Prophet, no one else remembered that in the later years of the Prophet's life any mention was ever made of his death.

Mohamed perhaps made no arrangements about his successor because he wished to give offence to no party. On one side were his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali, and on the other was Abu Bakr. The dictates of affection pointed to Ali, but sober judgment marked Abu Bakr out as the more suitable successor. Only on his sick-bed is Mohamed said to have expressed a desire to leave some instruction behind, but the intensity of the fever prevented him from carrying out his purpose, and thus he died without making his last will and testament.

Immediately three parties were formed each laying a claim to the sovereignty. At the head of one was Omar, the later caliph, who stood out for an elective caliphate—with the electors and the elected to be sure, of the oldest companions of the prophet. He anticipated that the choice would fall on Abu Bakr—his friend. The other party was headed by Ali and his uncle Abbas—

champions of hereditary monarchy. The third party was the party of the Medinites who also supported an elective monarchy, but would confine the right of election to their own people because to their fostering care alone Islam owed its power and its ultimate success. In the capital, at least, the Medinites would have come out triumphant if they had only acted in unity and concert, but as already mentioned the old inhabitants of the town consisted of the tribes of Aus and Khazraj who from the earliest times fought with each other for supremacy and preferred a foreign rule to the rule of the rival party. Thus failed the effort of a section of the Medinites to raise their chief—Sa'ad Ibn Ubaid—to the caliphate. While Ali was busy with the burial of the Prophet (who was interred at the very spot where he had died in the house of Ayasha and which later on was incorporated into the mosque adjoining it) Omar succeeded in securing the election of Abu Bakr. Ali protested in vain and only gave in after the death of his wife. But Sa'ad left for Syria and said when called upon to render homage: "By God! I will not do homage until I can discharge against thee the last arrow from my quiver; until I dye the point of my lance with thy blood; until my arms become too feeble to wield the sword against thee."

Bitterly contested as it was, the caliphate, at this time, was more a burden than a desirable position.

Mohamed had spread his faith more by bribery, cunning, deceit and force than by conviction. After his death, therefore, it was abandoned in many provinces. Ayasha's own words are these:—"When the Prophet of God died, the Arabs cast away their faith, the Jews and Christians raised their head, the hypocrites concealed their hypocrisy no longer, and the Muslims looked like a forlorn herd in a cold wintry night." To stifle the disloyalty of the tribes of whom some reverted to their old freedom, others to the worship of their old ancestral idols, or lent ear to the newly-arisen prophets and prophetesses, there were needed close cohesion of the faithful, the imperturbable wisdom of Abu Bakr and the unbending energy of Omar. The danger was so imminent that even Omar quailed before it. Omar, otherwise so severe and energetic, counselled Abu Bakr to win the

Beduins over by exempting them from the poor-tax; a tax, by reason of which, they had broken away from him. Here Abu Bakr showed himself the stronger and more resolute of the two. He rejected the advice with indignation. He was determined above everything to adhere to the revelation with undeviating constancy and to fight any one who would by a hair's breadth depart from it.

With the death of the Prophet revelations had ceased and therefore no change or modification could be made in them. He pledged himself to govern his subjects in strictest conformity with the divine laws, and called upon the people to be the judges of his government. He addressed the following words to the crowd assembled to do him homage, and he faithfully adhered to them unto death:—

"O ye people! you have chosen me your Chief Magistrate though I am not the most excellent among you. If I act righteously—deny me not your co-operation. If I do wrong—oppose me. Truth begets trust—untruth leads to treason. I will treat the weakest among you as the strongest until I have vindicated his right, and I will treat the most powerful among you as the weakest until he abstains from unrighteousness. Obey me so long as I obey God. Should I act contrary to the command of God and his Prophet—you are released from your oath of allegiance."

So scrupulous was Abu Bakr that although Medina itself was encircled by hostile tribes and could only be protected against attacks by defensive measures, he nevertheless despatched the expedition against the Syrian borders planned by the Prophet. Until the return of the troops he could only confine himself to measures defensive. Thus by well considered sortees he beat back the rebels in the neighbourhood of Medina. After the return of the troops he appointed a number of commanders to crush the rebels spread over the Arabian Peninsula. These commanders were assisted by the tribes still loyal to Islam and the flower of the old Arab troops composed of the *Mohajarin* and *Ansar*. Khalid, one of the first of the generals appointed by Abu Bakr, directed his attention against the false prophet Tulaiha who, like the prophet Mohamed,

announced his divine revelation in rhymed prose, and to whom the tribe of Asad and its allies had rendered the oath of allegiance. He compelled him to fly to Syria and repeatedly defeated the tribes attached to him. Thereafter he fought the false prophet Musailamah who ruled the province of Yamama and inflicted on his supporters a crushing defeat.

While Khalid, as faithless and blood-thirsty as brave, was dealing a fatal blow at Musailamah, the most dangerous enemy of Islam, the other generals were quelling the rebellion in the province of Bahrain, in the coast-land of the Persian Gulf which in consequence of the death of the Prophet had rejected Islam, in Oman where a false prophet had arisen, and in Yaman where, on account of the poor-tax the yoke of Islam was thrown aside.

Thus by the end of the XIth year of the Hejira rebellion had completely been stamped out of Arabia, and Abu Bakr, loyal to the mission of the Prophet, could think of extending the rule of Islam beyond the confines of his native country.

Khalid received orders to proceed against the province of Iraq, on the lower Euphrates and the Tigris, then forming part of the Persian empire. Its inhabitants were, to a large extent, of Arab origin and were governed by Arab princes acknowledging Persian suzerainty. Here the fight was no longer, as it was in Arabia, with the people, but it was a fight with the Persian troops who, for a long while, had not known what victory was,—for since the invasion of the emperor Heraklius, the Persian Empire, owing to aristocratic feuds, civil war, famine, and female rule, had grown feebler and feebler.

Khalid marched from Yamama with 2000 men, but by the time he had crossed the frontier of Iraq he could count 18,000 under his banner; for the prospect of booty had brought the Arabs round him—some to fight for God and his Prophet, others to reap a rich harvest of booty.

According to the direction received from the Caliph he wrote forthwith to the commander-in-chief of the Persian troops:—

"Accept Islam and you are saved, pay tribute and receive for yourself and your people our protection. Otherwise you have only yourself to blame, for I will advance

towards you with an army which loves death as you love life."

By these words Khalid intended to encourage the truly faithful to encounter the enemy with an absolute contempt for death and with an assured certainty of a life of everlasting happiness. Mohamed had revealed, to be sure, quite a number of verses in the Qur'an, calculated to stir his followers to deeds of a most daring character.

"Believe not," says the Qur'an, "that those who perish in the path of God are dead, they live and will be taken care of by the Lord. They are blessed with His mercy and they will receive with joy those that follow them."

These and similar verses which acquired more and more popularity with the masses were not merely conventional expressions. They urged them on to heroic acts and may be regarded as a very important item, among the causes, which led to the rapid growth of the Islamic Empire—however much the love of war and greed of booty natural to the Beduins as well as the inner decay and corruption of the Persian and Byzantine Empire may have contributed to that end. The Persians were not so deeply demoralized as to yield to the victors at the first onslaught. They fought repeatedly against the troops of Khalid—though unsuccessfully—and lost, in the first year of the war, under the reign of Abu Bakr the whole of the country situated on the western banks of the Euphrates, together with the towns of Anbar and Hira—whence Khalid extended his excursions over the whole of Chaldea and gathered immense booty from the state treasury. Just as he was preparing to cross the Euphrates once again to carry on the war right into the heart of Mesopotamea he received orders from Abu Bakr to join the Syrian army which urgently needed his help. In the spring of the year 634 as the number of the volunteers, anxious to avenge the defeat at Muta, had grown considerably, the Caliph sent several battalions to the frontier of Syria and Palestine to win, as he hoped without much resistance, fresh laurels for Islam. The times were propitious; for the Byzantine Cæsar, since the Persian war, was stricken with a paralysis of Imperial energy; the Arab inhabitants of the frontier were offended by unreasonable parsimony and the

Christian population were inflamed into passion by the spoliation of governors and ecclesiastical oppression. The first expeditions of the three commanders, who individually attacked Syria from three different points, were attended with little success, and not until Khalid had arrived with a reinforcement of 9000 men and taken over the supreme command did things begin to brighten for the Muslims. As the most important events occurred in the reign of the Caliph Omar we will revert to them in the sequel. Abu Bakr died of fever at the age of 63—22nd August, 634 A. D. Mindful of the trouble which the question of succession had occasioned on the death of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, when he felt the end near at hand, thought of deciding the question in favour of Omar. He sent for the most important and influential companions of the Prophet and put forward before them Omar as the most competent and the most suitable man to direct the affairs of the state. Then he collected the chiefs of the people and made them take an oath that they would acknowledge the successor appointed by him. This being done he appointed Omar. But when the announcement of this choice caused anxiety in some quarters, on account of the severity of Omar, Abu Bakr said:—Omar was so severe because I was too weak. When he rules alone he will be milder than I, for often has he tried to appease me when he noticed that I was inclined to be hard, verily I know that his interior is better than what seems from his exterior.

Abu Bakr's private life was as irreproachable as was his public life. Nothing, indeed, could be suggested against him except that he was too indulgent towards Khalid. But that was an act of political wisdom. He used the treasures, which his generals sent to him out of the booty, for purposes of state and state only. He himself remained as poor as before, and continued for some time even as Caliph to maintain himself by trade and farming until his companions persuaded him to devote himself entirely to Government. Then alone did he decide to accept a few thousand *dirhams* a year and a summer and winter suit. He was kind, simple, and pious. As the first collector of the Qur'an, to him belonged the credit

of its complete preservation. As a law-giver he set an excellent example to his successors, for in cases unprovided for in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet he gave decisions in consultation with the jurists; decisions which with few exceptions became binding authorities.

II. OMAR.

A specially propitious star watched over the infancy of Islam, for it set at the head of the Muslims a man, such as Omar, who was in fact as Abu Bakr had described him, circumspect and energetic; who, free from every selfishness, had constantly one and one object only in view, and that was the welfare and prosperity of the state; who on account of his genuine piety and conscientiousness as well as his patriarchal simplicity had stood out as an exemplar for all subsequent rulers; and who under the Prophet and the Caliph Abu Bakr wielded a powerful influence. In frugality and economy he even surpassed his predecessor. His food consisted of barley bread and dates or olive, his drink was pure water, his bed a padding of palm leaves. He owned only two coats—one for summer and one for winter and both were conspicuous by extensive patch works. At the pilgrimages (and he was absent at none) he never used a tent. His garment or a mat fastened to a tree or a pole served to protect him from the burning sun. Thus lived the man who was the undisputed master of Arabia, whose generals, during his reign, conquered the fairest and richest provinces of the Persian and Byzantine Empire. His most earnest endeavour was to do justice, to maintain the purity of the faith, to secure the conquest of the world. He refused to keep any longer at the head of the Syrian troops a man, like Khalid, who had stained his martial glory with murder and debauchery, although it was he who retrieved the honour of the Arab arms at the battle of Yarmuk and settled the fate of Syria by a decisive victory over the Christian troops (immensely superior in number) which led to the surrender of Damascus, the capital of Syria.

To preserve in Arabia the faith, free from false doctrines, he banished the Christians from Najran and the Jews from Wad

ul-Qur'a, permitting them to take their moveable property with them and allotting them so much land in other countries, of their choice, as they had been dispossessed of. For a similar reason he decreed as mentioned above, that in all conquered countries the non-Muslims should be distinguished from Muslims by their dress, so that they might be recognized at first sight and treated accordingly. In the rapid diffusion of Islam outside Arabia all Arabs who had fallen away from Abu Bakr and were on that account excluded from participating in the holy war were pardoned and were distributed partly in the Syrian and partly in the Persian army. Omar could reckon upon those, thus pardoned, to emulate the old troops in bravery and valour—whether from religious conviction or otherwise.

It was indeed high time to reinforce the Arabs on the Euphrates if they were to retain the prizes won by Khalid. Abu Ubaidah, the new Commander, had fought several battles successfully, but was beaten at the battle of the Bridge, near the ruins of Babel, and perished with the majority of his troops. An insurrection in the capital of Persia prevented the total wreck of the Arab troops before the reinforcements. Omar therefore sought to make amends for these losses by new acquisitions. Muthanna, who now took charge of the troops, was again in a position to measure swords with the enemy, and he sent out his cavalry on predatory expeditions to the other side of the Euphrates. But when Yazdajerd ascended the throne the combination against the Muslims became all but universal, and Muthanna had to retire into the desert where he died in consequence of a wound received at the battle of the Bridge. On the receipt of this mournful news Omar, in the spring of 635, proposed personally to lead an army to Iraq, but his friends dissuaded him from this intention and he appointed Sa'ad Ibn Abi Waqqas as Commander-in-chief, who in the battle of Qadasiyya inflicted so complete a defeat on the enemy that Yazdajerd had to surrender to the Muslims the so-called Arabian Iraq and to confine himself henceforward to the preservation of the provinces, situated to the East of the Tigris with Madain as the capital. Hira was again taken possession of by the

Muslims; the fort of Obolla was captured; and the town of Bassorah was founded which commanded the navigation of the Persian Gulf.

These successes, which secured not only fame and glory but also rich booty and unbounded luxury, attracted more and more troops. The Arab army became so powerful that Yazdajerd left his residence at night without even a show of fight and retired with the remnant of his troops to Hulwan, in the high mountain chains of Media. When Sa'ad entered the abandoned town and witnessed its splendid palaces and pleasure-gardens he recalled to his companions the words of the Qur'an which referred to the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea but which applied equally well to the Persians. "How many gardens and fountains and cultivated fields have they forsaken and how many places of pleasure and delight in which they were wont to find joy. Neither the heaven nor the Earth mourns for them. All these have we (God) bestowed upon another race."

Sa'ad fixed his headquarters in the white palace where he sent for the booty consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, weapons and works of art. So immense was this booty that after deduction of the legal fifth for the state treasury there was still enough left to pay 12,000 *Dirhams* to every soldier. At the instance of Omar the Muslims had to leave Ctesiphon and to make the newly-founded city of Kufa, situated on an arm of the Euphrates, the seat of their Government. Better climate, splendid strategical position and the fear of corruption in the old capital of the Persians induced Omar to issue this order. Yazdajerd had soon to continue his flight further north for Hulwan fell after the victory of Sa'ad at Jalula. The next campaigns were directed, on the one hand, against the northern Mesopotamia, resulting in the conquest of Tikrit, Mosul, Harran, Kirkisia and Roha (Edessa) and on the other against the province of Khuzistan (Susiana), terminating in the capture of Tuster (Shuster) and the surrender of the Prince Harmozan, who to please Omar or to save his neck accepted Islam.

Yazdajerd, in the meantime, did not remain inactive. He stirred on his Satraps to present a united front to the Muslims, who

showed, more and more, that without limit was their love of conquest.

It was an opportune moment, then, for the Persians, for Sa'ad had been deposed from the governorship of Persia, severe famine had thinned the Syrian ranks, and a portion of the Muslim troops were busy in Egypt.

An army, as strong as had once met at Qadasiyya, assembled in the neighbourhood of Nehavand. This news caused so fearful an alarm at Medina that Omar proposed to take over in person the command of the army, which he had rapidly re-inforced, to march against Persia, but he ultimately appointed Numan Ibn Mukrin as Commander who inveigled the enemy, by a feigned flight, to an unfavourable position, and thereby won a complete victory for the Muslims.

Omar took advantage of this victory to push forward his conquests into the interior of Persia. He clearly saw that he must conquer Persia proper if he was to save the troops, stationed at the frontier provinces, from recurring attacks every now and then. Upon the advice of the captive commander, the Persian Fairuzan, Isphahan, the capital of the Persian Empire, was attacked and was compelled to surrender. Shortly after Hamadan and Rey obeyed the sceptre of the Caliph. Other towns were conquered in Faristan as well as in Kirman and Sajistan. For several years however the fort of Istakhar (Persepolis) offered an obstinate resistance.

The conquests made in the north and east of Persia, under Omar, slipped out of Muslim hands wherever strong Muslim garrison could not be maintained, with the result that these conquests had to be made over again. Muslim conquest in Syria, on the other hand, was more firmly planted, because there neither the racial nor religious differences were so acutely pronounced.

After the capitulation of Damascus the Muslims, in a few years, under the leadership of Abu Ubaidah, whom Omar appointed in the place of Khalid, subjugated Balbek, Hims, Hamah, Jerusalem, Haleb, Antioch; finally the fortification of Cæsaria and the rest of the towns on the coast of Syria and Palestine. The Syrian army then turned to the Euphrates and was soon in possession of the Iraquian Amid and Kirkisia, in the neighbourhood of Rakka.

On its subjugation Omar personally un-

dertook a journey to Syria, to issue suitable laws, to regulate the distribution of the land and to protect the inhabitants from acts of violence.

Now was the turn of Egypt to exchange the Bible for the Qur'an or at least to bow, in humility, to the reverers of the latter.

Personally Omar hesitated and could not easily decide to send out a comparatively small army to the banks of the Nile, protected as it was, by fortified and thickly-populated towns which could by sea count upon the unimpeded support of the Byzantine Government. Omar could not however very well refuse the request of the brave and cunning Amr Ibn Ass, a soldier of tried valour, to proceed with his faithful troops to Egypt. Amr, indeed, was well aware that if once the first step was taken the honour of Islam and that of the Arab army would compel the Caliph to sanction further measures to prosecute the war. Amr is even said to have travelled early to Egypt. If so, he must have known that the hatred of the Coptic race towards the Byzantine Government was more fierce than was the case in Syria because here, far worse than in Syria, were the ecclesiastical oppression and misconduct of the plundering officers. In case of defeat the desert, where they feared no pursuit from the Greeks, offered a safe asylum to the Arabs.

In December 640 Amr started from Syria and with 4000 men whom he had with him he took the frontier fortress of Farma. Then he proceeded unopposed to Bilbis, where he beat back the Christians who fought him and was soon in sight of the fort of Babylon, on the eastern bank of the Nile, in the neighbourhood of the modern town Al-Qāhera. In the meantime his small soldiery was re-inforced by the Beduin tribes—also some 12000 men arrived from Medina. Amr was now in a position to conquer that strong bulwork, the capital Memphis, situated on the western Bank.

After the capture of Babylon the Copts concluded peace with Amr who as against a very moderate payment of the ordained taxes assured them perfect religious freedom together with complete security of person and property. Whilst under the Byzantine rule they had to endure all manner of religious and political oppressions. Thus Amr, without unsheathing his sword

from the scabbard, became master of Memphis and the Greek garrison had no alternative left to them but to retire to Alexandria.

In the spring of 641 Amr supported by the Copts, started for Alexandria, beating back the Greeks at every turn, with a view to lay siege to it, and did, in point of fact, besiege it. Heraklius made every effort to save Alexandria, whose loss would seriously affect not only Egypt, the granary of Constantinople, but the rest of north Africa. On his death, when in consequence of troubles arising from disputed succession and mutiny of soldiers, Alexandria lay utterly helpless—it was not very difficult for Amr to take by storm the already prostrate town awaiting its impending fall. At the express order of Omar, however, the town was treated with a marked leniency.

Amr wanted to make his residence on the other side of the Nile but Omar would not consent to his governor residing at so great a distance from Medina. Thus at the spot where Amr had pitched his tent during the siege of Babylon the new town of Fustat was founded which remained the seat of the governor until the Fatimides built the new town of Al-Qāhera in the XIVth century of Hejira. By making the old canal navigable they restored connection with the Red Sea so that henceforward Arabia might easily be supplied with provisions from Egypt.* However great the services of Amr to the Caliphate, however earnest his effort to fill the treasury and granary of Medina with the Egyptian gold and the Egyptian corn—Omar nevertheless treated him with an extraordinary harshness, because he firmly believed that the rich country round the Nile could yield a still greater revenue, and therefore concluded that his governor either treated the inhabitants with undue indulgence or that he misappropriated the larger portion of the income.

He was therefore called upon to render account to a special Commissioner and to surrender to him half of his possessions.

* [It is the canal which leaves the Nile at Fustat, intersects Cairo and opens into the Red Sea at Kulzum (the Klysma of antiquity). Nero, Trajan and Omar join hands in this work. Events of the most modern times remind us of this. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, Vol. V, p. 154 Masudi, Vol. IV, p. 97. T.]

Moreover with him in the Governorship was associated Abdullah Ibn Abi Sarh, foster-brother of the later Caliph Othman. With his life, indeed, did Omar pay for his insatiable greed to enrich the treasury more and more at the expense of the conquered Provinces. His governors, to satisfy him, were constrained to levy heavy and offensive taxes. A mechanic, on whom Mughira, the Governor of Kufa, had imposed a daily tax of two silver *dirhams*, travelled to Medina to appeal against this imposition. In his appeal he failed. He therefore attacked Omar with a dagger and inflicted on him several wounds in consequence of which he died on the 3rd of December 644.

Like his predecessor Omar before his death determined to settle once for all the question of succession and thus to avert anarchy and civil war. He at first appointed Abdur Rahaman Ibn Auf, one of the oldest companions of the Prophet, as his successor. But he refused the honour. Thereupon Omar nominated six men who were charged with the election of the new Caliph. These were:—Othman, Ali, Zubair, Talha, Sa'ad Ibn Abi Waqqas, and the aforesaid Abdur Rahman Ibn Auf, by whose casting vote after a protracted discussion Othman was acclaimed ruler of the faithful.

Omar soon settled his own affairs. He begged his tribesmen to pay some small debts for him which he had incurred, and he entreated Ayasha to allow him to be buried by the side of Mohamed and Abu Bakr. He thus concluded peacefully and with resignation his ten years' reign, which in point of fact however was of a yet longer duration, for not only under Abu Bakr but also under the Prophet he had made his voice felt most effectively.

Never was his opinion rejected unless it was too obviously dangerous to the safety of the state. Thus Mohamed did not listen to him when he called for the head of Abdullah Ibn Ubayy, an influential Medinite, hostile to Islam. Similarly he was not listened to when he demanded execution of the captive Abu Sufyan or when he objected to the conclusion of peace at Hudaibiyya. Even Abu Bakr opposed him when he wanted to kill Sa'ad Ibn Ubaid because he would not do homage. We have, however, seen that even Omar could be inconsistent, for he advised Abu

Bakr to remit the poor-tax to the rebels; but, forbearing as Abu Bakr was, he sternly refused his consent to this proposal. Even to the above mentioned Mughira, the governor of Bassorah, he showed greater indulgence than was expected of him, since Mughira, inspite of all accusations persistently levelled against him, was appointed Governor of Kufa. Equally indulgent was he towards Abu Musa (the successor of Mughira, to the Governorship of Bassorah)—who stood charged with embezzlement, corruption and falsification of accounts. In glaring contrast stands his severity not only towards Khalid but also towards his own son, who for drinking wine and immorality was, at the instance of his father, publicly scourged to death.

Omar may be regarded, as the real founder of the Islamic Empire, for to him owe their origin the most important institutions which give permanence to Government. He not only rewarded the warriors but also anxiously looked after those that they left behind. He appointed judges for the conquered provinces. He fixed the pay of the different officers. He established a Government secretariat and founded a department of finance. He ordered a census to be made and the property of fellow citizens to be valued and appraised. He thus introduced order into the System of finance and taxation. Finally he fixed the Mohamedan era which dated from the flight of Mohamed to Medina.

WHY I DISBELIEVE IN SOCIALISM

By WILFRED WELLOCK.

TO be a social reformer in England to-day and not to be a Socialist, is, I confess, to be something of an anomaly. At last, and after an exceedingly hard struggle, Socialism has become popular; it has even become the fashion. After twenty years of strenuous work among the masses Socialists have at last the satisfaction of seeing their cause prosper, of witnessing their once despised theory discussed on every kind of platform and adopted by reformers of every hue and of every social class. All honour to the men who have fought so bravely and achieved such an undoubted success! who have stuck to their guns so steadfastly; endured obloquy and ill-repute; broken the power of such a bitter and strenuous opposition! And this much at any rate can be said, that whether Society will ultimately be founded, there can be no doubting the fact that the advocacy of Socialism has been highly educative, having been the means of compelling thousands of men and women both among the leisured and the working classes to think about society and life, about social and industrial conditions, practices and ideals, etc., who otherwise would probably

never have thought about such things at all.

At the same time, and while acknowledging that the evils against which Socialism is a protest are many and great, and must be overcome somehow, I am yet compelled to say that I cannot accept Socialism as a practical policy. Nay, I must go even further and say that I do not believe that the adoption of Socialism would be the means of enhancing human well-being, either individually or nationally, of increasing either liberty or happiness; and this in spite of the fact that I believe the real aims of most Socialists to be identical with my own. The explanation is simply this, that the adoption of Socialism would involve the production and growth of evils which would be quite as bad and as disastrous as those which Socialism was the attempt to overcome; and it is because I realise this fact so clearly that I have come to disbelieve in Socialism. And yet, the truth is, and I am happy to state it, I have many excellent friends who are ardent Socialists, and the discussions I have had with some of these stand out as being among the most vital and exhilarat-

ing moments of my life. Sincere and purposeful discussion is always good, but when it takes place between staunch friends, who are battling for their strongest convictions, it is a refining fire, a means of spiritual exaltation.

Many will no doubt be surprised to hear me say that while I disagree with many of my friends as to the best means of attaining a more ideal condition of society, I yet find myself in perfect agreement with their conception of an ideal society. But time after time I have found this to be the case. Repeatedly I find myself saying to some friend or other: "Yes, your ideal is all right, but your method of attaining it quite inadequate: you will never attain your ideal by means of Socialism." And this I say while yet being as bitterly opposed to existing social conditions and industrial practices as they are, and as full of hatred for the selfish and materialistic spirit of the present age, the inhumanity and immorality which characterise our present industrial policy as anyone could well be. But herein lies the difference, that while I detest with my whole soul the foundation and methods of modern Western commercialism, the principles of the Manchester School of economists, I have yet not despaired of human nature, nor lost my faith in the reformatory power of moral truth, of new and life-promising spiritual idealism. And that, I fear, is what most Socialists have done. Despairing of society, of individualism, they have lost faith in the individual, and also, it must be said, in the reformatory power of truth, and consequently look to State organisation as the one means of attaining justice and social salvation.

Now to my mind it is the plainest and profoundest of truths that there can be no real social regeneration except through moral and spiritual regeneration; that any mere device of social arrangement can never be the means either of eradicating evil, social or individual, or of creating good; and that whatever evil exists in society, exists in the hearts and minds of men, is the outcome of false ideals and base loves, and can never be uprooted except as the result of a finer teaching, a profounder idealism. But not only do I believe that individualism can be humanised, purified—democratised, if you will,—I also believe, as the reader will

have discovered, that an individualistic basis of society is the only one whereby the freedom that is necessary for the highest personal and spiritual development can be secured. Naturally, therefore, I believe that Socialism, which is the substitution of State for individual control, will involve the curtailment of freedom, and thus be a hindrance to progress.

To my mind the fundamental weakness of Socialism is due to the fact that it is necessarily limited to purely economic considerations. Socialism, manifestly and confessedly, is an economic system, whose primary object is to abolish poverty and bring about the economic emancipation of society. And in that fact is to be found both the strength and the weakness of Socialism. By thus shutting out from its scope and ken moral and spiritual factors, Socialists simplify the issues so far as the advocacy of Socialism is concerned, as by concentrating on the economic factor they are able to make a direct and definite appeal. Therein lies the strength of Socialism and the secret of its popularity. But in that Socialists eliminate many vital factors that will ultimately have to be considered and dealt with, and which, in the last analysis cannot be divorced from the economic factor, Socialism cannot possibly rank as a complete social theory, and will eventually have to be abandoned as an inadequate theory of social reform. Therein lies its weakness.

It may be all very well for Socialists to say that Socialism is purely an economic system, and that it leaves to others the discussion of moral and spiritual questions and considerations, but the fact is that no adjustment of economic conditions can possibly be made without affecting moral and spiritual conditions, without, for instance, increasing or decreasing liberty, the amount of opportunity each man has for attaining his own personal ideal of life.

Consequently, in opposition to the Socialists, who, as I contend, are endeavouring to establish justice and to lay the foundation of a happy society, solely by reference to economic factors and conditions, I assert most emphatically that the evils from which society is at present suffering are essentially moral evils, the result of blindness and ignorance, and will never

be overcome, legislate as we will, except as the result of enlightenment, of a deep moral and spiritual awakening. It is absurd to say, as many Socialists are in the habit of doing, that the evils from which modern society are suffering are the product of a certain "system", for they are essentially personal, both in fact and origin, having their roots in a base, inadequate and materialistic conception of life.

An ideal of society must surely, if we think deep enough, be in the nature of a brotherhood, but how can a brotherhood be formed by merely adjusting external conditions? By such means men cannot be made better, their minds improved or their motives purified; and the man who as a capitalist has acted inhumanly for the sake of wealth, etc., will as a State official, under a Socialist regime, act inhumanly in order to get promotion, a higher social position, more power and authority.

Of course I am quite well aware that many Socialists do claim for Socialism a large measure of moral and spiritual influence, and do sincerely believe that it will be the means of establishing brotherhood in the earth. But my contention is that Socialism cannot be a coercive economic principle and at the same time a spiritual and idealistic principle, for in so far as Socialism depends on coercion it ignores or neglects the principle of liberty; and thus ceases to win its way by means of moral suasion and spiritual enlightenment. In so far as Socialists believe in brotherhood they will believe in men, and will try to teach them life, the principles of true well-being, whereby all tyranny and injustice will be done away: but to that extent they will be in opposition to the methods of Socialism, as the method of Socialism is to enforce upon the entire nation, by means of a numerical majority, a principle of life which strikes at the root of liberty, and which concerns the minutest details of one's existence. Thus the question for Socialists to answer is this: Do they or do they not believe in the State control of wealth and industry, etc.? If they do, then their work has connection with the ideal of a brotherhood, for, to repeat what I have already said, mere external adjustment, the establishment of economic justice can never be in any sense a guarantee of spiritual justice,

of liberty, of the attainment of any such spiritual realisation as brotherhood. Socialism is emphatically a coercive principle of State control with a purely economic objective; and being that it cannot at the same time be a spiritual principle, a means of moral and spiritual enlightenment.

That the question of economics should be divorced from the question of life as a whole is a most lamentable and regrettable calamity; it has been lamentable in the case of Liberalism—or shall we not say industrialism?—but it will be more so in the case of Socialism, as Socialism carries with it a far greater measure of interference with individual liberty. I stated in my last article that the social and industrial evils from which we in England are suffering to day were due to the fact that industry had been allowed to develop unchecked and unguided by an adequate morality or social idealism; and I have not the least hesitation in saying that unless we face the moral issue first and make definite, personal moral and spiritual appeal, Socialism will fare no better than the materialistic Industrialism of the nineteenth century has done, and though it may be the means of avoiding certain evils it will certainly be the means of creating others equally pernicious. It may be all very well to meet the materialistic individualism, which all serious-minded reformers are at present attacking, on its own grounds to concentrate on the economic factor; but in doing that socialists are bound to suffer a like fate, as the method of abstraction that has brought about the collapse of materialistic individualism is bound in the end to bring about the collapse of Socialism.

Every reformer ought to view his reforms from the standpoint of the whole man, and to realise that it is utterly impossible satisfactorily to solve the vital problems of human existence by reference to only one aspect of it. To touch the economic aspect of life is to touch, both actually and potentially, every other aspect of it as well. In a very real sense every economic question is a spiritual question, and only by regarding it as such can it be adequately dealt with. This fact Socialists seem entirely to overlook, and with dire result, for they are being led, in consequence, to concentrate on the wrong things, and to leave untouch-

ed the real evil. Taking a superficial view, Socialists have come to the conclusion that the evils of our prevailing industrial policy are due to the operation of the principle of individualism, to liberty, that is; what they utterly fail to recognise is that they are due to materialism, to false and base conceptions of life. As a matter of fact the principle of individualism has been the strength of our industrialism; its weakness has lain, from the very first, in its materialism, in its lack of an elevated spiritual ideal.

To put it in plain words, the battle that needs to be fought in the interests of modern civilisation and in the interests of spiritual emancipation is the battle against materialism. What was vital in Industrialism was its individualism: and that Socialists wish to destroy; what was deadly and destructive in industrialism was its materialism; and that Socialists accept and actually necessarily perpetuate. Face to face with a great spiritual need, Socialists, by their abstract, purely economic, policy show their ignorance of the real state of affairs, of the real nature of the difficulties that are to be overcome, seeming to think that they can really purify society, cure it of its ills, by a mere alteration in the economic arrangement. Whereas it ought to be apparent to every thinking man that a mere change of external policy without an accompanying change of spirit, (which is what the substitution of Socialism for the present industrial system would be), cannot give effect to any real reformation.

The false assumption underlying Socialism I count as the greatest fallacy of the present age. Somehow or other the idea has got established in the popular mind that by means of the formal adoption of Socialism, the State control of the means of production, etc., tyranny can be entirely abolished, and the nation at large, by some subtle and mysterious means, be converted into a brotherhood. But I deny this assumption, and also assert that no facts can be pointed to that give the least grounds for making it. There is nothing to prove that the State control of labour (we have it in our midst to-day) is ideal, or that the rule of officials is in any sense satisfactory, not to say ideal. And it is strangely significant that the men who are crying out

loudest at the present time against the existing Workhouse system, for instance, on the grounds of official tyranny and inhumanity, are precisely the men who are most anxious to secure the State control of industry.

One thing the advocates of Socialism seem to forget: it is that if Socialism were to come into operation to-morrow it would have to be worked by such men as we have in our midst to-day, even by such men as constitute the much-hated and suspected official class everywhere in existence, in one department and another, all over the country to-day—that is to say, by proud, vain, selfish, dishonest, brutal, feelingless, ambitious and lazy men, no less than by industrious, honest, truthful, kind-hearted and humane men. And certainly one fails to see where the mystical power, which Socialists seem to think will somehow come into operation when Socialism is adopted and transform all men into social idealists, exemplary members of a huge brotherhood, is to come from, especially as in a Socialist State men are taught to put their trust in politics, in a body of officials. The sooner we rid our minds of cant and realise that there is nothing in the name or fact of Socialism whereby selfish, proud and ambitious men can be transformed into sociable, kind and self-sacrificing men, the better it will be for the future of our country. A profound mistake is made when it is said or assumed that only the love of wealth can cause mankind to do the inhuman things that are done in the industrial world to-day; for the love of power and position, of ease and luxury are just as pernicious, and these ends will be quite as attractive under a Socialist as under an individualistic regime.

Consequently, we shall not be any better off, morally and spiritually, when we have got our Socialist State. We shall have got rid of the exacting capitalist it is true; but we shall have set up in his stead an unfeeling official, a man who is just as likely to be selfish, inhuman and materialistic as the capitalist. The man who has been selfish and brutal as a capitalist will be none the less selfish and brutal as a State official. And the fact is, there will be just as much opportunity for exercising tyranny in a Socialistic as in an individual-

istic State. In a Socialistic State we shall be hemmed in by officials on every side, and shall be able to do nothing without their consent. And there is this fact to be considered, that officials, not having to make a business flourish in the same sense that a capitalist has, the tendency to fall into routine will be very strong indeed, nay, inevitable. The capitalist is always ready to make a way for genius; but genius is just the one thing that officialism cannot tolerate. Officialism means fixity, and genius means change, the breaking away from custom and routine: hence in a Socialist State, the two things, genius and officialism, will always be in dire opposition, an opposition which will generally end in the triumph of the latter. Genius, moreover, means the bringing forward of new men; but the introduction of new men involves displacement; the ousting of those already in power: consequently, under Socialism, genius, which is the source of all improvement and advance, will always be regarded as the most grievous and detestable element in the State, and be strenuously resisted by the entire hierarchy of officials. Thus Socialism is likely to lead to tyranny of the worst sort: that which represses every spiritual, noble and life-seeking aspiration.

State control inevitably involves routine and strict obedience, and tends to produce and to promote the mere pedant, the man who can best master petty details, dominate others, and most successfully cram his head with examination facts. And whereas, under individualism, the tendency is for men to over-work and starve their fellows for the sake of wealth, under Socialism the tendency will be to repress and crush their fellows in order to secure promotion, as under any official system, the best, if not the only way to secure promotion is to win the good opinion of the official above one: and this can best be done by causing him as little trouble as possible, and thus by removing every disturbing element, genius, &c., out of the way. So far, therefore, from Socialism being the means of transforming men into spiritual idealists, the fact of making them the servants of the State—which, by the way, most people are in the habit of regarding as a huge abstraction, something to be winked at and

to do well out of,—would seem rather to dehumanise them, to make them less humane and idealistic than they were before.

The best way to prove the truth of what I am contending is to study the operation of State-controlled labour as it at present exists. In England the Post Office is usually held up as a model example of State-controlled labour. And certainly as a piece of fine mechanism working with clock-like regularity, the Post Office is a model institution. But it may with some assurance be doubted if in the length and breadth of England there can be found a private business concern that is more mechanical in its operation, more restrictive, more rigorous in its discipline, more stereotyped and rigid in its methods, or more intolerant of individuality than is the Post Office. In the Post Office what is known as departmentalism is carried out to its extremity; and what with an abundance of rules and regulations, and a great hierarchy of officials, it is practically impossible to work with any soul whatever, to put any spirit into one's work. Not only that, but an army discipline is maintained throughout: and as in the army, it is only with the utmost difficulty and risk—risk of "character" and position—that even a just complaint can be effectively made. And is it not a fact that the good offices of a Trade Union are as much called for in regard to Government-controlled labour as in regard to privately controlled? Yet is it not the case that the Government has been the last employer to tolerate Trade Unionism in regard to its own employees? I have also noticed in the descriptions of the latest Post Office buildings, that conning towers have been erected from which the eyes of the manager can constantly, and unseen by the workers, be upon his staff—an addition that I am quite convinced would not be tolerated for twenty-four hours in any weaving shed in Lancashire. The very attempt to build one would produce a strike.

But there are other and as great evils attached to the state control of labour. The chief of these is the sacrifice of the right of free speech, of free political action, of frank and open criticism. The moment a person enters a Government Department it is understood that he forfeits forthwith a large measure of his liberty as a citizen;

henceforth he is no longer free, as he must not on any account take an active part in elections or speak out his mind on any matter affecting the Government or its policy. And think what this means! Here you have a huge body of intelligent men and women, whose character and ability are probably above the average, being so far restricted in their liberty and in their power of self-expression and self-development as to be deprived of the right of taking an active part in shaping or influencing the political life and thought of the country. And the fact is, there is no getting away from this kind of tyranny under a Socialist regime, for the simple reason that there is nothing intrinsic in Socialism to generate that deep and genuine love of man which is the only guarantee of liberty and justice. The worst Trust in existence does depend for its success upon individuality; but a Government bureau can exist without any individuality whatsoever—nay, can exist all the better and longer without it. A Trust exists to make money; a Government bureau exists to carry on the functions of the State. As things are to-day neither exists to make and perfect man, deliberately to increase the well-being of men and women. A Trust appoints managers with plenty of power and freedom, but their reign is coterminous with their success. But in a Bureaucracy officials are set up who, having no competition to face, and having no ideals, have nothing to keep alive, and will thus remain in office until pension time, providing, that is, they have committed no personal misdemeanor and have managed to keep tolerable order, to get their work primly and neatly done, and to have their statistics filed within a reasonable distance of the year's end.

The greatest needs of man are liberty and an illuminating, uplifting and en-

nobling idealism, and without these his life is as nothing, empty and worthless. And neither of these does Socialism guarantee or even presuppose. Indeed, Socialism, to a very large extent, is the negation of liberty. For that reason it cannot possibly succeed, but must necessarily give place to a more adequate social theory. For a man cannot live as he ought to live unless he be allowed to do so in accordance with his own ideas, unless, that is, he be allowed to educate himself as he chooses, to express, amuse and enjoy himself freely and in his own way. But along with liberty men must possess an adequate ideal of life whereby they may attain to life's highest good, and at the same time be the means of enabling others to attain that highest good also. And the man who learns the value of liberty for himself and realises what the conditions of the highest human well-being are will always be ready as far as in him lies to extend those conditions to every member of the State. The fundamental weakness of Western commerce is, as I have more than once said, that it is uncontrolled and unguided by any lofty idealism, a rational and adequate conception of life; and most of the evils that are rampant in the West to-day are due to that lack. It ought to be quite apparent, therefore, that no mere change in the economic system will really eradicate social evil, or anything else save the complete elevation of the people's ideals, the substitution of a spiritual and social for a mundane and selfish conception of life. For these reasons, therefore, I cannot believe in Socialism. My soul rebels at the very idea of trying to reform, socialise and spiritualise men by means of a social system. It is truth alone that can reform and save men.

A REFLECTION ON THE PALI LANGUAGE

THE language in which the sacred books of the Buddhists belonging to the Hinayana or Southern School are written, is well-known to all by the name of Pali. But why it is

called *Pali* is an open question not yet fully discussed by any scholar. And I think it will not be out of place to say a few words on this subject, which might throw some light on it.

In Pali, as in Sanskrit, the word पालि conveys the idea of a line, a row, or a series.* We see in Buddhist literature that the ancient teachers of Buddhism while required to quote or expound a line or a sentence of the scripture did not generally employ any other form conveying the idea of a line than पालि. It is still seen in Sanskrit literature that readers or writers referring to any text in some original work make use of this form पङ्क्ति—while saying “तथाच सूत्रपङ्क्तिः” “तथाच भाष्यपङ्क्तिः,” etc.†

In Sanskrit पङ्क्ति is sometimes taken to mean an original text, and so in Buddhist literature the word पालि is used to mean a line of the letters of a text or the text itself. The following lines will bear testimony to it :—

“धेरियाचरिया सब्बे पालिं विप्र तमग्गहु” —The Theris and the teachers (Theras) took it (the अत्यकथा of Buddhaghosa) as the पालि (i.e., the lines of the text or the text itself).‡ “पिटकचयपालिं च तस्स अत्यकथं च तं” —The पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself) of the three Pitakas and that commentary thereon.§ “पालिमत्तं इधानीत्तं नल्लि अट्ठकथा इध” —Only the पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself) has been brought here, there is no commentary here.|| “पालिमाहाभिधम्मस्स” —He said only the पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself) of अभिधम्म.¶ “नेव पालियं न अट्ठकथाय दिससति” —It is not seen in the पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself) nor in the commentary thereon.** “यो पण अत्यनेव सम्पादेति न पालि” —One who masters only the meanings and not the पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself).†† “एवं पालियं वुत्तयेन” —Thus by the method said in the पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself).‡‡ “एतिस्सा पण पालिया एवमल्लो वेदितव्वो” —But the significance of this पालि (the line of the text or the text itself) is thus to be understood.§§ “इति-आदिसु अयं पालि” —This is the पालि (the line of the text or the text itself) on

these and other matters.* “सिंसे एल्ल यथापालि नेव निव्याति” —The remaining portion is to be known as in the पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself).† “जम्बुदीपे पण आवुसो पालिमत्तं येव अल्लि अत्यकथा पण नल्लि” —Sir, only the पालि (the lines of the text or the text itself) is here in Jambudvīpa but the commentary is not here.‡

It is clear from the above that the word पालि was originally used to mean the lines of the scriptures or the text of the Tripitaka; but gradually, as the time wore on, the commentary bearing upon the Tripitaka or any production having a direct or an indirect connection with both came to be designated as पालि. As the Samhitas and the Brahmanas connected therewith are both known as Vedas, or as the institutes of Manu and others and the modern works connected with them go by the name of Smritis; so in the case of Buddhist literature the word पालि was first used to mean the Tripitaka, and gradually the Athakatha and other works connected with them. But the works having no connection with the Tripitaka, etc., though written in the Pali language were not formerly called पालि but were known only as ग्रन्थ.§

The text being पालि the language in which the पालि was written was called पालिभासा, the language of पालि or पालि briefly.||

Now when a language known as पालि or पालिभासा (the language of पालि) had come to existence objection was not taken to any production being called पालि although it disclaimed every relation either to the Tripitaka or to the commentaries thereon.

It is evident from the above that the original meaning of पालिभासा is the भासा of पालि, that is to say, the language of the text of the Buddhists.

Now comes the derivation of the word. In a certain Pali Grammar the derivation is traced thus :—“सद्वल्लं पालेतीति पालि,” —that which protects or maintains the meanings of words is पालि.¶ It

* “पल्लि वीथ्यावल्लिस्सेनि पालि रेखा तु राजि च” — अभिधानपदीपिका, 539.

† “श्रीमन्त इति आक्षार पङ्क्तिः प्रणवोपासने विनियुज्यते” —चैत्ति. आर. मङ्गलालरभाष्य, 6, 31, 1; “कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्र-पङ्क्ति रुदाहता दृश्यते” —कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्र, उपोद्घात, p. IX.

‡ महावंस p. 257.

§ Ibid. p. 207.

|| Ibid. p. 251.

¶ Ibid. p. 251.

** सामञ्जस्यमुत्त-अट्ठकथा.

†† धम्मपद, 419.

‡‡ कथावल्लु-अत्यकथा, (P T S) p. 119.

§§ विमुद्धिमग्ग (B T S) p. 15.

* Ibid. p. 15.

† कथावल्लु-अत्यकथा (P T S) pp. 118, 119, 158, 169.

‡ सासनवंस (P T S) p. 31.

§ एते (महावंस &c.) पा लि मु त्त क व से न वुत्तत्ता ग न्या न्ता ति वुत्तति” —सासनवंस (P T S), p. 31.

|| “इत्थेवं पालिभासाय परिचयि” —ibid. p. 31.

¶ From a MS. in India Office Library quoted by Childers in his Dictionary of the Pali Language, p. 322. A similar derivation is also found in the Introduction to the सद्वल्लंति (Ceylone. p. XIII.) and it runs as follows :—पकटान्तालीति पालि वचनानमुत्तमान-मनुक्कमोत्यल्लो। अथवा अत्तल्लपरत्थादिमेद्वरुल्लं पालेति रक्खतीति पालि।”

goes without saying that the above meaning of the word पालि is only an unwarranted invention of some clever grammarian.

It is contended by some that the पालिभासा is a भासा, language, of a पल्ली, a part of a village or small village, and that the word पालि comes from पल्ली. They support their view by saying that पालि is unquestionably one of the various kinds of प्राकृत and as the प्राकृत is a language of common villagers, the inhabitants of पल्ली, it is not improbable that their language would be called after the name of पल्ली.

Buddhism having been widely preached in Magadha some maintain that it must have been preached in the dialect of पाटलिपुत्र which was the capital of Magadha, and so it is believed that पालि is the corruption of पाटलि.

We do not think that the two views mentioned above are tenable. We can bring ourselves to be in agreement with the philologists who maintain that the dialect of Pataliputra was पालि, and that पालि is only the corrupted form of पाटलि only in this that पालि was then the prevalent tongue of Pataliputra. But we cannot subscribe to the view that पालि came from the पाटलि of पाटलिपुत्र. In the incessant changes that Prakrita is liable to, पालि may have been derived from पाटलि, but we are of opinion that unless it is proved by evidence less disputable than a mere conjecture of derivation we are not prepared to accept it as valid. Pataliputra was undoubtedly a prosperous city of Magadha, but that is no reason why the dialect of Magadha should be termed after Pataliputra. The spoken tongues derive their designation not from any person nor from any city but from the province at large. Pataliputra was always a city and never rose to be a province.

We cannot also be entirely at one with those who hold that पालि is so called as it was the language of पल्ली. There is no doubt that पालि has come from पल्ली, but the meaning of पल्ली there is not a village.

It will, however, be shown later on that *palli* has but in modern times come to acquire the meaning of a village. Besides, it is preposterous to suppose that a village or a part of it should have anything to do with the designation of a language.

There are, indeed, great differences in language as well as in several other respects between a town and a village, and to indicate those differences there exist *rural* (ग्राम्य) as well as *civil* (नागरिक) terms. If it is urged that Prakrita was the language of the rural and not of the urban population then पालि, a Prakrita, should have justly been termed ग्राम्य. Besides, पल्ली and ग्राम are not synonymous expressions. We use the word *palli* to denote the different subdivisions of a village or a town. Would

it then be supposed that पालि was so-named as it was spoken in some subdivisions of a village and not in the entire village? These various guesses at the true import of the term are really absurd to a degree. On the other hand, it can be shown that Pali was spoken in towns and in villages alike.

It is maintained by some that *Pali* was derived from *Palas*, the ancient name of Magadha. Some, on the other hand, held that it sprang from *Pali* (a tower), and some, from *Palestine* or *Palatine hills*; while there are others who declare that it is derived from *Pehlive*. These scholars have attempted to explain the origin of the term merely from phonetic affinity to some other expression but have not been able to adduce any stronger proof in support of their views. We are sorry that it is for this reason we are not in a position to reduce ourselves to their way of thinking.

In Sanskrit, I mean in modern Sanskrit and not the ancient one, the words पल्ली and पालि are found. But these two words are not Sanskrit in their origin; they belong to the genuine Prakrita stock and have been incorporated in the Sanskrit language.

By their skill to find out the derivation of a word grammarians recognise many foreign terms as Sanskrit, but that is altogether a quite different thing.*

The Sanskrit word पङ्क्ति gave rise to the word पल्ली or पल्लि,† and पालि has come from पल्ली. Before showing the gradual changes of the word पङ्क्ति through which it has taken the form of पालि we shall discuss a little the meanings of the words which have come into Prakrita from पङ्क्ति. The word पॉति meaning a row is generally used in Bengali; as सुकुतापॉति a row of pearls; दशनपॉति, a row of teeth; etc. From Sanskrit पङ्क्ति comes पन्ति or पंति in Prakrita, and पॉति gradually comes from the latter. Besides, a Hindu committing some vice goes to a law-giver and takes from him a पॉति. Here this पॉति is no other than the पन्ति in Pali or Prakrita and पङ्क्ति in Sanskrit; and it means the text or the lines of the scripture regarding the penance to be practised.

It is thus obvious that the word पॉति in such cases in Bengali is used in the same meaning as पालि in Buddhist literature.

In Bengali we say दन्तपाटि to mean the row of teeth. And this पाटि has undoubtedly come from the Sanskrit पङ्क्ति. As in Pali or Prakrita

* For instances see the Introduction to my *Pali-prakasha*, a Pali grammar, pp. 75-91.

† In Prakrita in both genders masculine and feminine the इ and उ of words ending in इ and उ become ई and ऊ respectively in the first case-ending, singular number.

there is the use of the word पलि which has come from Sanskrit पङ्क्ति, so the word पत्ति too, which has the same origin with the Sanskrit पङ्क्ति, is sometimes found in use in Prakrita.* Now पट्टि is from पत्ति and is frequently used in Bengali as we call a certain part of a town or a village *काँसारपट्टि (or, पट्टि) शॉखारिपट्टि, etc. काँसारपट्टि means that part of a locality where a row or class of tinkers live. In the same way शॉखारिपट्टि means the part of a locality inhabited by conch-sellers. It is quite apparent that the word पाटि in Bengali has come from पट्टि, and this very पट्टि when uttered softly becomes पट्टि.†

In Prakrita and Pali त=ट, and ट=ल in several instances; accordingly पत्ति has sprung from पट्टि and पालि from पत्ति or पल्ली.

In our country the word अङ्कपत्ति is occasionally used to denote decimal notation (See Buhler's *Indian Paleography*, p. 82). Here पत्ति in अङ्कपत्ति cannot but come from पङ्क्ति which represents 10, as the words पङ्क्तिरथ and पङ्क्तिशैव are synonymous with दशरथ and दशशैव respectively.

In *Kārpūramanjari*, a work in Prakrita, (I. 10), we find the use of a word पालि and this has been rendered into Sanskrit by the commentator as पङ्क्ति. But though the above rendering seems not to be accurate in the case cited above we can evidently understand that in the opinion of the commentator the word पालि may come from Sanskrit पङ्क्ति.

It has been shown above that the term पङ्क्ति has from the past till the present day come to mean the original texts in Sanskrit language. The word पालि in Pali literature like the term पङ्क्ति in Sanskrit was originally employed to denote the texts. In accordance with the rules governing the changes of a language there exist no difficulty of पङ्क्ति assuming by degrees the form of पालि and this calls for no laboured invention on the part of the philologists in order to account for the origin of the term. A certain commentator says that पालि is a derivative from पङ्क्ति.

In the face of these linguistic evidences one cannot have recourse to any other term than पङ्क्ति in order to hunt up the origin of the word पालि.

We shall now endeavour to show with sufficient evidence how the word पङ्क्ति by undergoing gradual modifications has taken the form of पालि. It has already been pointed out that we come across

the words पत्ति and पत्ति derived from पङ्क्ति in Pali or Prakrita literature, and the term पालि originated in them. We venture to suggest that the process of gradual modifications as given below may not be an absurd one :—पङ्क्ति or पत्ति = पत्ति or पत्ति (I. §51; III. §38, note*) = पट्टि (त=ट, I. §85, a) = पत्ति (ट=ल, I. §83) = पत्ति (II. §13) = पालि (p. 11, note); or पङ्क्ति = (eluding nasal ड्) पत्ति (I. §51) = पट्टि (I. §85, a) = पत्ति (I. §83, a) = पालि (p. 11, note).*

In Ceylonese पालि is pronounced as पालि, the reason being only a vocal difference in matter of pronunciation.

It has been stated above that in Buddhist literature पालि was first used to mean the original texts of the scriptures but we are not able to say at what particular point of time it came to be vested with this import. The passages cited above are all from Buddhaghosa (5 B. C.) and other works after him. Prof. Childers however is of opinion that the use of the word पालि in the sense of texts probably began in the first or second century of the Christian era.

But what was the reason of the word पालि being used in such a sense will be shown later on in discussing the word तन्नि.

तन्नि or तन्निभासा is also another name for पालिभासा। In early times तन्नि like पालि stood to mean the texts of the scriptures. In Sanskrit both the words तन्नि and तन्नी signify a cord or a string (सूत्र). The aphorisms or maxims on ब्रह्मन् or न्याय by Vadarayana or Gautama, and so on are called ब्रह्मसूत्र, न्यायसूत्र, etc. And the books in which these aphorisms are embodied are also called by the name of सूत्र; the book containing the aphorisms on ब्रह्मन् is known as ब्रह्मसूत्र. Likewise the sayings of Buddha were called by both the names of तन्नि and सूत्र. It seems to me that of these two words तन्नि was used first and then सूत्र in imitation of Brahmanical works thus entitled.

Hence it is that many parts of त्रिपिटक* are even now called सूत्र or सूत्रसूत्र, else we do not find any other reason to explain it.

It is needless to say that the ancient utterances of the scriptures were deemed sufficiently authoritative. And consequently we find in dictionaries the words तन्नि or तन्नि bearing the meaning of सिद्धान्त (conclusion) or मुख्यसिद्धान्त (main or right conclusion)*.

We see that of these two words the first (तन्नि) has

* As “धेनुपत्ती” in विदग्धसाधव, (Nirnaya-Sagar, Bombay) I. 16; p. 18, l. 13.

† To mean a bandage पट्टि (in Maldà) or पट्टि is used, and these two words are from पट्ट or पट्ट (cloth).

* The figures refer to my Pali Grammar.

† “तन्नि प्रधानं सिद्धान्तं सूत्रवापि परिच्छेदे”—अमर. नानार्थ, 183; “तन्नि वीथ्यागुणे तन्नि मुख्य सिद्धान्त तन्नि सूत्र”—अभिधानपदीपिका, 882।

been particularly adopted by the Brahmans* and the second (तन्ति) by the Buddhists.

In Pali literature तन्ति is a synonym of पालि,† and so it is used to mean the very thing which the latter does.‡ It has been shown above that the word पालि denotes पङ्क्ति (a row) and so the lines of words or sentences of Buddha's utterances and the original texts were termed पालि. तन्ति is also expressive of the idea of पङ्क्ति and hence like the word पालि it was used to denote the lines of Buddha's utterances or the original texts.

As the Brahmanas in ancient times kept the order of the hymns of the Vedas and on no account suffered it to be tampered with, the Buddhists, too, in like manner preserved the sayings of Buddha intact and it may be inferred that in consequence of such a discipline being in existence the body of utterances ascribed to the Lord Buddha were called पङ्क्ति or पालि from their analogy to the rows of trees rooted fast in the ground. ||

मागधीभाषा is another name for पालि,¶ and it is its geographical name. And we understand very clearly from it that it belonged to the country of मगध.

Some say that Gautama Buddha being in मगध was called a मागध (an inhabitant of मगध) and पालि being the tongue made use of by him in preaching his faith was called मागधीभाषा.** That such a view of the matter was but an invention of the grammarians need hardly be proved; for we have already

* Mark तन्तु वा त्ति क, ष ट्ठि तन्तु, पञ्च तन्तु, तन्तु शास्त्र, etc.

† “सिगुत्तिं तन्ति पत्ती सु नारियं पा लि कथावे”—अभिधानपदीपिका, ८६६.

‡ “सुखमजाण्णोचरं तन्ति सङ्गायित्वा”—सुसङ्गल. p. 15; “शेरथेरीगाथाति इमं तन्ति सङ्गायित्वा”—Ibid; “तन्ति नयानुच्छविकं आरोपेत्ती”—Ibid p. 1; “तत्थ धम्मोति तन्ति”—अत्यसा. (P T S) p. 22; “तन्ति या मा ति कं ठपेसि”, “तन्ति वसेन मातिका ठपिता”, “तन्ति वसेनेव विभत्ता”—कथावत्यु-अत्य. pp. 2, 7.

§ Originally the words तन्तु and तन्ति or तन्ती are identical. One of the various meaning of the word तन्तु given by Prof. V. Apte in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary (p. 529) is “an uninterrupted series.”

|| “So called from the regularity of its structures.”—W. Subhuti, अभिधानपदीपिका, 996.

¶ “मा ग ध भा सा क्ख रे न लिखद्धि.”—सासनवंस, p. 31. Sometimes it is called मा ग धा.—धम्मकत्तिसिखिम्माराम, कच्चयनवुत्ति (Ceylon), विज्जापन, p. 1.

** “सो च भगवा मा ग धो म ग धे भवत्ता, सा च भासा मा ग धा मा ग धसुस तथागतसुसायं भासाति च कत्वा सम्पचेत्ति पकतिपञ्चयञ्जुनो विज्जुनो”—Ibid.

observed that a language can never be termed after a person. It is unwarranted and absurd to a degree. A language is named after the country it belongs to.

Pali is sometimes spoken of as मागधी निरुत्ति (निरुत्ति).*

In Prakrita grammars and Sanskrit dramas we are familiar with a language named मागधी. But one may easily understand at a single glance that Pali, the language under discussion, is a different one from what is seen in the books alluded to.

Beginners should grasp the differences lying between the two Magadhis. Hence a few words about them may not be out of place here.

To avoid difficulties we shall take the liberty to call Pali *Bauddha-Magadhi* (बौद्धमागधी) and *Magadhi-Prakrita* (प्राकृतमागधी).

Chanda, the author of the *Prakrita-lakshana*, showing the characteristic differences between Prakrita-Magadhi and other Prakritas says that in the former र becomes ल and स (and ष) श.† Thus निर्भर in Sanskrit becomes निज्भल in Prakrita-Magadhi and so do सार माश, and विलास विलाश. But in Bauddha-Magadhi they are निज्भर, माध, and विलास respectively.

In Prakrita-Magadhi a प्रतिपदिक (stem) of masculine gender ending in अ takes ए in the singular number of first case-ending;‡ as सावः = माशे, विलासः = विलाशे, निर्भरः = निज्भले. While the respective forms in Bauddha-Magadhi are as follows:—सासो, विलासो, निज्भरो.

In Prakrita-Magadhi the forms of अस्मद् in the first case-ending in both number are ह्मे and ह्मे;§ as “वेडे ह्मे” (वेडः अहम्). But in Bauddha-Magadhi it will be वेडो अहं.

* “निरुत्तिया मा ग धि का य वुद्धिया, करोमि दीपन्तरवासिनं अपि ।”—दाठावंस (Coomarswami) I. 10.

† “मा ग धि का यां र स यो लंशौ—प्राकृतलक्षण, III. 39; Hemachandra VIII. 4. 288; प्राकृतप्रकाश, XI. 3; संक्षिप्तसार, प्राकृतपाठ. V. 86-87.

‡ Hemachandra VIII. 4. 287; according to him it is optional in अर्धमागधी and आर्ष प्राकृत. In Prakrita the अकार becomes इकार too optionally, “अ त इ दे तौ लुक् च”.—प्राकृतप्रकाश. XI. 10.

§ Hem. VIII. 4. 301; संक्षिप्तसार, प्राकृतपाठ, V. 97; प्राकृतप्रकाश XI. 9, In some MSS. the word अ ह के is also found; ह्मे instead of ह्मे is also used, as “लाजशियाले ह्मे” (राजश्यालः अहम्).—सच्छकटिक, VIII and IX.

|| सच्छकटिक, I.

In Prakrita-Magadhi the sixth case-ending of the words ending in अ is आह optionally ; * as पुलिशह् or पुलिशश् (पुलश्च). But in Bauddha-Magadhi we read पुरिसस्. So are the following :—“हगे न एलिशह् कम्माह कारी” (अहं न एतादृशस्य कर्मणः कारी ; Abhijnana-Shakuntala V) ; “भगदत्तशोणितदाह कुम्भे” (भगदत्तशोणितस्य कुम्भः ; Venisamhara III).

We wish to quote here a verse composed in pure Prakrita-Magadhi together with its rendering into Bauddha-Magadhi, so that the readers may easily understand the difference between the one and the other :—

लहश्चवशनमिलयुलशिल-
विअलिदमन्दाललाजिद हिजुगे ।
वीलजिणे पक्खालदु †
मस शयलमवज्जजम्बाल ॥”

—Hem. VIII. 4. 288.

Rendered into Bauddha-Magadhi it reads as follows :—

“रभसवसनमसुरभिर-
विगलितमन्दारराजितद्वियुगे ।
वीरजिनी पक्खालितु
मस सकलमवज्जजम्बाल ॥”

Its Sanskrit translation runs thus :—

“रभसवशनमसुरशिर-
विगलितमन्दारराजिताङ्घ्रियुगः ।
वीरजिनाः प्रखालयतु
मस सकलमवज्जजम्बाल ॥”

In *Mrichakatika* the verse of Shakara (शकार) beginning with “युले विक्कने पक्खे शेदकेदू” is another example of pure Prakrita-Magadhi.

There are other marked differences between the two languages, but fearing that the article will be tediously long we refrain from enumerating them here. But it can safely be concluded from the instances already cited that the languages in question stand sundered from each other by a wide gulf.

There is another branch of Prakrita named अर्धमागधी. The name itself indicates that half of the language is Magadhi or in other word Prakrita-Magadhi. But what is the other half? Kramadishvara pronounces it to be महाराष्ट्री,

that is to say, Prakrita-Magadhi by an intermixture with महाराष्ट्री has formed अर्धमागधी.*

If we turn the above verse into अर्धमागधी it becomes

“लभश्चवशनमिलयुलशिल-
विअलिदमन्दाललाजिद हिजुगे ।
वीलजिणे पक्खालदु
मस शयलमवज्जजम्बाल ॥”†

In *Mrichakatika* most of the speeches of Shakara (शकार) are pure Prakrita-Magadhi. The origin of Prakrita-Magadhi is शौरसेनी. Hence we expect to find शौरसेनी in the speeches of Shakara. But in some cases महाराष्ट्री is also found. It is for this reason that some of the speeches of Shakara may justly be termed अर्धमागधी.

The speeches of the Rakshasa (राक्षस) in *Venisamhara* and in *Udattaraghava* are Prakrita-Magadhi. The words of the Dhivara (धीवर) in *Abhijnana-shakuntala* are also Prakrita-Magadhi. Prakrita-Magadhi has also been used in *Mudra-rakshasa*. But in almost all cases this dialect is found interblended with other kinds of Prakrita.‡

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

* “महाराष्ट्रीमिश्राधर्धमागधी”—संक्षिप्तसार, प्राकृतपाद, V. 98 ; Markandeya says “शौरसेन्या अविदूरत्वाद् इयं (मागधी) एव अर्धमागधीति भरतः ।”

† In one of the MSS. of *Prakritalakshana* (p. 50) this gaथा, verse, is quoted with the readings given above as an illustration of Magadhi or Prakrita-Magadhi. Hemchandra, too, for the same purpose has cited it, but with some different readings. His readings are, however, correct in accordance with rules laid down in grammars. The readings adopted in *Prakritalakshana* cannot be said to have been composed in pure Prakrita-Magadhi, for in that language ज, द्य and य become घ (Hem. VIII. 4. 292), and owing to this rule लाजिद should have become लायिद, and in the same way जुगे युगे, जिने यिणे, अवज्ज अवय्य, and जम्बाल यम्बाल. Hemchandra has strictly followed this rule, and these very words will be found in his readings of the verse referred to. On the other hand, य becomes ज in Maharastrī Prakrita and it is for this reason that the Sanskrit युग has become जुग, so has य्य ज्ज (Hem. VIII. 1. 24), and अवय्य अवज्ज. In Maharastrī च becomes छ, and by this rule the word पक्खालदु in the verse can be justified. Hence it follows that there are undoubtedly in this verse a few words taken from Maharastrī. Besides, the words लभश्च etc. evidently betray their origin in Prakrita-Magadhi. Therefore, both the Prakritas being blended here with each other one may reasonably say that the gaथा, is in अर्धमागधी.

‡ In Sanskrit dramas the Prakrita portions prove extremely obnoxious in consequence of numerous readings that different editors have been pleased to give. Let us take *Venisamhara* for instance. It cannot be gainsaid that the dialogue of the राक्षस and

* Hem. VIII. 4. 299 : प्राकृतप्रकाश XI 12 ; Kramadishvara says आहु as वल्लणाहु (वल्लणस्य), संक्षिप्तसार, प्राकृतपाद, V. 94.

† Hemchandra reads पक्खालदु (Hem. VIII. 4. 296) ; Vararuchi's reading should be पक्खालदु (प्राकृतप्र. XI. 8 ; cf. Hem. VIII. 4. 297). If we take the Sanskrit प्रखालयतु the reading पक्खालदु may be justified.

राक्षसी in the opening of the Act III of this well-known drama is pure Prakrita-Magadhi, for Hemchandra, celebrated for his profound knowledge of different Prakrits, has quoted it in more than one place. But in a few printed editions of that book the dialogue in question is given in diverse Prakrits. In a certain

edition Magadhi has been made use of. But in Jivananda's edition Magadhi has been replaced by a quite different stock. The deplorable indifference of Sanskrit scholars in India to Prakrita is the cause of this queer jargon of tongues. Should we be slow to effect a reform in this direction?

AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDU POLITY*

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मज्जे चथी दण्डनीती हतायां सर्वे धर्माः प्रचयेयुर्दिद्वजः ।
सर्वे धर्माश्चात्रमाणां हताः स्युः चात्रे त्यक्ते राजधर्मे पुराणे ॥

सर्व्वे त्यागा राजधर्मेषु दृष्टाः

सर्व्वे दीक्षा राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः ।

सर्व्वे लोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः ॥

Maha-Bharata, Śanti. 63. 28-29.

"The triple Vedas sink down and all the *dharma*s [bases of civilisation], (however) developed, completely decay when politics become lifeless. When traditional State-Ethics are departed from, all the bases of the division of individual life are destroyed."

† All the forms of renunciation are realised in politics; all the forms of sacraments are united in politics; all the Heavens are concentrated in the Ethics of State.†

In compliance with the request of the organisers of the Third Hindi Literary Conference, I undertake to read a paper to you on Hindu Polity.

The paper has to be, on account of the limited nature of your proceedings, a mere introduction to that vast subject which has remained unexplored up to this time. In presenting a mere introduction, I am afraid, I shall not be able to satisfy your curiosity which must be aroused by a statement of the conclusions. For this I would beg you to wait for more or less a complete treatise on the subject "*The Hindu Political Science*" which I am preparing in English.

A Hindu would naturally feel some hesitation in asserting in almost the very first line that his race has experimented great and various

systems of state. But truth, despite all individual feelings, has to be told. And the truth is that Hindu India has known state-institutions of a character which is at par with, if not superior to, that of its any other product of thought, and which have to be declared to belong to the highest class among the institutions of the world previous to the seventeenth century. We shall here survey only a part of that field of social institutions of Hindu India and the principles underlying them.

The sources of our information lie in the vast mass of Hindu Literature, Vedic, Classical and Prakrit, also in the lithic and numismatic records of the country. We are fortunate to have also a few technical treatises in the original left to us, out of a library contributed by a number of schools of political thinkers. Several schools and individual authorities have been quoted and discussed in the *Artha Sastra*, which amount to 18 in number. Four authorities are referred to in the Mahā-Bhārata (Śanti Parva). Our regular extant texts are (1) *The principles of Politics* in the Śanti Parva, M. Bh., (2) the *Artha Sastra*, (3) the *Kamandakiya-Niti*, (4) the *Pancha Tantra* (5) the *Niti-Vakya-mrita*, (6) the *Sukraniti*, (7) the chapters in the law books on *State-Laws*. I leave out in these studies the text-book of the time of Sivāji (8) the "*Address to the Enslaved*" (the *Dasa-bodha* by Rāma-Dāsa), for it marks quite a new era in the political literature of the Hindus and is far removed in method, and distinct in its subject and spirit, from the Sanskrit authorities.

* An historical essay read to the Third Hindi Literary Conference held at Calcutta, Dec. 1912. Translated by Mr. Mukundi Lal.

† The translator is thankful to Mr. Jayaswal for

the English rendering of these verses and for kindly revising the translation.

(C) POPULAR LIFE IN HINDU SOCIETY.

In the social system of the Hindus, the most important institution was their 'Samiti' (समिति), the Assembly from which a number of institutions evolved out. In Vedic times the Hindu Society was divided into tribes or *jangas*, and the members of the tribes were called *Visah* (विशः), from which the word *vaisya*, (one of the people—the commoner) is derived. The entire corpus of the *Visah* used to meet together (*sam-iti*) to deliberate upon public matters in their folk-assembly, the *samiti*. In the *samiti* all the *visah* were taken to be present,* for there the principle of representation was not operative.†

There was another association, which was smaller than the *The Sabha*. *Samiti*, and which seems to have differentiated from the *Samiti*. It was called the *Sabha* (सभा). In a song of the Atharva Veda, *Samiti* and *Sabha* are described as two sisters. It seems that the *Sabha*, on behalf of the assembly or the folk (अभिजन) looked after certain public matters. That every one, entitled to be present in the *Samiti* and the *Sabha*, was desirous to distinguish himself as an orator, is borne out by the same hymn.

(1)

"May the *Samiti* and the *Sabha* the two daughters of Prajapati concurrently aid me. May he with whom I shall meet cooperate with me; may I, O ye fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled.

(2)

We know thy name, O Assembly: *Narishtha* ('most beneficial to men') verily is thy name. May all those that sit assembled in thee utter speech in harmony with me.

(3)

Of them that are sitting together I take to myself the power and the understanding in the entire gathering, O Indra, render me successful."‡

"May the opponent not win the debate. Thou art

* "All the *Visah* elect you; ...; the assembly makes you *rajan*". Atharva. See *Hindu Coronation*, Modern Review, Jan. 1912.

† The principle, though in its primary stage, did operate in other instances, e.g., *gramani* or the village leader alone represented the village at several functions.

‡ Atharva, VII, 12. I have adopted the translation of the hymn as proposed in the *Sacred Books of the East* volume on the Atharva Veda, with the exception of the rendering of *narishtha* which has been rendered there as 'mirth'.

mighty and over-powering. Overcome the debate of those that debate against us." Atharva, II. 27. 1.

These communities or the *Janah* (जनाः), e.g., Kurus, Yadus, Anus and others, were collectively called the *Pancha-Janah* (पञ्चजनाः) 'the five folks.' But at the same time they

were conscious of the fact that they all belonged to one common race, for all of them called themselves "Aryas" (आर्याः). You must be here reminded of the interesting point that our vernaculars still preserve a reminiscence of our ancestors, the *Pancha-janahs*. The mode of expression is common all over Aryan India, "Let *panch-jana* do this," [Let five representative do this work, or let us work in co-operation.]*

As the reminiscence of the Five Folks is still living amongst us, so is preserved a reminiscence of their assembly system, in the form of our पञ्चायत *Panchayat* (= lit. "as far extensive as the five.") This popular system of the Panchayat in India, is thus as old as the Hindu race, as eternal as the Vedas, flowing, so to say, in the very veins of Hindu life.

II. DIFFERENTIATION IN HINDU POPULAR LIFE.

Much time is needed to describe the development and the later history of the Assembly-System and to relate the process of differentiation in the popular life of our forefathers. I am afraid the conference cannot permit me the time required. Therefore a mere mention can be made of the various popular institutions that are directly and indirectly connected with that original institution. In theological and educational life we had (a) the *Charana* (चरण) and (b) the *Parishat* (परिषत्); (c) the judicial *Sabha* for deciding cases; (d) the *Parishat* of ministers for administration. The economic life differentiated in (e) the 'merchant companies' (the सम्प्रदाय समुदायान) and (f) the *guilds* (गुप्त श्रेणी), the latter surviving in the modern caste-Panchayats. Likewise the spiritual life of the race developed through and in institutions like (g) the *Dharma-Sangha* of the Buddha, which still

* There are traces of the united actions of the five *anahs*. Satapatha, xiii, 5, 4, 14.

survive in the modern *Matha*-System (मठ). In the village-life, we had (*h*) the institution under the Vedic *gramani* (the leader of the village) having its descendent in our modern village-Panchayat. So was (*i*) the corporation of township organised under rich citizens, their president and council—the *Sreshthin* (श्रेष्ठी 'the leader') and his *Sabhā*. All these popular institutions, together with many others, are direct or indirect, near or distant, off-springs of the two sister-institutions, the *Samiti* and the *Sabha*. They bear the features of one of the two; the underlying principle being either a universal, folk-cooperation, or a representative principle as that of the *Sabha*.*

These and other similar institutions, differentiated and separate for each department of life, maintained in common a corporate life in our Hindu Society.

THE POLITICAL 'SANGHA' AND 'GANA' OR HINDU REPUBLICS.

I ought to have mentioned above in the list the political institution of (*i*) the *Sangha* or *Gana*. On account of its vast importance I reserved it for a special notice.

Republics are mentioned in various Sanskrit works. The codes on the Hindu *Smritis* speak of separate and independent laws of *Ganas*. But mediæval and modern commentators have confounded them with association of tradesmen and workmen, losing sight of the fact that the *Smritis* use distinctly independent terms for the latter—the *सन्ध्य समुत्थान*, श्रेष्ठी (*Srenis*) and *पूगः* (*Pugas*). Buhler also made the same mistake in his translation of the Code of Manu. He has translated it by "*corporation*." The real and true meaning of the word गण was first suggested to me by a *Jaina Sutra*. In the *Acharang Sutta* (ii, 3, 1, 10), there are the names of various constitutions which a Jain ascetic is asked to avoid. Amongst them there occur दोरायाणि, गणरायाणि (*do-rayani*, *gana-rayani*) 'states ruled by two rulers,' 'states ruled by the whole community.' This *gana-rayani* suggested to me the identity of the *gana* of the *Smritis* with *gana-rajya*.

* The reminiscence of these institutions are only retained in the polite titles of *Nagara-Setha* and *Jagat-Setha* in tales now passing to the region of folklores in Northern India.

Again, when I came across the chapter on the *ganas* in the *Santi Parva* of the *Mahabharata*,* I became quite convinced that the *gana* is used to denote a republic and not a corporation of merchants or workmen. There in the *Mahabharata*, the treasury and the army and the foreign policy of *ganas* have been spoken of, and these adjuncts cannot be associated with an organisation of tradesmen or labourers.†

'Gana' in the sense of a republic is a later term. The earlier term to denote a republican constitution was Sangha.

Terms *Sangha* When the latter term got appropriated by the Buddhists with the rise of Buddhism, *gana* was used to signify the old *Sangha*, for most of the *ganas* or communities had the *Sangha* or the republican organization. In the *Artha Śāstra* of Kautilya the subject of *Republics* is treated in a separate book called the *Sangha-Vrittam*. There two kinds of *Sanghas* are described: (1) those that live by the profession of arms, and industries; and (2) the ones which claim the title of 'Rajan' (वार्ता शलोपजीविनः and राजशब्दोपजीविनः). Amongst the latter are counted the *Lichchivikas*, *Vrijikas*, and *Mallakas*, whom we know, on the clear authority of Buddhist texts, to have been republican and to have called their all members *rajanah*.

I can say without hesitation that *Sangha* is used in this sense by Pānini also. He also like Kautilya makes a distinction between 'the *Sanghas* living by the profession of

* Ch. 107, *Santi-Parva*.

† 'I (now) desire to hear, O Leader of the wise, of the nature of the *ganas*.'

'How do the *ganas* prosper and how they avoid (the policy of) *bheda*, O Bharata, and (why it is) they aspire to conquer enemies, and also they gain allies?'

Maha Bharata, *Santi*, 107, 6-8.

Also,

'*Ganas*, prosper all-sidedly as they always attend, O thou of mighty arms, to the working of the espionage system, to the matters of (forming) policy and to the collection of revenue into the Exchequer.'

Ibid. 19.

[Translators of the Maha Bharata, not understanding the significance of the term *gana*, have made hopeless blunders in their renderings of the chapter.]

‡ The references to republics have been collected from the Sanskrit literature and discussed by me in a separate paper to be published shortly.—K. P. J.

arms' and those living otherwise, in giving special rules for the former. (V. 3. 114). He mentions 'Yaudheyas and others' as instances of the former class. (V. 3. 117). Now these *Yaudheyas* we know from numismatic and lithic inscriptions to have been a republican community. The *Kāśika* Commentary, drawing on some old authority, cites the *Kshudrakas*, the *Malavas* as other examples. These, again, we know from home and foreign sources, were republican units. The *Kāśika* gives the *Mallas* as a non-military Sangha. These *Mallas* we know to be republicans from our Buddhist documents.

Patanjali also seems to use the term Sangha in the same sense. In the *Maha Bhashya* (4. 1. 4) he contrasts it against 'the sense of a King.'

It is thus evident that it was only when the wide-spread institution of the *Bhikshu-Sangha* (lit. 'the republic of monks') led to the appropriation of the term Sangha to denote a special institution, the other term *Gana* which also seems to have been known to Pānini, (3. 3. 85) was exclusively employed in its place, as seen from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Smritis*, and coins.

Comparatively speaking, much has been written about the Indian Republics: (a) in foreign literature; (b) in home literature; (i) in *Vedic*; (ii) in *Surashtra* and *Surat* are developments of the same word. To the south there was similarly ancient a *Bhoja* constitution but no details of it could yet be traced. However there is evidence to show that it was not monarchical. The mention of the *Bhoja* and *Svarat* constitutions we find in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 3. 14)† where it describes the Great Coronation. It is also written there that amongst the *Uttara Kurus* and the *Uttara Madras* 'the whole community is consecrated to rulership' and that their institutions were called *Vairajya* or *Kingless States*. Further it is expressly stated in the above mentioned chapter that while the states of the West were called *Svarajya* and that of the South *Bhaujya*, monarchy was to be found only in the Middle Country (roughly in the Doab of

✓ In Guzrat the republic of the *Yadavas* was of a very ancient origin. They called it *Svarajya* or *Svarat*, "ones own state." *Surashtra* and *Surat* are developments of the same word.

✓ To the south there was similarly ancient a *Bhoja* constitution but no details of it could yet be traced. ✓ However there is evidence to show that it was not monarchical. The mention of the *Bhoja* and *Svarat* constitutions we find in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 3. 14)† where it describes the Great Coronation. ✓ It is also written there that amongst the *Uttara Kurus* and the *Uttara Madras* 'the whole community is consecrated to rulership' and that their institutions were called *Vairajya* or *Kingless States*. Further it is expressly stated in the above mentioned chapter that while the states of the West were called *Svarajya* and that of the South *Bhaujya*, monarchy was to be found only in the Middle Country (roughly in the Doab of

* Krishna was one of their leaders. It is curious to notice that one of the reasons for the objection of Sisupala to Krishna's presence amongst an assembly of crowned heads was that he was not a 'king.' The story probably preserves an instance of kingly hatred towards the free communities in the classical age of Hindu India.

† अनेन प्राच्या दिशि वसवो देवाः षड्भिश्चैव पञ्चविंशैरहोभिरभ्यषिञ्चेत्तेन च तच्चैनेन च यजुषेतामिष व्याहृतिभिः साम्राज्याय तस्मादितस्यां प्राच्या दिशि ये के च प्राच्यानां राजानः साम्राज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिञ्चन्ते सप्ताङ्गि नानभिषिक्तानाचक्षत एतामेव देवानां विहित मन्वयैर्न दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रुद्रा देवाः षड्भिश्चैव पञ्चविंशैरहोभिरभ्यषिञ्चेत्तेन च तच्चैनेन च यजुषेतामिष व्याहृतिभिः भोज्याय तस्मादितस्यां दक्षिणस्यां दिशि ये के च सत्वतां राजानो भोज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिञ्चन्ते भोज्येनानभिषिक्तानाचक्षत एता मेव देवानां विहित मन्वयैर्न प्रतीच्यां दिश्यादित्या देवाः षड्भिश्चैव पञ्चविंशैरहोभिरभ्यषिञ्चेत्तेन च तच्चैनेन च यजुषेतामिष व्याहृतिभिः स्वराज्याय तस्मादितस्यां प्रतीच्यां दिशि ये के च नौच्यानां वाजानो ये ऽप्राच्यानां स्वराज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिञ्चन्ते स्वराज्येनानभिषिक्तानाचक्षत एता मेव देवानां विहित मन्वयैर्न सुदीच्यां दिशि विश्वे देवाः षड्भिश्चैव पञ्चविंशैरहोभिरभ्यषिञ्चेत्तेन च तच्चैनेन च यजुषेतामिष व्याहृतिभिः वैराज्याय तस्मादितस्यां सुदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन् जनपदा उत्तरकुर्व उत्तरमद्रा इति वैराज्यायैव ते ऽभिषिञ्चन्ते विराज्येनानभिषिक्तानाचक्षत ।

had to measure swords with these republics almost at every step in the Punjab and Sindh. Amongst these the notorious *Arattas* of the law books and the *Maha Bharata*, the *Khattiyas** (*Kshatriyas*), the *Kshudrakas* (also mentioned in the *Maha Bhārata*) and the *Malavas* were important ones. Cunningham has very cleverly shown that it were these *Arattas*, who under the leadership of Chandragupta drove out the Greeks from the Punjab.

I am inclined to identify the present-day caste of the *Arodas* (अरोड़े) of the Punjab with the classical *Arattas* and the caste of *khattris* of the Punjab and Sindh with the *Khattiyas* of the Punjab and *Xathroi* of Sindh of the Macedonians.

* Up to this time no reference to the *Khattiyas* in Sanskrit literature has been pointed out. I find them in the *Artha Sastra* under the name क्षत्रियाः as one of the Sanghas. Their another community seems to have been flourishing in Sindh about 325 B. C.

the Jumna and the Ganges, and the large monarchical system (the *Sam-rajya*)* in the East.

In the days of the Buddha there were a number of republics, as shown by Professor Rhys Davids†, in the north of the districts of modern Gorakhpur, Basti and Muzaffarpur, e.g., the republics of the Lichchavis (*Vajjians*), the Mallas, the Sākṣyas,‡. Here I would like to indicate to you a special point in the history of our social institutions. It was the constitution

[Connection between the Buddha's monastic organization and the Hindu republican system]

of these political corporations that lent a model to the Buddha to organise and perpetuate his monastic order. Not only the name and the working system of the religious Sangha was borrowed from the political Sangha, but also the spirit of the former was adopted by the spiritual propagandist. You would suffer me to quote here a somewhat lengthy passage containing the very words of the Buddha to prove my thesis.

When the 'chancellor of Magadha,' deputed by the 'king of Magadha' was waiting for the opinion of the Buddha as to the advisability of invading the Lichchavi dominions, the Buddha who regarded the free communities with admiration and affection§, addressed the famous disciple Ananda in these terms:

"So long, Ananda, as the Vajjians|| hold full and frequent assemblies, so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper."

"So long, Ananda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their

* This *Samrajya* of the *Prachis* of the Aitareya Brahmana developed into the special Hindu Imperial system, on which I shall have to say something later. K. P. J.

† *Buddhist India*, chapters I and II.

‡ The particular Saka tree of the locality from which the Ikshvakus of the family of the Buddha derived their title is called there even to-day *Sakhu* and *Sakkhu*, and is the same as *Sal* tree of Bengal, (the stately *Shorea Robusta*). It is not the oak tree as generally considered by European writers.

§ "Let those of the Bhikkhūs who have never seen the Tavatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchavis, behold this company of the Lichchavis, compare this company of the Lichchavis—even as the company of Tavatimsa gods." *Sacred Books of the East*, XI, p. 32.

|| The generic term under which the Lichchavis were included.

undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words * * * * * —so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper.

"Go now, Ananda and assemble in the Service Hall such of the Bhikkhus as live in the neighbourhood of Raja-gaha."

And so he did.

And the Blessed one arose and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the Bhikkhus and said:

"I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak."

"So long, O mendicants as the Bhikkhus meet together in full and frequent assemblies so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the order,—so long as the Bhikkhus shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed and abrogate nothing that has already been established, and act in accordance with the rules of the order as now laid down—so long as the Bhikkhus honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words * * * * * so long the Bhikkhus may not be expected to decline but to prosper." **

The Buddha in borrowing the institution from a political institution of the country seems to have entertained a very high opinion of the strength of that institution. Rejecting the model of an Empire near whose capital he was delivering this discourse on the foundation of the Government of his Order, the Buddha accepted the principle of a republic, condemned to annihilation though it stood under the frowns of the Magadhan Empire to the knowledge of the Buddha. Others regarded these institutions differently as we shall see later.

The recorded cases of the republics in Pāṇini, the Artha-sāstra, and the Kāśikā have already been noticed, and without repeating or detailing them here, we may pass on to discuss the general characteristics of these institutions.

* Rhys Davids, *Maha-Pari-Nibbana Sutta*, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XI, pp. 3—6. The italics are mine.

From the Artha Śāstra, the Buddhist Sutras, Mahabhārat, the Smritis and the coins we get the characteristics of the Hindu republic and its policy as follows:

(1) Generally all the members of the body politic were recognised as rulers, for all of them were called *Rajanah*.^{*} There seems to be a democratic principle underlying their constitution.

(2) They were corporate bodies and they used, like other corporate institutions of the time, their corporate designation in public transactions, as seen from the surviving coins.

(3) Among *Ganas* there were *Pradhanas* or presidents, *Mukhyas* or leaders and councils of elders[†] who used to do administrative business and hold executive power. In some republics there were some families which held executive power and used to bear the title of *raja*. These were called *Kulas*, 'family-constitutions.' To adopt modern terminology, we shall call them *aristocracies* and *oligarchies*.[‡]

(4) There is a well-defined division of functions, and a separation of powers, a balancing of executive powers, jealously guarding against the chance of sovereignty slipping into one individual. Hence military command was always separated from administrative council of elders. This we gather from the recorded constitution of the Lichchhavis (*Nichchhavis* in Manu), from the term *do-rājani* ('the states under two rulers') of the Jaina sutra, and the constitutions described by the Macedonians. The Macedonians found that in some states commanders were elected on the spot, and in some they had become hereditary, but even in this a suspicious separation was adhered to. See footnote above.

(5) The treasury of the *Ganas* was always

^{*} Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* ; pp. 22, 41. See also para below.

[†] Maha Bh. 107, 16, 24. See clearer references in Greek writers and the quotation above from the Mahāparinibbana Sutta.

[‡] Cf. "and in sailing up the river Alexander came to Patala, a city of great note, with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority." Diodorus, CIV.

kept full and they themselves were ever ready to take the field.^{*}

(6) Bravery was a point of ambition and honour among the *Ganas*.[†]

(7) According to the Mahabharata there was equality (सदृशः सर्वे) among the members of the *Gana*.[‡] [I had some hesitation in adopting this meaning of the passage in the Mahābhārata until the fact of the communal equality amongst the members of the classical Bhikkhu Sangha and of the modern caste Panchayet and the Mathia system, dispelled my doubts.]

(8) Matters of state were discussed and deliberated upon in the assemblies of the *gana*.[§] A frequent holding of these assemblies was noticed and emphasised by the Buddha as quoted above.

(9) Particular attention was paid to law and its administration. || Books of presidents were kept according to the Buddhist sutras. ¶ The republican laws and justice are again and again praised by Alexander's historians.

(10) In order to increase their strength the republics at times used to combine into a confederacy (*Sanghata*), which was regarded as invincible.^{**}

(11) A *gana* was liable to fall a victim to jealousy, and to yield to the outsider's gold.^{††}

Our practical statesmen did not like these republics. Despite these republics. Despite their heroism and bravery they were, as individual units, small and weak. This had been felt by earlier statesmen

^{*} *Kulas* also have been confused by legal commentators, and the explanation offered here has been advanced for the first time.

[†] Maha Bh. 107, 7.

[‡] Maha Bh. 107, 20.

[§] Santi, 107, 30-32 'There is universal equality by birth with and family within the *ganas*. They cannot be broken up by prowess or by cleverness, or by temptations of beauty. They can be separated by enemies through the policy of division and subsidy.'

^{||} Rhys Davids, p. 19.

[¶] Maha Bh. 107, 17. "Good *ganas* prosper for they establish valid legal procedures according to the *Sastras*."

^{||} Rhys Davids, p. 22.

^{**} सङ्गामिसंहलादध्यान् परेषां etc. Artha-Śāstra, XI.

तस्मात् सङ्घातमेवाहर्गणानां शरणं गच्छत् ।

Maha Bh. 107, 32.

^{††} Maha Bh. 107, 31 ; Arthas. XI, passim.

like Vassa-kara, 'the chancellor of Magadha.' This was vividly seen by Kautilya and his contemporaries in the crisis presented by Alexander's invasion, when these "free nations" (as the Greeks called them) in spite of their heroic resistance could not help succumbing, one by one, to the superior forces of Alexander. Hence Kautilya, amongst others, advocated a studied policy of obliterating these little sovereignties. He decided to incorporate these state-lets into the Empire under Chandra-Gupta. For this he would create breach in their confederacies, he would offer pecuniary temptation to the leaders and would gradually bring about the stage of 'one-ruler' in republican units.

Gradually these republics ceased to be a feature and factor in the political life of Hindu India. Their disappearance.

About 300 years after the Vikrama Samvat, we find a few of them still lingering in Sindh and the Punjab. *Madrakas* of Kautilya still existed and so did the *Yaudheyas* of Panini. The state of *Malavas* in Rajputana was the strongest in the last days of Hindu republics. They seemed to have enjoyed the prestige of having severely defeated the Śakas in their early irruptions of the first century B. C., which exploit afforded a basis for popular folk-lore of the Malava leader, "Sun of Prowess" (the Vikramaditya), and for their most popular "Prowess-era" (the Vikrama-Samvat).*

* All the theories advanced by European scholars on the origin of the Malava "Prowess-Era" have to be characterised as one of the most disappointing failures in historical studies. They lack primary

Our republics, like other popular institutions, disappeared before the march of the growing centralisation in Hindu social life, a process which lasted for ten centuries.

It is a curious coincidence that the suppression of republican institutions in India and Europe commences also contemporaneously, though the causes in each case were different. In Greece they were suppressed because the Hellas could not evolve out an institution to meet the altered circumstances and to solve their long-standing problems. They were consequently extinguished under the foot of outsiders—the Macedonians and the Romans. In India a new institution which had already come into existence was accelerated; and this process avoided a fate similar to that which befell Greece. In Greece the republics were trampled in the process of the subjugation of Greece. In India the republics were trampled in the process of defending the country. Thus though the destiny of the Hindu republics resembled the destiny of the Grecian republics, but the causes and effects were as dissimilar as the night and the day. This is one of the very interesting instances in history, which are parallels and contrasts at the same time.

(To be continued.)

considerations demanded in a scientific, historical treatment of a subject. We Indians can never accept fancies in place of our time-honoured historical traditions; their title to credence must remain unshaken until the contrary is proved by facts. The archæologist and the pandit, whether in the East or the West, cannot be justly expected to prove a historian, but he must not start indulging in imagination, for there he would stumble badly.

THE PHONETICS OF BENGALI

I ventured, in a previous article, to say something of the merits and defects of the Bengali alphabet as a means of recording the sounds of the language. My purpose was, partly, to lead up to the suggestions which I am now going to make. In one respect the Bengali alphabet, like all alphabets except that of the Vedas and

that used by the Greeks, fails to mark one of the most important features of spoken language, namely, what we call "accent." This word is roughly used in Europe to include two distinct but closely associated things, i.e. (1) the stress of force (জোর) and (2) rise and fall of pitch (স্বরের উঠা ও নামা).

In India, as in Europe, stress seems to have become a more audible and significant feature of speech than change of pitch, and this has affected nomenclature. "Accent" (originally a musical term, indicating *pitch*) has come to mean, primarily, *stress*, and so, in India, *udātta*, *an-udātta*, and *svarita* (terms originally used to denote the prescribed methods of chanting the Vedic hymns) have similarly come to be regarded as names for change of stress.

It is evident that this alteration does not mean that pitch is no longer audible in the modern languages of Europe and India. In some, pitch is obviously more audible than stress, but since change of pitch is commonly aided and accompanied by change of stress, the same term is made to serve for both. Thus, the characteristic phrasal rise of pitch in French which immediately precedes such a pause of the voice as the *cæsura* in verse, is called the *accent tonique*, to distinguish it from the ordinary verbal *accent* which is a slight stress on one syllable of a long word.

A moment's reflection will convince any candid reader of these words that the pitch and stress of a language are, in fact, its most important, characteristic and significant features, as they are certainly the most difficult things for a foreigner to acquire. How is it that we can tell whether a German or a Frenchman, a Panjabi or a Bengali is speaking, even when we are at too great a distance to distinguish the words he is using? Surely it is by what we call his "tone of voice" which is precisely marked by the places where he puts his stresses and his changes of pitch. The interest and importance of this characteristic "tone of voice" consists in this, that it may possibly be a valid indication of hereditary and racial quality. Anthropologists have given up language in despair as a sign of race. But by language they mean vocabulary, the spoken words of which a language is composed. Races change their vocabulary even more readily than they change their clothes. In the British Isles the change to English speech is already almost complete, and only in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland do a few people still use the old British language. In France two aboriginal

languages still survive, the Celtic Briton in the North-west, and the possibly Finnic speech of the Basques in the South. So is it in Bengal also. In the South, as learned members of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat have been telling us, there are Dravidian bilingual people. In the North-east are many groups of Tibeto-Burmese tribes, Meches, Koches, Kacharis, who have either wholly abandoned their native language in favour of Bengali or Assamese, or are still bilingual. The linguistic condition of Bengal is curiously and significantly parallel to that of France. France is the farthest *Western* point to which the Indo-European languages had spread before migration to America began in quite modern days. Bengal is on the *Eastern* border between the Sanskritic languages, and the family of speeches of which Burmese is the typical specimen. French is a "secondary Prakrit" of Latin, as Bengali is a "secondary Prakrit" of Sanskrit. I hope to be able to show presently, that there is a very remarkable parallelism between the phonetic development of French and Bengali. Like causes have produced like results. In both, the characteristic mode of pronunciation differs widely from that of adjacent countries in which sister languages, derived from the same stock, are spoken. The difference in tone between French, on the one hand, and Italian or Spanish on the other, is curiously like the difference between the pronunciation of Bengali on the one hand and of Hindi on the other. Is it possible to find any clue in this difference to linguistic or racial origins? We must not forget that an important ethnological theory, that of the famous *two* Aryan invasions into Northern India, has been based on the languages spoken north of the Vindhya mountains. Will a comparative study of the stress and pitch of European and Indo-European languages throw any light on ethnical movements in the Gangetic plain?

In the first place, what are the phonetic facts with which we have to deal? And here I must ask for the kind indulgence of Bengali readers. It is some years since I left Bengal, and, writing as I do in Cambridge, I have to trust an old man's memory for the linguistic facts I am trying to discuss. I have not often the good fortune to secure

an opportunity of hearing the once familiar sounds of Bengali speech, and as it is now my occupation to impart the elements of Bengali to young Englishmen, my ear for Bengali sounds may have been vitiated by perpetual hearing of Bengali words mispronounced by beginners. On the other hand, my friend Mr. Birendra Kumar Basu, I.C.S., has been good enough to make some phonographic records for me, and I have been largely guided by these in making the following observations. Take the word "pronunciation." In an English sentence, it bears a strong stress on the penultimate audible syllable. It becomes pronan-shi-ésh-an, the subsidiary syllables being somewhat slurred in comparison with the emphatic *esh*. Note, too, that the vowels are pronounced with the consonants that follow them. Take, now, the same word at the end of a French phrase. (I have already explained that in French the close of a phrase—the advent of a pause—is marked by a rise of pitch accompanied by a change of stress). Take the phrase "Je n'aime pas sa prononciation." Here you will find that the vowels are uttered, very clearly and distinctly, with the consonants that precede them. There is an emphatic *accent tonique* on the last syllable. We get something like প্র-নৌ-সি-আ-সি-ওঁ, with a rise of tone on the final syllable. Take, now, the same word, and put it at the beginning of a Bengali phrase. Say, for instance, "Pronunciationটা বড় খারাপ হইয়াছে।" Does not the stress fall naturally on the first syllable of the phrase? Finally, use the word in a Hindi sentence. Say "us-kā pronunciation mujh-ko pasand nahin hotā," and you will find that the stress has travelled back to the place it occupies in English speech.

This peculiarity of Bengali intonation markedly affects words borrowed from languages whose accentuation is different. Compare, for instance, জমাবন্দী with *jamma-bandi*. Take words like খানাতল্লাস, খাজানা, আমল-নামা, এজাহার, সেক্রেটারী অব্ ষ্টেট ফর ইণ্ডিয়া, &c. &c. and observe how the change of stress affects the quantity of the vowels, chiefly in the way of lengthening the sound of those on which the stress falls. Sometimes this will

change a monosyllable into a disyllable, as in the case of নকল, দখল &c.

Take, now, any piece of ordinary Bengali prose, and mark the stresses. Take, for instance, the following passage from an elementary Reader, which Mr. Basu has kindly read into my gramophone. (I have marked the main stresses—as I hear them—with two strokes (||), the subsidiary stresses with one stroke.)

গাছকে আমরা উদ্ভিদ বলি, কারণ ইহা মাটি ভেদ
করিয়া উঠে। গাছ যেখানে জন্মে, সেখানেই থাকে, জন্তর
ভ্রায় এদিকে ওদিকে চলিয়া বেড়াইতে পারে না।

To my ear, each of these stronger stresses is preceded by a recognisable pause. This is ever more noticeable when longer words are used, e. g. সত্যবাদী ছেলেকে কে না ভালবাসে?

I have, provisionally, called these changes of pronunciation "stresses." No doubt in each of them there is a change of both pitch, stress, and often "quantity" or length of sound. It is difficult in some languages to tell which is the dominant, the audible element. In English, and German, and Hindi, it is certainly stress of force. In French, it seems to be a rise or fall of pitch. In Bengali, stress and pitch seem to be so intimately combined that it is difficult to say which is the dominant, the audible quality. Subject to correction by those who have more practised and accurate hearing, I suggest that in Bengali the stressed (initial) syllable is pronounced in an *an-uddata* tone, and that the syllable which follows is slightly *uddata*.

Be that as it may, since in matters of detail we are likely to differ at the present stage of phonetic enquiry, it can hardly be doubted that the pronunciation of the languages of the western part of the Gangetic plain differs from that of Bengali very much in the same way as the pronunciation of Italian or Spanish differs from that of French. In French and Bengali alike, there is an *accent tonique*, with this difference that, in French, it is usually terminal; in Bengali, it is usually initial.

Now we know that from very early times till a comparatively recent date, there have been settlements of people from the west in

Bengal. Even now, most of our Bengali gentry claim a western origin and can show that their ancestors dwelt in Kanauj, or some other part of Upper India. May not these settlers have brought the Prakrit which has developed into the Bengali language, as Roman colonists brought into Gaul the popular Latin which has developed into French, ousting the original Celtic speech, as mere handfuls of English settlers carried the English language into Cornwall and Wales, into Ireland and Scotland? In the two latter cases, the settlers introduced a richer and more civilised vocabulary. But, observe, the local "tone of voice" adapted the new words to its own traditional music. Any one can tell an "Irishman" or a "Scotchman" by his stress and pitch, even if he be of purely English heredity. Moreover, in some cases, this indigenous intonation is accompanied by indigenous forms of syntax and idiom. May not the same thing be true of Bengali? May not Bengali be an Aryan speech (its vocabulary is almost wholly Prakritic) pronounced in a Dravidian or Tibeto-Burman fashion?

This brings me near the end of my quite tentative and diffidently suggested argument. We know that many of the people who now speak Bengali are of Dravidian origin in the South; of Tibeto-Burman origin in the North and North-east.

Would it not be possible by a careful comparison of the sounds and idioms of Bengali with those of Hindi, Tamil, and, say, Mech, to discover how the qualities that distinguish Bengali from the other languages of Northern India came into existence. I am tempted to cite some Bengali idioms which, to me, seem to have had an origin in some "agglutinative" speech. But my enquiries into such matters have been so superficial, and undertaken amid so many lets and hindrances that I cannot attach much weight to them. My quite humble aim is merely to make a suggestion which, in the hands of more competent persons with better opportunities for research, may possibly prove fruitful. We have to account for the fact that though the vocabulary of Bengali is almost wholly Indo-European, the vocabulary of Hindu settlers from the West, its characteristic intonation differs as widely from that of other Indian languages as the pronunciation of French differs from that of

other European languages. The result, to my ear, is singularly pleasing, in both cases. Note, too, that in both cases, the intonation has affected prosody, so that in Bengali and French alike we get "syllabic" verse, lines composed of a fixed number of syllables which the ear has no difficulty in counting without much help from a sense of "quantity", or the recurrent beat of stresses, which is the audible quality, for instance, in English verse. One is tempted to pause in order to analyse the fall of stress, the change of pitch in Bengali verse, but that is obviously a matter for native students of Bengali metre. I will only say this much:—that, subject to correction, it seems to me that in the *পয়ার ছন্দ*, which may be taken to be the equivalent of the French Alexandrine, the metrical effect is produced by the sense of a recurrence of 14 syllables, with a *cæsura* after the eighth syllable. The only stresses which are invariable seem to be those on the first and ninth syllables. A French Alexandrine consists of 12 syllables with an *accent tonique* on the 6th and 12th syllables. Note that, in each case, the dominant syllable marks a metrical pause, in the Bengali preceding, in the French following, the emphasised vowel. I have neither space nor the competence required to go into questions (always matters of heated controversy) of prosody. But I make the suggestion for what it is worth, that in languages such as English and Hindi, in which stress in the audible quality, the music of verse is governed chiefly by recurrent beat, and the *cæsura* becomes negligible: while in languages, such as French and Bengali, in which pitch either prevails over or is equally powerful with stress, the *cæsura* has a tendency to become the fixed and dominant element in verse.

If I have mentioned prosody at all, it is only because to some ears metre is an aid to detecting the characteristic music of a language. I hope I shall not be suspected of a desire to be dogmatic in making any of the statements in this little paper. I have been dealing with difficult subjects, on which opinion is much divided even in Europe, where such studies have long been practised, and where phonologists have acquired a quickness and accuracy of ear comparable with that of the early Indian philo-

logists to whom we owe the Indian বর্ণমালা, in comparably the completest early attempt to record spoken sound. I merely desire to suggest a possibly fruitful line of enquiry to the now numerous band of Bengalis who are making a serious and scientific study of their own beautiful and supple language.

The path to which I venture to point the way is that which leads to the comparative study of the phonology of Bengali with that of adjacent languages, and especially of those languages which are being superseded in Bengal itself by Bengali.

J. D. ANDERSON.

IS THE PRICE LEVEL CONTROLLABLE? *

IT is a plain fact of common observation that prices have risen all over the world, not excepting even the economically most backward countries. People now have to pay more for their food, clothing, fuel, etc., than their forefathers did half a century ago. A glance at the accompanying diagram, prepared by Prof. Irving Fisher, of the Department of Political Economy in Yale University, explains clearly that the prices of necessities and staple commodities have increased 50 per cent. in 15 years. Prof. Fisher is not only a sound political economist but a mathematician of the first rank. Before entering the Department of Political Economy he was one of the foremost professors of the Department of Mathematics. So, his conclusions are not merely the "hypothesis of an economist" but based on scientific and careful mathematical calculation. Prof. Fisher believes that he "has a practical remedy for the steady and inexorable rise of prices, popularly called the high cost of living." It is certainly worth while to consider the remedy which this veteran rising economist of America has discovered after a thorough research of many years. It is for this reason I like to introduce his ideas to the reading public mostly in his own words.

Various causes of high prices have been discovered ranging from Trusts and Tariff down to the American hen; but the following are the most generally accepted.

1. Increasing Gold Supply.
2. The Trusts.

*Those who are interested in Prof. Fisher's theory should read his book—*The Purchasing Power of Money*, MacMillan Co., New York. 1912, pp. 492. The book is a rich addition to economic literature.

3. The Tariff.

4. The introduction throughout the world of better standards of food, sanitation, and, clothing.

5. The growing demand for luxuries, and—in the U. S. at least—an increase in "the spirit of extravagance and wastefulness."

According to Prof. Fisher all of these causes, except the first one, might be removed by legislation and education. To him, and to many other economists of the day, the cause of the increase in prices or the increasing cost of living is found in the enormous increase in the gold supply; all other factors but play a very insignificant role in raising the price level. The purchasing power of money is continually decreasing with the increasing gold supply.

Money performs two profoundly important functions in the complex society of modern civilization. It serves as a token of exchange and as a measure of value. The clear distinction between these two functions of money was clearly drawn, for the first time, by Mr. Turgot, the great Finance Minister of France in the middle of the 18th century. Leon Say, in his essay on Turgot, reports the French Minister's theory of money in the following passage:

"Before gold and silver had become the pledge representing every kind of wealth, exchanges, according to Turgot, were made in kind. Measures of wheat were given in exchange for measures of wine. The competition between those who had more or less need of a given commodity determined the current value of each commodity relatively to all the rest. Any commodity could thus become the equivalent of any other, and could be used as a common measure for comparing other commodities. A given quantity of wheat worth eighteen pints of wine would likewise buy a sheep, or a piece of tanned leather, or a certain

A RECORD OF THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

1897 '98 '99 '00 '01 '02 '03 '04 '05 '06 '07 '08 '09 '10 '11 1912



Note.—The upper irregular line shows the steady increase of prices in the 15 years since 1897. The lower irregular line shows what would probably have been the course of prices with a dollar based on a scientific 'index number.'

quantity of iron: thus all these things had in trade the same value. But not all pints of wine are of the same value; and if 18 pints of Anjou wine will buy a sheep, eighteen pints of Cape wine will buy several sheep. In order to avoid the confusion resulting from the application of the same term of things of variable qualities, it was found necessary to choose as a measure of the value of other commodities a commodity always identical, easy to transport, and capable of being preserved without alteration."

Such a commodity was found in gold and for a time it served the purpose admirably because the production of gold was then too small to affect the purchasing power of money. But with the discovery of gold mines in California and Australasia and the improved mining method the stock of gold has greatly increased. Now, gold is not a fixed measure of commodity prices, but a very unstable one. The effect of this ever-changing value of gold is well expressed by Fisher:

"A laboring man who put \$ 100 in a savings bank fifteen years ago and now withdraws his \$ 150 fondly imagines that he has fifty per cent. more than he put in, but when he comes to spend it he finds that his whole \$ 150 will buy no more than his original \$ 100 would have bought in 1896. In other words, the depreciation of gold has tricked him out of all his interest. Naturally he is discontented and wants to attack something. He does not much care what. He is one of the millions of victims of a shrinking dollar, just as 20 years ago his father may have been

one of the millions of victims then suffering from an appreciating dollar."

"Instead of a standard which first benefits the creditor at the expense of the debtor, and then benefits the debtor at the expense of the creditor, let us have a system which gives a square deal to all."

"We have standardized every other unit in commerce except the most important and universal unit of all, the unit of purchasing power. What businessman would consent for a moment to make a contract in terms of yards of cloth or tons of coal, and leave the size of the yard or the ton to chance? Once the yard was the girth of a man. In order to make it constant we have standardized it. We have standardized our new units of electricity, the ohm, the kilowatt, the ampere, and the volt, but the dollar is still left to the chances of gold-mining."

There exists no natural standard of measure in this world. Almost each nation has got standards of their own but they are all government-made. For example, at Washington there is an actual scientific measure of a meter, made of platinum, and is highly taken care of from heat, cold and other climatic changes. A similar standard is carefully preserved by the English in the tower of London and by the French in Paris. Prof. Fisher here urges for a universal and scientific standard of money. And how can this be attained? Prof. Fisher's proposal is:

"By means of statistics called 'index numbers

of prices.' Such statistics are to-day published by the London 'Economist'; the United States Bureau of Labor, the Canadian Department of Labor, and several commercial agencies such as Bradstreet's. The index number of the Bureau of Labor is based on the wholesale prices of 257 commodities, and shows from year to year the extent to which prices on the whole advance or fall.....The index number shows the average amount for all the 257.....A Statistical Bureau, as for instance the present Bureau of Labor or an International Statistical Office, would compile and publish these statistics periodically and the actual prices on which they are based. If at any time the official index number showed that the price level had risen one per cent, this would be the signal of increase of one per cent in the virtual dollar."

It is necessary to explain here what Prof. Fisher means by the phrase "virtual dollar". In his own words again :

"Briefly stated, the plan is virtually to increase the weight of the gold dollar.....The aim is to compensate for losses in the purchasing power of gold by virtually putting more gold into each dollar. As fast as each grain of gold loses in purchasing power, the loss is offset by adding the necessary number of grains of gold to the dollar."

He goes on further to say, showing thereby that if this scheme is adopted throughout the world, the purchasing power of the money will remain stable. He says :

"An increase in the weight of the dollar would tend to increase the purchasing power of the dollar and to reduce the scale of prices. Evidently if we can find some way to increase the weight of the dollar just fast enough to compensate for the loss in the purchasing power of each grain of gold, we shall have a fully 'compensated dollar', that is, a dollar which has constantly restored to it any purchasing power it may lose by gold depreciation.....We have now a dollar of fixed weight but varying purchasing power. Under

the plan proposed, we should have a dollar of fixed purchasing power but varying weight."

It seems impracticable to adjust the gold coin by continually recoinng it to the varying values of gold bullion. But Mr. Fisher finds a remedy here, too.

"Existing gold coins would remain unchanged..... and new gold coins would simply become what the silver dollar now is, token coins. Or, better, they would be, like gold certificates, mere warehouse-receipts, or, as it were, 'brass checks' for gold bullion on deposit in the treasury. Otherwise expressed, gold coin would be merely gold certificates printed on gold instead of on paper. They would be used exactly as gold certificates are used—namely, issuable to the gold miner in return for his bullion, and redeemable for those who wished bullion for export or in the arts."

In a sense Prof. Fisher's plan may be described as a plan to restore the ancient custom of seigniorage on gold coin.

It would be readily acknowledged that the measure we use in money transactions to-day is hardly scientific. Industrial and commercial panics are largely due to the acclivitous and declivitous tendencies of our measure of value. Unless a stable unit is discovered the world is sure to suffer from the evils of our ever-shifting measure of value. It is a good sign that there is a bill before the U. S. Congress for the establishment of an international conference on the cost of living. And in this conference Prof. Fisher's plan for creating "an unshrinkable dollar" requires a grave consideration and minute criticism.

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THE MUSALMANS OF KASHMIR

THEIR FAITH.

THE history of the conversion of Kashmiris to Muhammadanism has been told in a previous paper.* As to their faith it is in no way an exception to the general rule, the natural law of assimilation and adaptation. The Muhammadanism of India is not the same as that of Arabia or Persia or Turkey, in its outward form, as

* *Modern Review* for November 1912, pp. 475—482.

prevalent in those countries. The spirit may be the same but the form is different in different countries. Without any fear of contradiction from my orthodox Musalman brethren I may safely add that in quite a number of cases Muhammadans, in some countries, among the indigenous population, have come to believe in or practice certain things against which the Prophet raised his voice. This point is amply illustrated and borne out by a careful study and examination

of the Muslim faith in the vale of Kashmir. The spirit of the Muslim faith—their staunch adherence to their faith and brotherhood, the sense of equality at least in the mosque—and its resultant evils—are all there to be found among the Musalmans of Kashmir, who were only half a dozen centuries ago all Hindus. But they have retained also much of the Hindu spirit—fondness for symbolic worship, reverence for



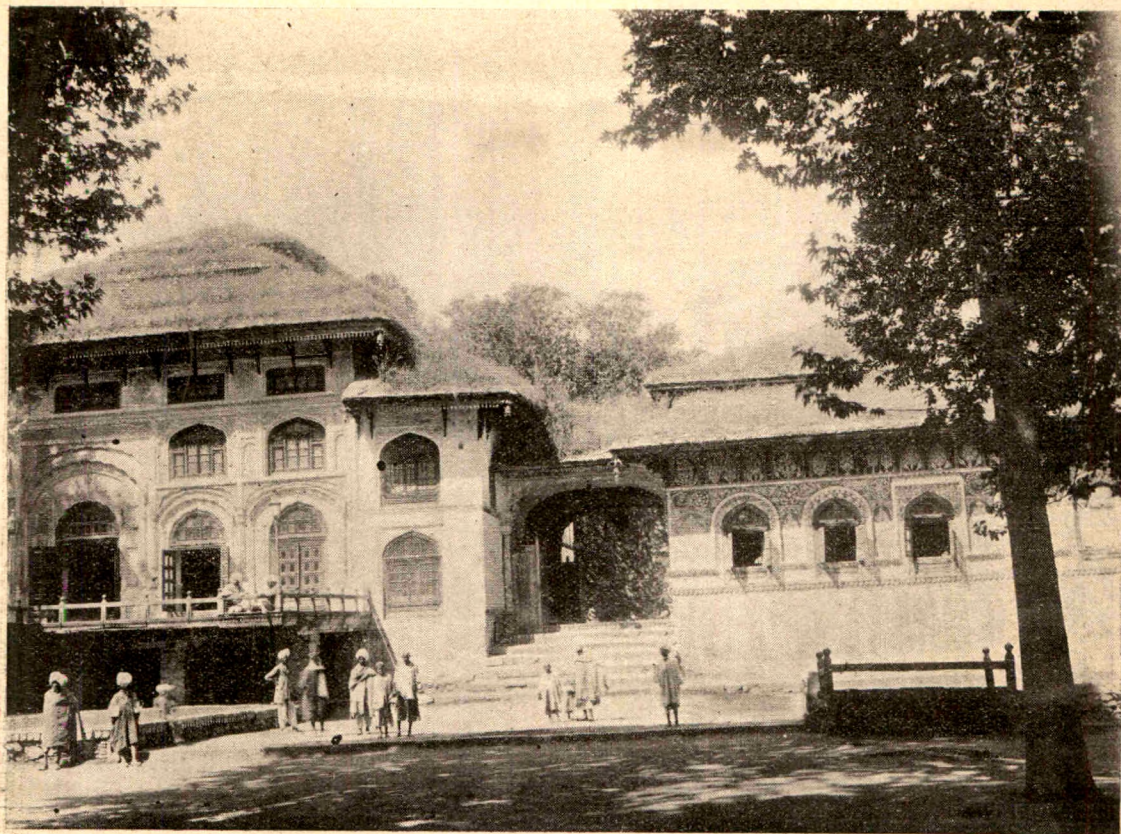
A Home of the Kashmiri Musalmans.

mystic ascetics and some of the remnants of caste. The staunchness of faith and sense of the superiority of their *ism*, Islam, was forced upon my mind by an ignorant boat-man, the first Kashmiri I spoke to. On my telling him that he was one of us, Hin-

dus, and we would be glad to welcome him back amongst ourselves, he, with a proud intonation, silenced me by saying that it was the habit of Hindus and Christians to change their faith, but not theirs.

I was yet ten and two miles below my destination—Srinagar. Down below the road, across the Jhelam, there was a village with a pagoda-shaped shrine, at one end of the village. The village was entirely inhabited by Musalmans. The pagoda-like temple was a *ziyarat*. It was not a mosque. It was a tomb. But it was not a tomb of a King or Queen. It was a sepulchre of some Muhammadan saint—a *pir*. The *Ziyarat*, which is to be found almost in all purely Musalman villages, is, so to say, the centre of the Muslim faith in Kashmir. True, the worship of *pirs* is common among Muhammadan peasants of the Indian plains also, but with the Kashmiri Musalmans it is a regular institution and their faith, devotion, pleasure, festivities are all concentrated at the *Ziyarat*.

The *Ziyarat*-buildings are very good specimens of Kashmiri Musalman architecture. The most magnificent one is the wooden *Ziyarat*, *Sahe-Hamdan Saheb* of Srinagar on the bank of the Jhelam. It is a superb piece of art. Its construction does not allow itself to be displayed at its best in photographs. I have looked at its balcony, its doors and upper panes with wonder and admiration. I would have visited it more frequently but for the looks of those keeping the gates and pointing to the begging bowls. They expect every visitor, be he a Musalman pilgrim or an agnostic tourist, to present coins there. There is very beautiful work inside the *Ziyarat* also, but even in broad day light it is too dark within. It is illuminated during the sacred worship days and ordinarily with a few lamps at night. There is a free school for Musalman boys attached to this shrine which they call *Shahe Hamdan Saheb*. One thing very interesting about this huge and picturesque construction: It is said that before the coming of a Musalman *pir* there in whose honour the *Ziyarat* has been erected, there lived a Hindu goddess who was subsequently expelled from the spot. She, now, is supposed to be dwelling under the plinth of the *Ziyarat*. On the foundation, above the ground, facing the river (Jhelam) there is a



Hazrat-Bal Moslem Shrine, containing a hair of the Prophets' beard in a glass tube, Kashmir.

slab of stone in the masonry of the foundation which is worshipped by the Hindus of Srinagar. I have often seen, from the river, the picturesque scene of Muhammadans kneeling for morning prayers in the courtyard of Shahe Hamdan Saheb and Pandits worshipping the symbolic stone below.*

At Hazaratbal, about three miles off from Srinagar, on the banks of the *Dal* lake, there is another type of *Ziyarat*. It differs from other *Ziyarats* both in its contents and construction—it is a unique thing. One of the auspicious and sacred days for Hazaratbal fell on a sultry day of the month of June. People approached the spot partly

by land and partly by water. The approach to this sacred spot of the Kashmiri Musalmans was in itself an interesting affair—men and women all hurrying in crowds so joyfully. The sacred spot is approached both by land and lake. The majority of those going from the town do the journey by boats—*Dongas* and *Shikaras*. But the people of the suburb all come for the most part by land, on foot till they reach a ferry where every one, young and old, man and woman, throws himself or herself in the canoes quite unmindful of the consequences of overloading. Perhaps I was in the last batch, for when I reached there at about 3 p.m. they had already commenced the first prayer of the afternoon. Human figures looked like the ripe corn plants being swayed by a strong gust of wind—kneeling, rising and muttering prayers. The culminating point of their pious devotion and blind faith made itself manifest in the exhibition of a hair of the prophet's beard. Within the shrine in a

* My explanation for this legend, which I provisionally offer, judging from the history of proselytisation and iconoclasm in Kashmir, is very likely quite correct. In Kashmir most of the Musalman shrines, tombs and mosques are built out of the materials of and on the plinths of Hindu temples. It seems there was some Hindu Goddess Temple on this spot which was partly destroyed by Sahe Hamdan Saheb who built or in whose honour this *Ziyarat*, called after him, has been erected.



Sales at the Moslem Fair of Hazrat-Bal, Kashmir.

glass tube, it is said, a hair of the Prophets' beard is preserved. The mullas in charge bring it out and exhibit it to the passionate crowd from a platform holding it aloft; while the devotees of the imprisoned sacred hair look towards the hands of the priest, who does his best to impress on every pilgrim the awe-inspiring sacredness and existence of the hair within that tube which alone every one does see. While the motionless mass keeps on gazing at the hair in the cavity of glass standing in the courtyard, with joined palms in mode of reverential salutation, each individual mutters a Persian verse—which I am afraid excepting the mullas none understands. As rendered in English by Prof. H. Cox it runs as follows:—

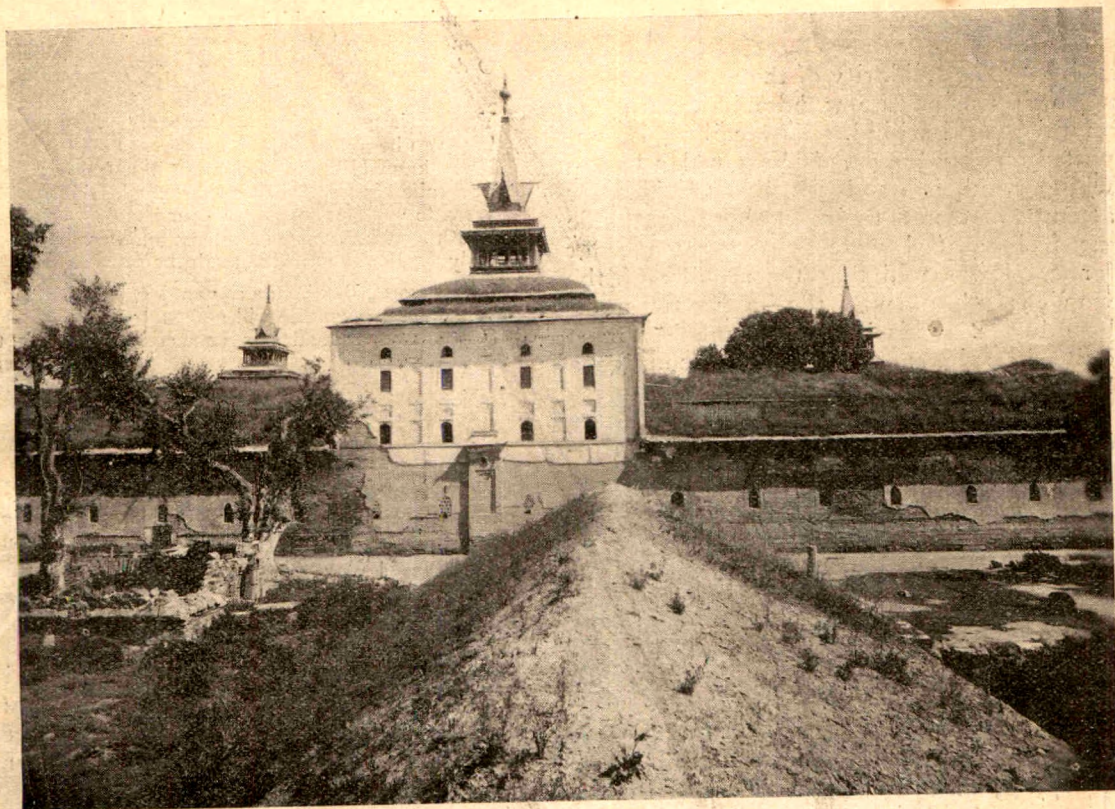
"O apostle of God, come to my complaint,
O prophet of God, I have none but thee.
Difficulties are before me; I am in distress,
O apostle of God, thou art sufficient for me."

It is still a strong belief of the devoted Musalmans of Kashmir that a hair of the

prophet's beard* is still preserved in the tube. Some people approach it close and touch the sanctified tube. Its touch is supposed to possess the miraculous power of healing the blind. Presents are offered by the pilgrims. The prayers and worship over nearly all the people indulge in sales, purchases and amusements. The compound, on that day, turns into a regular mart with shops of grocers, drapers, fruit-sellers and confectioners.

There are other places of worship in the suburb of Srinagar, as well, where they go on Fridays for worship and prayer. But by far the most noteworthy place of importance and joyful festive worship is Bezbehara 29 miles up Srinagar. The annual fair of this place falls in the 2nd week of June (it may vary, but during my visit it was the second

* There is in Sindh also at Rohari a similar place where a *Min Mubarak*, a hair of the Prophet's beard, is said to be preserved in a gold cylinder exposed once a year to the public—emerging out from the gold cylinder to the view of the faithful.



The Jamma Masjid at Srinagar.

week of June), lasts for a week and is a very big affair. I cannot recall to my mind anything like it as far as Musalman fairs are concerned. True, in the plains of Hindustan we have very large Hindu fairs like that of *Nauchandi* and *Garhmukteswar*, etc. But in matter of enthusiasm and bustle this fair of Kashmiri Musalmans would perhaps excel. Indeed, the fairs of the south, specially that of Conjeeveram during the month of June and also that of Madura and other sacred places of the south surpass it even in the matter of enthusiasm. From Anantnag I was booked in a boat for Srinagar down the Jhelam. It was 9 P.M. when our boat moored at Bezhehara and the passengers were set at large to take their supper. Through the streets of this town I met quite a number of companies of Musalman peasant-women passing along, all singing wonderfully melodious folk-songs. They were coming in crowds from neighbouring villages to the place of worship—the Ziyarat. And the principal day was yet to come after six

days. This prologue was sufficient to bring home to one's mind the greatness of the affair; but it failed to convince me and I did not make any effort to break my journey there. In fact I had set my heart on reaching in time Srinagar to proceed to *Kshirbhawani* to join a big Hindu fair. I regret this unconscious partiality. But had I known how grand an affair it was and were I convinced that it was an excellent opportunity to observe a phase of Muslim life, I would certainly have stopped there. As I came down the river I came across boats laden with merchandise, merchants and pilgrims. And by the time I reached Srinagar I was convinced of the greatness of this fair. One more visit to Kashmir only to see this fair and one that falls in the month of Shravan—generally the last day of June—in honour of a Hindu Goddess 9 miles off from Srinagar will repay all the trouble and expense.

The *Jumma Masjid* at Srinagar is a huge affair—a monstrous building, a prayer-city in ruins. I have not yet seen its like in

it had naturally to arrange debates and discussions as the only possible means for the fulfilment of its objects. But as the new spirit developed, a larger and larger exodus of students in quest of newer knowledge took place from India and in Edinburgh as one of the most renowned medical centres of the world their number increased. With the increase in their numbers, their aims also rose higher. But it was not earlier than 1902, that an active propaganda began to be carried on for the acquisition of a club house, where opportunities for social intercourse and development of social virtues could be greater and larger. The Professors and also many citizens of Edinburgh, notably Lord Salvaseen, the Marchioness of Linlithgow and the late Sir James Gibson, co-operated with the movement in a manner which cannot be too much appreciated.

An Indian Bazar was held and its first session was opened by the present Prime Minister Mr. Asquith. Simultaneously with the Bazar came a notable donation of Rs. 50,000 from the Maharani of Vizianagram, owing to the kindly interest taken by the Marchioness of Linlithgow and the Countess of Minto. So far there was a record of continued successes for the Association, but unhappily things changed and there was a long break of over four years in which the Association engaged in an unfortunate squabble in connection with the trust of its funds. The whole atmosphere had changed; Indians, instead of being looked upon with sympathy and sometimes even affection, as was the case before, came to be placed in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion, sometimes void even of common humanity. The whole squabble was concerned with the matter of election of trustees and admission of ladies into the Association premises. The appeals for funds had emanated from the Indian Association, but the funds collected were to be placed under certain specified trustees. The trustees wanted the entire control of the funds, including the election of future trustees, to be placed in their hands, and flatly refused the admission of ladies into the premises. The Association contended just the opposite. Between these two extremes there was always a possibility of compromise, but mutual distrust and suspicion thwarted such a consummation. The court was appealed to but the judg-

ment hardly improved matters. Ultimately however time proved a soothing remedy, matters improved and a compromise doing justice to both the parties was effected. A Trust-Deed was registered in December, 1912 and to-day Indians here and their friends and well-wishers are rejoicing at the restoration of mutual good will and understanding.

There are many of my countrymen who doubt if such an institution is at all a necessity. But this is an objection which can be hardly maintained. Ours is a large country, in extent equal to the whole of Europe minus Russia, in population about eight times as great as of the United Kingdom. It is therefore a supreme necessity that one of the preliminary works in connection with the larger task of building an Indian nation must be concerned with the bringing of Indians from different corners of India to a sphere of social equality, mutual understanding and good will. That such a sphere, full of good-will, and stimulating co-operation, is provided by the Association cannot be disputed.

There are also some who denounce it as positively harmful, in as much as it might lead to a loss of social intercourse between the people of the country and ourselves. There may be a reason for such apprehension, but a true appreciation of the situation in this country will prove that such a fear is ill founded and unnecessarily pessimistic. No one can doubt the supreme importance of social intercourse between our compatriots of this country and ourselves, but up till now, there has hardly been made any headway towards it and there seems hardly a prospect of its being made, at any rate in the near future. So long as Imperialism of the Milner type dominates the people here, any hope for a genuine social intercourse is absolutely out of the question. Social intercourse must imply social equality and if this equality is denied either directly or indirectly any social intercourse worth the name is impossible. Unfortunately such is the condition prevailing at the present moment, which has been further intensified by the growth of the new spirit in India, which after all is a direct antidote to the rampant Milnerism. There are however a few high-minded souls who are absolutely above such bias, and it is always a pleasure and a profit to be in their

company. But there are many more who open their doors to us either through what Mr. E. S. Montagu describes as "Imperial motives" or in the hope of snatching us from the devil by directing us to the cross. Whatever opinion one may have about these motives one thing is certain that they prevent genuine intercourse. Individual efforts, therefore, however well intentioned they may be, easily lend themselves to misrepresentation and consequently to suspicion and distrust in place of affection and confidence. Besides opportunities for misrepresentation only increase with the ever-increasing espionage activity of the India Office. It is, therefore, necessary that if social intercourse is to be maintained between the East and the West a new method must be introduced which should be immune from the suspicion and distrust that attach to individual efforts. That is why Mr. B. P. Naidu, the president, in the course of his speech of welcome on the occasion of the formal opening ceremony said :

"I speak with confidence and I am not in the least over-optimistic, that the existence of an institution like ours, so well organised and so fully conscious of its responsibilities, is an absolute, quite an imperative necessity to maintain and further that intercourse between the East and the West which we so much desire and the absence of which we so much deplore."

The other great aim of the Association is to be a sort of advisory and information Beareau in educational matters in this country. A very large committee has already been formed and consists of prominent students from the different branches of study—Law, Arts, Engineering, Agriculture, Medicine—elected for the purpose. Scores of letters have already arrived and from the way in which their replies are recieved it appears that the Association is proving useful to many of my countrymen at home. The Association does not claim to be a rival of the official Advisory Council in London, but it is sincerely hoped that the information and advice given by the Association, based as they will be on the actual experience of students, would be far more useful than those derived through red-tapeism and departmental routine. The Association also intends, as it gets more firmly established, to arrange courses of lectures in the different vernaculars of India which cannot but prove of great advantage

to us as well as to the people of this country, who it is proposed will also be admitted to such lectures.

Now it remains for me to describe the rooms and write in some detail about the opening ceremony. The house is situated at No. 11 George Square and is rather three minutes walk from the University. It has a very healthy locality and consists of a large Debating Hall, Library and Reading room, two Reading and Writing Rooms, Smoking



SIR WILLIAM TURNER, K.C.B.,

Principal and Vice-Chancellor, Edinburgh University.

and Conversation Room, Billiard Room and Bath Rooms. No arrangements for refreshments have been made, yet tea, coffee and aerated waters can be had at any time. All the rooms have been neatly furnished with due regard to sanitation and comfort. All the important Indian papers, as also those of this country, have been subscribed

for. The Library yet remains to be furnished and it is hoped that before the year is out a good supply of important books of reference in the different branches of study will be secured for the Association. The formal opening ceremony of the rooms was performed on the 26th February in the presence of a very large gathering. Never before in Edinburgh at any rate, has there assembled such a large gathering of Indians and Britishers inspired by mutual good-will and concord. Professors and citizens with their wives and daughters thronged in numbers and added solemnity and dignity to the auspicious occasion. It was a most happy idea that the Association should have unanimously resolved to have the rooms declared open by Sir William Turner—the Principal and Vice Chancellor of the University than whom Indian students in this country have hardly a more constant friend and a truer well-wisher. It is now an open secret that it is due entirely to his

attitude of impartiality and justice that the Edinburgh University has so far remained inamenable to the advances of the India Office. In days of strife and trouble we have learnt to look upon him as our sincerest guide and philosopher. The thunder of applause and spontaneous waving of handkerchiefs and shouts of hurrahs that met Mr. Naidu's words with which he garlanded Sir William on the occasion, "I am expressing the common sentiment of every Indian when I express the hope that you may long be spared, shine as the brightest jewel and be at the helm of affairs of this most famous University," sufficiently testified to the extreme gratitude and esteem in which he is held by the Indian students in Great Britain.

SAYED MOHAMED ZAKI.

*Indian Association,
Edinburgh.*

THE DISCOVERER OF IRON-ORES FOR THE TATA IRON AND STEEL WORKS

THE interesting account of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchee which appeared in the March number of the *Modern Review* is silent about the discovery of the Gurumaishani iron-ore deposit which supplies the raw material to the Works. Glowing accounts of the Works and of the early history of its inception and establishment at Sakchee have, from time to time, appeared in the press, but nowhere have we seen any authentic history of the discovery of the rich deposit. This is unfortunate, particularly on account of a false impression under which credit for the discovery is given to persons who have no title to it. Strangely enough, these persons quietly take the credit, while the name of the real discoverer is not so much as mentioned. We should have expected Mr. Kshirod Kumar Ray, who evidently took some pains to collect facts about the Works, to trace the history of the discovery of the Ores. However, the facts are simple and should be stated, not merely

for dispelling the erroneous impression but also, in ordinary fairness to Mr. P. N. Bose, the discoverer.

Mr. Bose had long been familiar with the iron deposits in the Central Provinces, especially in the Districts of Raipur and Jubbulpore. He had published reports on these deposits in the official Records of the Geological Survey of India. The late Mr. J. N. Tata who conceived the idea of establishing iron-works in India, on a large scale, was, in 1903-4, prospecting for iron in the Central Provinces. He came across the Dhulli or Dallee deposit in the Raipur District. This deposit had been discovered by Mr. Bose in 1887, and his report on it was published in the Records of the Geological Survey, Vol. XX, Part I, under the heading "The Iron Industry in the Western portion of the Raipur District." After his retirement from the Geological Survey of India, Mr. Bose was employed, in 1903, by the late lamented Maharaja of

Mourbhanj to make a Geological Survey of his State, particularly with a view to find out its mineral resources. The State of Mourbhanj was a blank on the Geological map of India and Mr. Bose was the first Geologist to examine it. In the course of his exploration he found the unusually rich iron-ore deposit at the foot and along the slopes of the Gurumaishani hill, besides other minerals in different parts of the



MR. P. N. BOSE.

State. He published his "Notes on the Geology and Mineral Resources of Mourbhanj" in the Records of the Geological Survey, Vol. XXXI. Part 3. About the find of iron, Mr. Bose wrote as follows:—

"The chief mineral wealth of the State consists in its iron-ores, which are possibly among the richest and most extensive in India. In the Bamanghati sub-division, they occur in quantity at the following localities:—

- (1) At the foot and along the slopes of the Gurumaishani hill in all directions except the eastern over an area of about eight square miles.
- (2) Near Bandgaon in Saranda-pir.
- (3) At the foot and along the flanks of the Sulaipat-Badampahar range on the southern border of the Bamanghati sub-division from Kondadera to Jaidhanposi, a distance of some twelve miles.

In the Panchpir sub-division the ores occur at diverse places along the foot of the hills which fringe the Simlipahar range on the western and southern side from Kamdabedi and Kantikna to Thakurmunda, a distance of twenty-five miles.

In Mayurbhanj proper iron-ores occur at several places in the Simlipahar range, as near Gurguria.

They were also encountered at places in the submontane tract just adjoining the Simlipahar range on the eastern side—as near Kendua (close to Sorsobila), and at a place two miles west of Baldia.

The ores except when transported occur almost exclusively in the transition series, especially in association with banded hæmatite quartzites. Usually, they consist of hæmatite and limonite. But thick and rather extensive deposits of magnetite were met with at the foot and along the flanks of the Gurumaishani hill, south-east of Kolaisila, east of Sundol, and also near Kotapiti. Magnetite also occurs in quantity near Bandgaon and in the Kondadera-Jaidhanposi area. The average ore in the Bamanghati and Panchpir sub-divisions will probably be found to contain above 60, if not above 65, per cent. of metallic iron.

It is very difficult to make even an approximate estimate of the quantity of available iron-ores. But it would probably be no exaggeration to say, that a practically inexhaustible supply for several furnaces on a modern scale may be safely depended upon. The ores are easily accessible from the Sini-Ghatsila section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, and a line of 25 or 30 miles would tap the Gurumaishani area. As will be noticed later on, limestone in the form of tufa occurs at several places in and close to the iron area.

There are a good many families of smelters in the ground described above, and the iron they turn out is held in high estimation by the people. But the furnaces are the smallest and the bellows the least powerful of any I have seen in use anywhere in India. The smelters, therefore, select the softest ores, which are generally very far from the best. When I showed them a few pieces of magnetite, they pronounced these to be mere stones and quite useless as iron ores!"

While Mr. Tata was prospecting for iron in the central Provinces, as stated above, Mr. Bose had already found the Gurumaishani deposit. Coming to know of Mr. Tata's ideas, Mr. Bose, in February 1904, drew his attention to the Mourbhanj iron. He pointed out the richness of the deposit, its enormous extent and its proximity to the Bengal coal fields. From his previous intimate knowledge of the iron deposits of the Central Provinces, Mr. Bose was enabled to declare emphatically in favour of the Mourbhanj deposit. Mr. Tata died shortly after this, but his enlightened sons took up the matter and commenced negotiations with Mr. Bose. It is not necessary to state the negotiations in detail. Suffice it to say, that the Tatas realised the value of the Mourbhanj deposit and got an expert, Mr. Perrin to examine it. Mr. Perrin with his assistants, and accompanied by Mr. Bose, visited the Mourbhanj deposit during the cold weather of 1904-1905. They carefully examined the deposit and the results obtained by them fully confirmed Mr. Bose's conclusions and justified his anticipations

as stated in his "Notes" mentioned above. After this, Tata and Sons, took, first, a prospecting license, then, a lease from the Maharaja of Mourbhanj, prior to establishing the Iron and Steel Works at Sakchee.

In connection with Mr. Bose's work at Mourbhanj, the *Englishman* wrote, on the 25th May 1904, as follows :—

"One of the greatest difficulties in the way of those who are desirous of venturing their capital for the purpose of developing the many promising mineral deposits of India has hitherto been dearth of qualified prospectors in the country. It is not at all uncommon to hear cases in which owners of property, having reasonable grounds for risking a certain sum of money in testing the value of their lands, are not sufficiently confident of success to venture the heavy outlay necessary to bring out a qualified expert from Europe who, besides the heavy expenses of the journey, would require pay for the six weeks required for the double voyage, during which his time would be of no value to his employers. Until recently no one seems to have had the courage to lay himself out to meet this want, but a start has at last been made by Mr. P. N. Bose, B. Sc., F. G. S., who has recently retired from the post of Deputy Superintendent of the Geological Survey. Mr. Bose has a satisfactory record of over 20 years' active work on behalf of Government, and his papers published by the Geological Society of London, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in the Records and Memoirs of the Geological Survey show, besides a wide range of scientific subjects, an intimate knowledge of the economic aspects of geology. Mr. Bose has, with commendable enterprise, now laid himself out for private engagements, and we hear he has the full confidence and ready co-operation of his former colleagues, with whom he remains in close touch. On the recommendation of the Director of the Geological Survey, Mr. Bose recently undertook an economic survey on behalf of the progressive Maharaja of Mourbhanj, where his work has been attended with conspicuous success, and it is hoped that other zemindars will show similar enterprise in taking this first essential step towards developing their estates by having their mineral resources diagnosed by an expert, who, besides a general knowledge of economic geology, has that intimate acquaintance with the peculiarities of Indian conditions which detracts so seriously from the value of the temporarily imported expert. In his preface to the

recently revived Records of the Geological Survey the Director invited the co-operation and criticism of private workers, who serve a function for which a Government Department is not a convenient instrument; and in his recent recommendation of Mr. Bose's enterprise he has shown a practical expression of his sentiments."

The *Mining Journal* of London wrote thus on the 3rd December 1904 :—

"The latest district of the prospecting in which we have an account is that of the State of Mourbhanj, one of the States of Orissa..... The area was prospected by Mr. P. N. Bose during the winter of last year. The prospecting area has only been partially covered, and it is possible that the portions as yet unprospected may yield indications of mineralisations not less interesting than the districts which Mr. Bose has already visited."

It will thus be seen from the above, that the credit of the discovery of the very valuable and extensive iron deposit at Guru-maishani is due entirely to Mr. P. N. Bose. It was fortunate that a person of the culture, enlightenment and progressive spirit of the late Maharaja was the ruler of Mourbhanj, and it was fortunate, also, that the services of Mr. Bose were available at such an auspicious period. The result is the largest Indian industrial enterprise. The combination of Bombay, Orissa and Bengal was certainly not unhappy in this instance.

It may be of interest to note that Mr. Bose discovered another rich and extensive deposit of iron in the Patiala State, an account of which is to be found in the Geological Records, vol. xxxiii, 1906, under the heading "Geology and Mineral Resources of the Narnaul District, Patiala State." The difficulty in working this deposit on modern lines is the absence of coal any nearer than Bengal. Under an enlightened ruler the difficulty may be overcome.

B. L. MITTER.

THE MASQUE OF LEARNING

DEvised BY PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES.

THE Masque of Learning which was played a year ago at Edinburgh, in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of University Hall,

was so successful that it was developed into two Masques—of "Ancient Learning" and "Medieval and Modern Learning" and played to crowded audiences by 1000

performers, orchestra and choir. The second section—that of Medieval and Modern Learning—has just been presented in London, 11-15 March, in the Great Hall of the University of London (Imperial Institute, South Kensington) by some 500 players, with musical illustrations by orchestra and choir, and has met with an enthusiastic reception. It is truly a "pageant of education through the ages", representing by typical personages and incidents the course of Western learning, from the time of the fall of Rome, through (1) the medieval period, religious, military, academic, up to (2) the great Renaissance or Revival of Learning in Europe, with its outburst of scientific discovery, its development of art and literature, its exploration of the Earth, its education, drama, poetry, and so to its gradual decline: then (3) the great synthesis of knowledge in the Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century in Sweden, France, Scotland, Germany, and (4) the period of the Present, and the opening Future. The whole panorama forms a synthesis of the intellectual advance of Western Europe during fifteen centuries, compact of interests of varied kinds: we can merely summarize the many Episodes.

The Prologue scene suggests the fall of Rome and the triumph of the Barbarian invaders—women are carried off, warriors slain, senator and Christian priest fall victims in the fighting, and the Goth's cry is "Delenda est Roma". But the boasted destruction alike of Rome and Christianity is to be falsified by events; and at the close, the very chieftain of the Goths, Ataulph, later Romanized as Adolphus, proclaims that though in early days he had sought only to destroy Rome, yet now he seeks to do justice according to her laws.

Then follow the Medieval Episodes, opening with a stately and dignified scene representing Moslem Culture. Haroun-al Raschid, the great Khalif of Baghdad, surrounded by his Wazirs and officers in state, receives ambassadors and scholars from tributary Persia and from the Western Khalifate of Cordova, envoys and pundits from India and mandarins from China, nobles from the Eastern Christian Byzantium, and one from the Emperor Charlemagne at Aachen: they form a picturesque group, in which, however, the last named will not stay—his mission over,

he moves off, as if to suggest the coming conflict of the Crusades. Played by Egyptians, Indians, and other Oriental friends, in splendid robes and jewels, the scene was gorgeous. It passes; and Omar Khayyam is seen, declaiming some of his verses—disillusion of Sultan's pomp and philosophy's argument and he too passes scattering a shower of petals from his faded rose.

We come to the time of the English king Alfred, after his wars. He is seen with his Queen, as defender, organizer, civilizer, educator: he teaches his own children: he receives visits from Bishops and Monks; Vikings and explorers bring offerings; there is a Negro embassy from the mythical Prester John of Central Africa: his own ship-builders come, with their model of a vessel, early precursor of the British Navy: the whole an interesting symbolism of the growing order and civilization and peace. We are next shewn the phases of the Religious and Knightly Orders, beginning with the first hermit, St. Anthony. Then S. Benedict and his monks, at their work of study, teaching, prayer, with their noble Rule of productive labour, famous later as Master-builders, always famous as thorough students and of exemplary life. After a brief interlude of the student-lovers Heloise and Abelard, and their separation, and embracing of the monastic life, we are shewn the Knights Templars, and witness the ceremonial of "dubbing" a Knight by the Grand Master.

The secular life and learning contemporary with all this is then shewn, and the beginnings of Universities,—in a typical great Medieval Fair of France, say of Montpellier and Paris in the 13th and 12th centuries: full of joyous activity—trade, fun, song, dance, dispute: subdued awhile during the gentle passage of the Benedictine Abbess and her nuns, who suggest to us that the medieval culture at its best was fully open to women and with no small results. When the pedlar pretends to faint, we see the Barber-Surgeon and the Herbalist-Leech at strife,—whether to bleed him or dose him, and who shall be first!—and so is prefigured the medical schools of the Surgeons and Physicians, whose olden quarrel is still unsettled. There are hot discussions between the Dominicans, in Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, and the Franciscans in Duns Scotus, the subile

Doctor, and among the teachers and students may be seen the young Dante: herein is suggested the rise of the University of Paris. And now arrive some Moorish merchants bringing strange manuscripts, unreadable until the arrival of Michael Scot, the astrologer of the Emperor Frederick II, noted for his Arabic studies and Moslem sympathies: and thus are discovered the works of Aristotle! It was out of the subsequent discussion, by clerics and laymen, scholars and wranglers, that arose the medieval University. This whole Episode of the Fair is interestingly complex: Professor Geddes himself writes:

"Nowhere are the roots of culture in folk-culture, and the origins of its higher institutions in popular ones, more manifest than in the origin of Medieval Universities; for these, despite their great debts to the cloister, were essentially lay institutions arising in the life of cities. The word 'Universitas' of old implied a gild of any kind, of bakers or any other craft, as well as of what we now call a profession, like medicine and law."

To this naturally succeeds some types of the series of Academic Foundations, more particularly British—Bishop Walter de Merton founds Merton College, Oxford, and Devorgilla de Baliol founds Baliol College: King Robert found the famous Collège des Ecoles in Paris. Wardlaw, Archbishop of St. Andrews, found St. Andrew's University and receives a Bull from Pope Paul III dedicating the College of St. Mary; and the Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities are also founded by their respective Bishops—this sequence being gathered together into one striking pageant, of ecclesiastics, ladies, knights, monks, scholars, beneath floating silken banners, and as in other scenes, with appropriate music.

The Medieval Episodes end with the Medieval Learning, which is reproduced from the Chapel of Santa Maria Novella at Florence—symbolic female figures of the Trivium and Quadrivium, representing "the sacred seven" subjects of the Medieval University curriculum, each with a representative exponent seated at her feet. For the Trivium—Grammar with Donatus, Rhetoric with Cicero, and Logic with Zeno: and for the Quadrivium, Music with Tubal-Cain, Astronomy with Ptolemy, Geometry with Euclid, and Arithmetic with Pythagoras—a synthesis of symbols which still retain

their value in our day, although we still await the artist, scholar, scientist, philosopher, religious teacher, who shall inspire their modern counterpart and development.

The second section of the Masque—the Renaissance or Revival of Learning in Europe,—is ushered in by several typical precursors. We see the rise of Optics—Friar Bacon in his prison cell, occupied with his "Opus Majus" and using his magnifying glass, opening thus a wide vista of the telescope, microscope, and the rest. Father Berthold Schwartz, also a Franciscan friar, inventing in a bare laboratory his explosive gun-powder, destined to transform military life and industry itself. And with the mingling of witchcraft and science, we see Faust, first as magician conjuring up Helen of Troy and Mephistopheles, and then as the traditional inventor of Printing, directing the working of the first press by Gutenberg and apprentices, a type of science, struggling through hypothesis and error towards the lights of knowledge and its applications in power, a veritable Promethean, inaugurating a new era.

The Renaissance is then figured in several fine Episodes. In Italy, in Florence, that foremost of Medieval cities, we are taken to the Court of Duke Lorenzo the Magnificent and Isabella d'Este, crowded with famous men and women, courtiers, artists, scholars. The versatile Leonardo da Vinci enters, with his bird-like flying machine, a prophetic model, and followed by La Gioconda (Monna Lisa) ever since famous in her portrait. Then follows Politician, the great classical scholar and glory of the University of Florence. The entry of a fugitive Greek scholar from Constantinople with his manuscripts, and their subsequent approval and printing indicates another great step of progress in learning: there is a vain protest made by the typical surviving medical pedant (played by Prof. Geddes himself!!) against this invention of the enemy, this "new and damnable Greek": but the printing press triumphs, with all that it connotes, and then follows after the printers the figure of the young Albert Durer as boy apprentice bearing an actual copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle on the preparation of which he served his apprenticeship.

From this learning, with its humanists and books we are taken to the wider cos-

mogony—to the exploration of our planet, the survey by Humanity of her estate, typified in the voyage of Columbus to discover America. We are introduced into the Spanish Court, of the joint sovereigns, Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and Isabella the Catholic, Queen of Castile and Leon—just after the conquest of the Moors and after the Crusades, a culminating time in the history of Spain. Surrounded by ecclesiastics, princes, ladies, doctors, cartographers, they give audience to Columbus, who brings his Charts, his Mappa Mundi and his Globe. In the end the King and Cardinal and the others will have nothing to do with him, and leave the Court: but Isabella lays her hand upon the Globe, and pronounces her immortal decision “I will assume this expedition for my own crown of Castile. If the funds in my treasury be not enough to equip it, I am ready, I pledge my jewels.”

The Renaissance in England is next suggested. Sir Thomas More, statesman, scholar, churchman, serene martyr—a high type of Renaissance character and education introduces to King Henry VIII Erasmus and Holbein, representatives of the new learning and art: and then in a vivid Scotch scene, Mary Queen of Scots, with her four Maries, receives the great preacher John Knox, who pleads for the grant of ecclesiastical funds towards the establishment of those Parish Schools which have since been of such great service to Scotch education.

The culture movement of the “sacred times of great Elizabeth” is compressed into a characteristic scene of authors, poets, and others in the Mermaid Tavern. Ben Jonson is seen presiding over the punch-bowl at one end of the long table, and Raleigh is at the other end: between are Drayton, Dekker, Camden, North, Chapman, Editor of Holinshead, Shakespeare in the centre, then Florio, Fletcher, Beaumont, Donne—a jovial symposium of wit and wine and song and tobacco! Ben Jonson calls for a parting glass and toast—they drink to “Honest Will” and Shakespeare’s brief phrase of thanks is immortal—“O Rare Ben Jonson!”

King James comes next, receiving with meet respect the scarlet robed Dons from Oxford, and with condescension the young and rising Francis Bacon, who offers his

“Advancement of Learning” and receives the honour of Knighthood. The latter begs to introduce a humble friend and playwright, Will Shakespeare, who offers his play of “Macbeth,” but receives scant notice. The Translators of the Bible also receive little notice from the impatient King, mindful perhaps of the old Scottish theological disputations. The obvious suggestion in this scene is that posterity has reversed those contemporary judgments: for “the Authorised Version of the Bible stands by far the supreme achievement of English Literature, though with Shakespeare a noble second: Bacon’s Essays may be at most the third, while of the “lucubrations of the erudite continuators of the humanists the very names are forgotten.”

The later Renaissance developments and contacts of science, so great in the fertile seventeenth century, are next expressed by three Episodes. Napier, the ingenious Laird of Merchiston, is in his study, busied with his famous “Bones,” the first calculating apparatus, and his wonderful invention of logarithms, one of the greatest labour-saving and power-increasing inventions of Humanity: he receives as visitor Henry Briggs of St. John’s College, Cambridge, destined to continue his work. Next the visit of the young John Milton in 1637 at Florence, to the astronomer Galileo, old and half blind and sad, (played by Prof. Geddes), and his peep through the wonderful newly-invented telescope. And then the foundation of the Royal Society by King Charles II, with Sir Christopher Wren and a band of other notable scientists and learned men.

The close of the Renaissance Education and its decline to its too recent levels are figured in two scenes. The first is based on Robert Browning’s poem “a Grammarian’s Funeral.” The next shews Dr. Whackem and his grammar-school boys—the birch taking precedence of the Grammar!—Professor Dry-as-dust, with his dullness and pedantry, discarding the natural flowers, and teaching by catalogue, and Miss Prig and her “Academy for Young Ladies” teaching Deportment and Accomplishments and the use of the Globes! Prof. Geddes compares this with the scene of the ancient Trivium, and says:

“Miss Prig is nothing if not Grammar, Dr. Whackem

is all for Rhetoric, and Dry-as-dust for Logic for it is these three that shrivelled into 'Education, Primary, Secondary, and Higher.' Grammar with its propriety, Rhetoric with its passion, Logic with its good form; yet the first and last absurd and futile, while the second, as the emotional element, became brutal and vicious. This contrast of antique idealism and Renaissance decadence might be followed far further in every city of so-called education."

The third series is of the Encyclopedists who built up the orderly and definite system of knowledge. They are typefied as follows:—

1. Swedish: Shewing the return to Nature: Linnaeus and his students carrying on their botanical observation and work in the field and falling upon their knees in ecstasy at the wonders of Nature.

2. French: A gathering of notable Encyclopedists in the Paris salon of Julie de l'Espinasse and the final volume of the *Grande Encyclopidie* is brought in and discussed. David Hume, Adam Smith, Diderot, the Abbé de l'Épée, Rousseau, and several ladies, are among those present: and a stately pavaane is danced by two couples.

3. Scottish: A gathering of many Edinburgh notables at Adam Ferguson's house—Robert Adam bringing his model of the University Buildings and James Watt the model of his Steam Engine, Adam Smith too is there; they suggest the Industrial Revolution. Robert Burns, with his brilliant genius and strength, comes in and presently meets the young lad Walter Scott.

4. German: Immanuel Kant on his daily walk and meditating his great revolution in thought. Goethe and Schiller—the brothers Humboldt, representing science and learning—the brothers Gremin, representing philology and folk lore: with Froebel, Pestalozzi, and children, suggesting the great educational revival.

And as the final expression is more fitly in music than in words, a figure representing Music passes, bearing the mask of Beethoven, surrounded by laurel.

The final section, highly synthetic and elaborate in its conception, represents the Present and the Future in the union of the University and the City. Symbolic figures of the Faculties, ancient and modern, enter, and Alma Mater is enthroned by them sum-

marizing them all, and shewing the unity of learning. She of course stands for the long-storied past—she is Eve, the Wisdom of Solomon, Minerva, the matron Roma, Sancta Sophia, Mother Church, the University. Now enters the majestic Mother City of London with her champion giants and her Mayor and aldermen: She takes her place beside Alma Mater, the City side by side with the University. The latter signs to Memory to recall the Past, and she convokes the long historic procession of the bearers of the Torch of learning, ancient, medieval and modern, from the archaic Prometheus, discoverer of Fire, onward through Oriental, Greek, Roman, Celtic periods, down to Musica—they hand on the torch until it reaches the Present. To her then the City beckons and she calls forth the new torch bearers—a procession of modern figures expressive of the activities of the modern city—an angel bearing the model of St. Paul's Cathedral, craftsmen of all kinds, artists of Business, of Health (even the Sweeper), of Fine Art, Colleges, Culture-institutes: and the Aviator enters as the modern Hermes, messenger of the Future. The future comes running in and takes from the Present the Torch of Learning. And then enters Hope—she is followed by Peace, though as yet at a distance. Music joins the hands of Alma Mater and City—the former gathers for the City the apple of Knowledge for which all hold out their hands, and the City returns the gift with grapes she gathers from the Vine of Life. This beautiful scene is full of the symbolism of the unity of Labour and Learning, City and University and of civic and cultural progress: it is at once a veritable Mystery Play in itself presented by the University for the enlightenment of the citizen and a veritable Morality Play, presented by the City for the edification of the scholar and the great and wonderful Masque fittingly ends in this great synthetic Tableau.

W.

Note. 'The masque is explained in two booklets = 'The Masque of Ancient Learning' and 'The Masque of Medieval and Modern Learning', published by Geddes and Colleagues. The Outlook Tower, Castle Hill, Edinburgh. Price 6d. each.

AGRICULTURAL DEMONSTRATIONS

IN the Bengal Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr in reply to a question of the Hon'ble Mr. Chakravarti, said that "District Agricultural officers will organise and supervise demonstrations to show in a practical manner the beneficial results of improved methods of agriculture, and of the use of new implements and machinery," and that they will also "collect information about crops and agricultural practices." Now our Agricultural Department has been in existence for little less than half a century. During this time Asia has seen the rise of nations from the lowest depths of barbarism to the very top of civilization. During this long time our Agricultural Department has been feeding our agricultural population with these demonstrations and these informations about crops and agricultural practices. And yet the public are not aware that these costly demonstrations of the so-called "beneficial results of improved methods" and "new implements and machinery" have made much impression on the agricultural population of Bengal. The Agricultural Department does not publish statistics to show that these "beneficial results," whomsoever else they may have benefited, have really benefited the agricultural classes of Bengal. It is time now to consider whether there is not something radically wrong in our methods of procedure,—whether we have not been rolling a Sisyphus's stone these many years. The object of the Agricultural Department is or at least ought to be primarily to train our agricultural classes to *improved* methods of agriculture, or speaking more correctly, to introduce among them more profitable methods of agriculture. Western methods of farming requiring complicated and expensive machinery are usually spoken of as improved—though they would not necessarily be more profitable for the Indian Rayat. We should never forget that the Indian Rayat has to work under conditions so radically different from those of his

European brother,—that there cannot be any presumption whatever, that because a machine or a method is profitable for a European farmer, it will also be so for an Indian Rayat. It is enough to say one often meets with people who make this mistake. The Rayat is indeed a farmer but his European brother would be ashamed to dignify him with the title of farmer—a name that even the crowned heads of Europe are proud to bear. An average European farmer has a farm extending over many hundreds of acres, while the average Indian Rayat has a farm extending over only three or four acres. A European farmer's land is usually situated in one compact block and well fenced in, while that of the Indian Rayat is divided in a number of very small plots and that too scattered in opposite directions in one neighbourhood,—so that it is impossible to fence it in. While the European farmer is usually a large capitalist, the Indian Rayat has almost no capital, except what he can borrow from the *Mahajan* at a fabulous rate of interest on the security of his small holding.

In suggesting improvements or giving demonstrations for the benefit of these Rayats, our agricultural experts—specially those who are imbued with European ideas—should never lose sight of the conditions under which the Rayat has to work. Labored and expensive demonstrations can do little good to him. Scientific methods of treatment requiring the careful handling of Chemicals, often poisonous, are altogether out of place—till the Rayat has received a general as well as some technical education. The imported machinery and implements, even such cheap ones as the Planet Junior hand-hoe costing only Rs. 20,—are too dear for the Rayat. Indeed we have to proceed very cautiously—studying all the conditions under which the Rayat has to work. There is no room for any display. The scientific agriculturist is to imagine

himself a Rayat, and as if he were a Rayat himself, should try without any increased outlay of capital, what science can do in the way of either reducing the cost or of increasing the out-turn. Before the Indian Rayat has learnt to stand on his own legs, you need not waste your time and the public money in teaching him to fly in an aeroplane.

No less an authority than Dr. Voelcker after completing his survey of the agriculture of India and after coming into direct contact with the agricultural classes gave the Rayat as a class great credit for common sense—supporting him in some of his time-honoured practices which had been ridiculed by the superficial critics among the experts of the Agricultural Department. It is not to be expected that the Rayat ignorant and illiterate though he is—with his strong instinct of self-preservation, will be misled by those demonstrations of the Agricultural Department which are occasionally given at fairs and *melas*—much like brilliant pyrotechnic displays to surprise and amuse the Rayat. We should be glad if he does not regard these demonstrations as traps to decoy him from his old moorings, to follow a will o' the wisp of uncertain and untested methods and implements, and compass his own ruin. The Rayat will not also be befooled by mere imaginary tables of probable costs and out-turns or anything short of the actual employment of capital for profit—for the Rayat though apparently so simple has enough brains to look upon the tables as a mere jugglery of figures. His instinct of self-preservation makes the Rayat to reject the untested opinions—however well-grounded—of the mere scientific expert who in the Rayat's eyes, seems to have no permanent interest at stake in the success or failure of these opinions. For nearly the last thirty years the agricultural department has been advertising new implements and machinery, mostly of European or American make, but the agricultural classes have not cared for them—though perhaps in rare cases, they have learnt by bitter experience not to care for them. Three or four years ago we remember to have seen in a rice mill of Howrah, an improved rice-huller—the “Engelberg”—of American make, which cost the proprietor some hundreds and did very good work for

a few days—as the proprietor told us, but a single screw happening to be lost by accident it became useless and there it lay for years absolutely of no use, for that screw, the proprietor told us, could not be replaced in Calcutta. Let the reader imagine how the Rayat farmer in a remote country place would fare with one of these improved implements of foreign make. Thus an improved implement however useful in the country of their birth, may be not only too expensive for the Rayat, but from his ignorance or carelessness in handling them may be a positive source of loss to him.

Similarly with regard to the so-called improved methods of Agriculture. What may be in the eye of abstract science of the highest value in agriculture may from the atmosphere of ignorance and illiteracy in which the Rayat lives, moves, and has his being, may be almost of no value, if not positively dangerous for the Rayat. Take for example the elaborate work done by the entomologist or the mycologist in Agriculture. They have already made and are still making large additions to the world's stock of knowledge regarding the insect and fungoid pests of the farm. The work they do is indeed very good work in the abstract; but in reference to the illiterate Rayats of the country, the value of their work is almost *nil*. The entomologist has been recommending the use of Carbon bisulphide as the most effective remedy against insect attack on stored grain. Let the reader think whether within a measurable distance of time the Rayat can be trusted to handle such dangerous chemicals. The mycologist with his Bordeaux mixture or his corrosive sublimate, would not fare any better. Before the Indian Rayat has learnt to walk, you would not expect him to soar. Indian agriculture in its present stage will not thrive if fed on such pabulum. Between scientific agriculture as imported from the West and the local conditions in which the Indian Rayat is born and brought up, there is at present a great gulf which must be bridged before the one can be adapted to the needs of the other. I would mean no reflection on any class of experts as such, and yet for the sake of truth I am bound to say that to bridge this gulf the agricultural policy of the Government needs to be moulded by experts thoroughly familiar with Indian conditions,

who should be allowed to take the initiative, organise plans of work to suit all the endless variations of local condition among the Rayats in different parts of India— which in the nature of thing is impossible for any foreigner, however exceptional his talents or his education, to grasp.

To make the Agricultural Demonstrations given by the Agricultural Department effective,—the first thing to be done is to convince the Rayat that even with such resources as he possesses, it is possible to make a larger profit than he actually does. It is a great mistake to use all the resources that the Government can command to give a striking demonstration—without any regard to the amount of capital employed for the purpose, or the profit actually derived from the operation. Everything should be done to make the Rayat feel that the demonstrations of the Government are not meant for mere *Tamashas*, but for models to guide the Rayat's daily life. Keeping the real problem before their eyes—that of showing a greater profit with the same capital as the Rayat's, let the demonstrations be given by the Department working a farm consecutively for 5 or 6 years—for real profit—on an area of land about equal to that of the average Rayat of the locality, and a working capital not much exceeding that of an average Rayat. Or better still, let the Agricultural Department arrange with a Rayat, and take over temporary charge of his farm and show by

actual demonstration that under conditions in every respect similar to those of the Rayat—it is quite easy to draw according to the improved methods taught by the Department, and with the use of the implements recommended, but without any additional capital, a larger profit than the Rayat is doing, and that those methods and implements are well adapted to the conditions under which the Rayat has to work. The sites for these demonstrations may be shifted from center to center, in different localities. The plan is extremely simple and would be comparatively inexpensive; at the same time it is bound to be effective in as much as the lessons given by the Department beginning from the very A, B, C of scientific agriculture, would be brought home to the Rayat by the certain prospect of securing a higher profit with his existing resources. In following the plan here suggested, the Agricultural Department would have followed the right line of action and if I may be permitted to say so, would fully justify its existence. If on the other hand the Agricultural Department with their improved methods and implements working a farm under conditions similar to the Rayat, fail to show a higher profit; or if the Department be unwilling to work a farm on such conditions, it will serve as an eye-opener, and help all concerned to understand the real situation.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

THE Simultaneous Examination Question is perhaps not yet forgotten in India.

The Resolution of the House of Commons passed on 2nd June 1893, was not given effect to because it was feared that a large number of Indians would succeed in passing the Competitive Examinations and thus enter the Indian Civil Service. It was considered not expedient politically to largely increase the number of Indians in the ranks of Indian Civil Service. The hue and cry raised against the Resolution by the

Anglo-Indian Press and Anglo-Indian officials seems to indicate as if the British supremacy in India would be swept away if Simultaneous Examinations were held in Great Britain and India. If it was not safe to admit Indians in large number in the Civil Service (for, even the then Secretary of State in forwarding the Resolution of the House of Commons to Government of India for report stated in plain language that no proposal would be entertained which did not provide for an adequate number of

employment of Englishmen) the question is will it be safe to fill the ranks of the Medical Services with the natives of India?

The Indian Civil Service was created for the executive and medical administration of India. Its members are the rulers of the country. It is therefore considered politically unsafe and inexpedient that the ruled class i. e., the natives of India should be admitted in large numbers in the ranks of the rulers of the country. It was on that account that the Resolution of the House of Commons has been suffered to remain a dead letter. On the ground of political expediency the Public Service Commission recommended that one sixth only of the appointments usually held by Covenanted Civil Service should be thrown open to members of the Provincial Service, while Lord Wenlock, whose was the only Government in India which supported the Simultaneous Examination resolution, considered that one-third of the appointments in the Civil Service might be filled by Indians without any danger resulting therefrom to the British rule in India.

Could it be urged then, as in the case of the Civil Service, that it is not politically expedient to increase the number of Indians in the Medical Services of India? I think any one in his senses will hardly venture to raise such an objection, for members of the medical services are not rulers, and they have no voice in the administration of the country. Medical men in all countries and more especially in India, are no better than peaceful citizens, and by the larger employment of Indians in the Medical Services, power will not slip out of the hands of the rulers to the ruled.

Why is it that Indians are not admitted as Commissioned Combatant Officers in the Army? For the simple reason that it is not politically expedient to do so. But it has been found *not politically inexpedient* to throw open the competitive examination for admission into the Indian Medical Service to the natives of India. The whole of the Indian Army may be well officered by Indian medical men with great economy to the State and benefit to the Sepoys. The medical officers are non-combatant. Those who have followed the changes that have taken place in the titles of the members of the Army and Indian Medical Services

must have realized the fact that medical officers had hardly any status in the Army, and even the present titles do not much improve their position. In the army, medical officers are looked upon by the combatants more or less as camp followers. No question then of political expediency will stand in the way of largely employing Indians as medical officers in the military Department. In the Civil Medical Department also the considerations of political expediency will not bar employment of Indians in large numbers. What do they mean then who cry that there is danger in largely employing Indians in the Medical Services of this country? *They mean selfishness. The only danger* would be the deprivation of bread and butter of a good many natives of England who as birds of passage in India feather well their nest at the expense of the Indians.

Anglo-Indian men and particularly their women in India do not like to be treated by Indian medical men. The Army is wholly officered by Englishmen; Civil Service consists most of them also. They argue that Anglo-Indian population will suffer as far as medical aid is concerned by a large employment of Indians in the Medical Services. Of course convenience of thousands of natives should be sacrificed for the welfare of a single Anglo-Indian, because the latter belongs to the ruling class. His wants should be gratified first. It is a sad fact that the race prejudice has gone so far in India that considerations of efficiency and economy are sacrificed in the interests of a certain class or community. But we think in stations where the number of Anglo-Indian officers is large enough, they could raise subscriptions amongst themselves and ask a medical practitioner from England to come and settle in the station to treat them and their families. Anglo-Indians are very richly paid and moreover they draw Exchange Compensation. If they and their women-folk do not like to be treated by dark-skinned Indian doctors, we think the State should not be made to suffer on account of their prejudices. For years together the English system of medicine was not popular amongst the vast majority of the Indian population and we doubt if it is even popular now. But here the wishes of the tax-payers were not considered. The

European system of medical aid was forced upon them. Government did not patronize Hakims and Vaidas to treat the Indian population who has faith in the skill of their indigenous medical men. Why should Government then, professing to be impartial take into consideration the wishes and interests of a handful of Anglo-Indians only in the employment of Indians in the Medical Services of the country more largely than at present.

Some of the hospitals in Great Britain have shut their doors against the admission of Indians as medical students. Imperialism has made such strides in the countries of the West, that colored races are not looked upon as equals of white peoples. So natives of Great Britain do not like to be treated in their illness by any doctor of color. Under the circumstances, it is not desirable that any Indian should proceed to England for prosecuting his medical studies.

The curriculum of studies prescribed in the Medical Colleges of this country is considered so efficient that medical degrees granted

by Indian Universities are registrable in Great Britain and their holders can compete for the Indian Medical Service Examination without possessing any English qualification. If India exists for the services then nothing can be said against the present arrangement of conducting the Services Examinations in England. But if the Services exist for India, then does it not stand to reason that the examination for entering the Service should be held in India and India alone?

After seven year's service, medical servants should be required to proceed to Europe or America to prosecute their studies in some special subjects and unless they gain proficiency in them, their promotion to higher grades should be stopped. By so doing, the State will get the best men for its services, men equal to, if not better than, medical servants in other civilized countries of the world. Let the Royal Commission on the public services take this into due consideration, and recommend the Government to do away with the Service Examination in England.

DOCTOR.

THE ORAONS OF CHOTA NAGPUR

I

POPULATION AND PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

*A dusky race;—
Iron-jointed, supple-sinew'd, they shall
dive, and they shall run,
Catch the wild-goat by the hair, and
hurl their lances in the sun.*
—TENNYSON.

OF all the districts in India none possesses a greater interest for the anthropologist than the Rānchi District, otherwise known as Chotā Nāgpūr proper. It is a great centre of aboriginal tribes. Of these tribes the Orāons, a Dravidian people, rank first in numerical strength and only second to the Mūndās in importance. The topographical situation of the Chotā Nāgpūr plateau, rising, as it does, to a great elevation above the surrounding districts to its North, South, and East, from which the approach lies through

precipitous forest-covered *ghats* or passes,—has helped in the preservation, within this secluded plateau, of many primitive customs and institutions, practices and beliefs, for which the anthropologist will look in vain in most other parts of the Empire.

(I) POPULATION.

Of the various tribes and castes inhabiting the Ranchi District the Orāons, as we have said, are the most numerous. They are indeed a very prolific people. In one decade (1901-1911), their number appears to have increased by over twenty-five per cent. At the census of 1911, the total number of Orāons, exclusive of Christian converts, was found to be 751,983. Of these—373,095 were males and 378,888 females. As many as 157,414 Orāons returned themselves as Hindus, whereas 594,569 were entered as pure animists.



An Oraon Panchayet holding their deliberations.

The distribution of the non-Christian Orāon population by Provinces is as follows:—

Bihar and Orissa,	... 474,673.
Bengal,	... 165,628.
Berar and the Central Provinces.	... 83,049.
Assam.	... 28,583.

The Ranchi District alone contains as many as 310,121 non-Christian Orāons, and the adjoining district of Palamau 36,611.

The Orāons, like other Dravidian tribes,

Physical characteristics.

are a short-statured, narrow-headed (dolicho-cephalic) and broad-nosed (platyrrhine) people. The colour of their skin is dark-brown; their hair is black and coarse with an occasional tendency to curl, and though wooly hair is rare, I have met with one or two Orāons whose hair is distinctly so. Although the hair is plentiful on the scalp, it is not so on the cheeks, lips and other parts of the Orāon's body. Such scanty beard and moustache as he has, begin to appear rather late, generally not before a lad is out of his teens.

The eyes are medium-sized, the colour of iris is dark, and there is no obliquity in the axis of the eye-lids. His jaws are projecting, and lips rather thick. The calves of the legs are pretty well-developed.

The average anthropometric indices for a hundred Orāons measured by Sir Herbert Risley are as follows:—

(i) Stature:—

Average	... 1'621 m.
Maximum	... 1'744 m.
Minimum	... 1'480 m.

(ii) Proportions of the head:—

(Gabelo-occipital) Length:

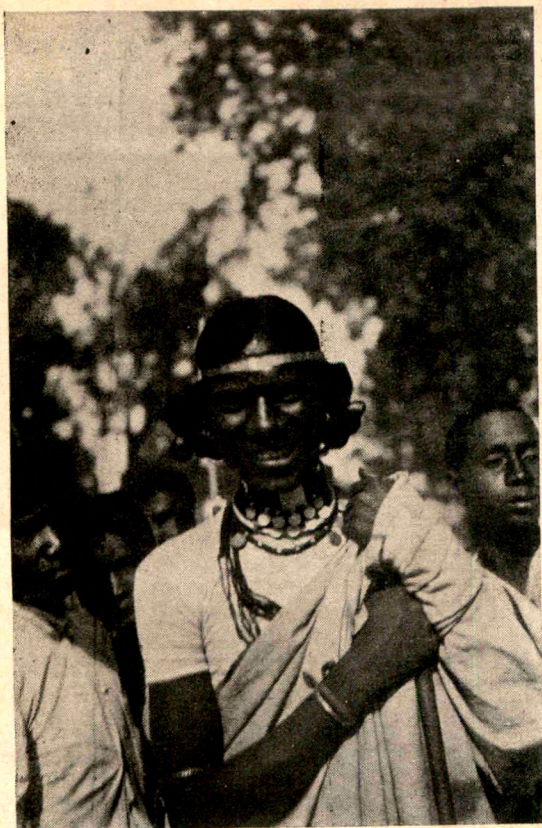
Average	... 184.6
Maximum	... 198
Minimum	... 165

Extreme breadth:

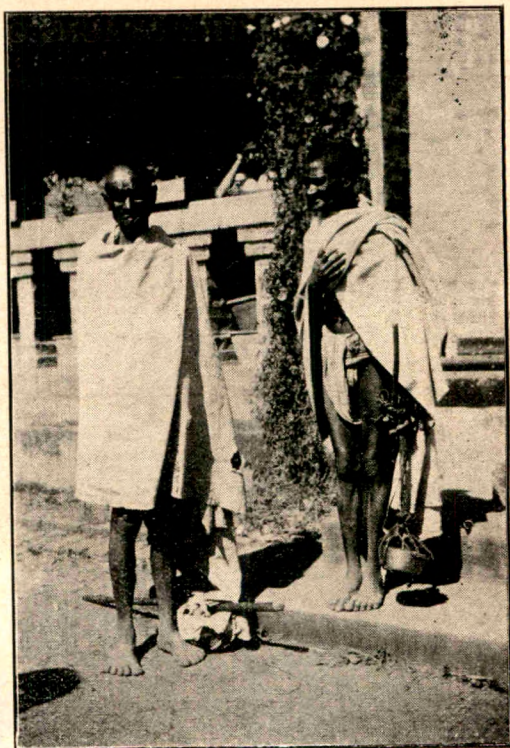
Average	... 139.3
Maximum	... 158
Minimum	... 131

Cephalic Index:—

Average	... 75.4
Maximum	... 87
Minimum	... 67



Type of Oraon young man.
 (The Circular ornament on the head is called
chilpitayna and is made of brass.)



Oraon old men.

[The man on the right is carrying his meal on a brass dish slung on a rope *sika* tied to the *bahinga* pole.]



Oraon women returning with water from the village
 spring (*dari*): two of them are carrying their brass



Oraon boys with bows and arrows.



Oraon War dance.

(iii) Proportions of the Nose.

<i>Height:—</i>	
Average	... 46.2
Maximum	... 53
Minimum	... 38
<i>Breadth:—</i>	
Average	... 39.8
Maximum	... 47
Minimum	... 34
<i>Orbito-nasal Index:—</i>	
Average	... 86.1
Maximum	... 113
Minimum	... 70

It is fair to add, however, that notwithstanding their 'low' features, the natural beauty of healthy cheerfulness and simplicity in Oraon youngmen and women invest them with a certain amount of comeliness. But Oraons of either sex, when past middle age, are rather ungainly in appearance.

ATTITUDES AND MOVEMENTS, AND

PHYSICAL POWERS.

The Oraon is sturdy in his limbs and erect in his bearing. His body is well-balanced and the feet firmly planted in walking. His legs are straightened but the toes are slightly turned out in walking and running. In walking, his arms hang habitually with the palm of the hand rather to the front, when not actually dangling backwards and forwards. The joints are generally pliable. The habitual posture when standing at ease is for the hands to hang at the sides, and, one foot to be turned a little outwards. When standing at attention his arms are

either joined together at the back, or one arm is placed akimbo. The habitual posture for sleep is to lie on the side. At dinner, the Oraon generally sits with his knees turned upwards. An average adult male can carry a burden of about two munds (160 lbs.) on his shoulders without difficulty. In one day he can carry such a load to a distance of about thirty or thirty-five miles; and this he can do for several days in succession. I have found an Oraon walking twenty three miles of more or less undulating road, in less than five hours with a heavy load on his shoulders;

and the man did not look very much fatigued at the end of his journey, and assured me he could have proceeded further on his journey the same day if it were necessary. And this man was neither a man of more than average strength nor a habitual load-carrier. The usual method of carrying loads in vogue amongst the Oraons and other aboriginal tribes of the Ranchi District is to take them on a *sika bahinga* (Oraon: *ugi epla*) composed of two rope-suspenders hanging one from each end of a wooden pole placed cross-wise over the shoulders. Women in carrying a jar of water or other burden usually carry it poised on the head.

In moving heavy objects they habitually push rather than pull; that is to say, exert power from body rather than towards it.

The axe or the hoe is used in the way customary with most Indian labourers, namely, by seizing hold of the handle with both hands, raising it to some height from the ground and then bearing it down on the ground or on the object attacked. The Oraon is a good hill-climber. A favourite pastime with Oraon boys is to go up the top of a barren hill with

Climbing. a number of leafy twigs and there to seat themselves in a row, each on one of the twigs, with the legs stretched forward, and, in this posture, to slip down the sloping side of the hill. Men and women are good tree-climbers. And the inability of a wife to



Oraon Dance.

climb trees well, is sometimes urged as a valid ground for divorce, for, the leaves of several kinds of trees are eaten as *sags* and it is one of the ordinary duties of a wife to gather them. The Orāons do not use any mechanical aids or special methods in climbing. Riding is not usual with this people: for, the average Orāon cannot afford the luxury of owning a horse. But Orāon boys frequently amuse themselves by riding buffaloes while grazing them or taking them home after ploughing. The average young man is good at running and jumping. An average Orāon can run long distances,—three miles or more at a stretch,—at a moderate speed. He is a good walker, too. He can go on walking day after day at an average rate of from thirty to thirty-five miles.

Riding

Running, jumping and walking.

Rowing and paddling, swimming and diving.

As there are no rivers worth speaking of within the Ranchi District, Orāons rarely row or paddle. Owing to the paucity of good tanks and rivers in the district, all Orāons cannot

swim and dive. Those who can, swim at a fairly good speed, and dive head foremost. The Orāons are good shots with the bow and arrow.

Physical Endurance.

In repose an average Orāon adult can abstain from food for twenty-four hours, and in exercise for about twelve hours without much inconvenience. As for sleep, although an Orāon generally spends about seven hours out of twenty-four in bed, he can abstain from sleep for a whole night without much difficulty. On occasions of their periodical socio-religious ceremonies, Orāon young men and women usually spend two, three, or more consecutive nights in dancing and singing and indulge in very little sleep. The Orāon can bear cold very well, as well as exposure to the direct rays of the sun,—with his head uncovered.

Such are some of the outward characteristics of Orāon life in Chota Nagpur. In the youth of both sexes, exuberance of health and spirits, a delight in all physical activities, and taking life easy; in the aged of both sexes, dullness and listlessness and in many cases an inordinate love

of drink, born perhaps of a sense of relief that their life's work has been somehow fumbled through,—and that reckonings have been somehow made even with the superior powers, visible and invisible, that have so long threatened to harass

them at every step of their journey through life;—these are the prominent outward features of Orāon life that impress the observer.

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

A CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY SERMON

[THE following sermon was preached before the University of Cambridge at the opening of the University Extension lectures last summer. The subject of the lectures was the 'British Empire with special reference to India,' and I was asked specially to preach on imperial responsibilities.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.]

Two facts stand out to-day with remarkable clearness in the East, both of great moral significance. On the one hand, the national movement has awakened to new activity the educated classes in India, and is leading to great social changes: at the same time the race or colour problem,—the conflict of ideals and sentiments between the European and non-European races,—has assumed alarming proportions. These two facts are not independent. The race antagonism gives strength to the national movement: the national movement is partly an expression of race feeling.

From the Christian standpoint the most painful feature of the times is our present unpreparedness to meet the new situation. We seem to have lost for a time our bearings and to be in danger of drifting forward, rather than taking the lead, with regard to serious and important issues. Among Englishmen abroad, and especially among colonials, a settled attitude of aloofness from non-European races is growing stronger, without any clear appreciation of the Christian moral standard.

It is true that we pray daily, in every Church in India, Bishop Cotton's noble prayer "Almighty God who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth," but in actual, average practice we deny the implication.

It is not that there is any lack of high minded Christian men and women in the East who desire to do their Christian duty. There are many such, and they are of the salt of the earth. But the difficulty that confronts them is to know clearly what their Christian duty is in the new situations which they are called upon to face. The Christian teachers have not made clear their message, and the Christian people, often the best and noblest of them, are adrift. They look for guidance from the church, and the voice of the church is hesitating and uncertain.

It is not easy for those who have never travelled beyond Europe to realize the gravity of the situation abroad. The race question has no meaning for most of us in England. Yet we cannot on that account avoid sharing the responsibility for what is happening in the East. For we send out year by year from our shores, governors of vast provinces, civilians, officers, soldiers, sailors, colonists, merchants, traders. And if these, through lack of training take up a wholly un-Christian attitude, we are ourselves to-blame. In our English country and town parishes there are children being taught in Christian schools whose future influence in India will be enormous, either for good or evil. Cannot these be saved, while still young, from an ignorance on these great world issues, which will be almost certain to lead them astray when they get older and go abroad?

Let me give examples of the vastness of the race questions now awaiting solution. There is, first of all, the basis of the British Empire itself. Is it merely commercial,—to exploit other races, especially in the tropics, where armed resistance to our modern deadly

weapons of war is feeble? Or is it Christian, —to do our duty, in the fear of God, on behalf of other races with whom we come in contact; to put down oppression, not to create it?

Secondly, as we settle down for long periods of time in countries such as India,—countries with noble civilizations of their own and high ideals, are we to hold ourselves aloof, and take up a superior attitude on the ground of race? Or are we to mix and sympathise freely, and show our brotherhood in every way possible, acting on the principle of *noblesse oblige*?

Thirdly, with regard to labour in the tropics, are we, as Christian Englishmen, ready to set our face utterly against anything approaching slavery? Or are we to acquiesce in a system of indentured labour, which touches slavery at every point in its worst aspects, and sets society on an unnatural and inhuman basis?

Fourthly, with regard to citizenship, are we ready to welcome as fellow citizens on terms of equality those of other races, within the British dominions, who are men and women of education and refinement? Or are we prepared to acquiesce in laws of exclusion which are based on race alone?

On the side of the national movement in the East there are even weightier problems arising. For example, there is the policy, put forward constantly in the Press, of forcible suppression of national sentiment. Such a policy is now openly advocated by private individuals, who do not appear to see that there is any breach of Christian principle in such an attitude. There is, again, the great constructive problem of the preservation of the indigenous life of the peoples over whom our rule is exercised. Are we as statesmen, or as educators, or as missionaries, prepared to see that indigenous life perish through our mishandling? Are we prepared to impose, reckless of consequence, our own western forms of government, culture and religion? We are ready to declaim loudly about the Vandalism of the past: we do not realize that we ourselves are in danger of becoming Vandals in our turn.

Many other points might be mentioned which cry out for a Christian solution. I cannot do more, to-day, than hint at what that solution may be and point out where it may be found.

First, as to race distinctions, we have the clearest possible teaching from St. Paul stating definitely the only legitimate Christian position. Race distinctions and privileges, he declares emphatically, are done away in Christ. All races of mankind are equal in the eyes of God who is no respecter of persons. To claim race privilege is to deny the very basis of the Christian religion. 'If any man preach another Gospel,' St. Paul declares, 'let him be anathema.' 'In Christ' he says again and again 'there can be neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but all are one Man in Christ Jesus'.

To break down the barriers of race and religion between the Jew and the Greek was the greatest struggle of St. Paul's own life. The universal character of the Christian religion was the issue involved in the struggle. St. Paul was ready to face bonds and imprisonment and death itself on the issue of that one great conflict. And in the end he won. The Church accepted his position.

What St. Paul thus gained for the Christian religion at such tremendous cost, the early Church never abandoned. There were different races within Christendom,—but no colour-bar. Asiatics, Africans, Europeans, formed one Church together. We never ask ourselves what was the colour of the skin of an Athanasius or an Augustine.

This practice of Catholicity remained a characteristic feature of the Christian religion during long ages of Church history. The modern change to race distinctions appears to be due to historical causes which can be accurately determined.

Owing to corruption and worldliness Christianity lost its influence in Africa and the East and became almost confined to Europe. The once flourishing Eastern and African Churches were very nearly obliterated. The Western Church was isolated, and its view of the human race became more and more narrowed and bigoted. Outside Europe, the world of humanity was pictured as a world of heathen darkness. When at last the New World was discovered, an attitude was taken up towards the non-European races, which was savage and inhuman. The Christian Church gave its approval to the tortures of the Inquisi-

tion and the abominations the slave traffic. It is little wonder if, in conditions such as these, the vision of Christ, the meek and lowly Son of Man, became obscured. The European conscience was blunted for a time, and passively accepted these evils, heedless of the inevitable nemesis which would ensue.

It is true, thank God, that both these abominations have now been swept away. Slavery and the Inquisition have both become abhorrent to the Christian conscience. But the evil legacy of the past is still heavy upon us. It still controls our tastes and instincts far more than we imagine. It has a terrible stronghold in our sub-conscious mind. One has only to watch the expression of race-prejudice hardening on the face of some generous young Englishman fresh out from home, or worse still, on the face of some gentle English lady, to understand how deep-seated the evil is.

What is needed in our own day is a strong and healthy reaction against this evil tradition of the past; a deepening of shame and contrition for our unpardonable sins; less boasting about the magnitude and magnificence of our Empire while this disease at its very centre remains unhealed; more careful teaching in our schools (and may I add? especially in our Sunday schools) concerning the history and traditions of races other than our own. We, missionaries, need especially to repent of our evil record of abuse of other nations, and to take diligent care that it is not repeated. A great University like this at Cambridge can do much by enlarging the borders of education to remove false impressions and set a more healthy tone.

When we come to the second great factor of the national movement, we go for our direct teaching to St. Paul's ideal of the body of humanity, of which Christ, the Son of Man is the head,—

"Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it."

In this ideal of the Body of Humanity, there is the fullest possible scope for national development. It is, indeed, the character of national rights and liberties. In the Roman Empire itself,—that confused medley of mankind,—Christianity from the first produced distinctive life and variety of charter.

Dill and Bigg and Glover have pointed out, how fresh and manifold were the Christian activities in the different provinces, causing national distinctions to arise in each; and through the Christian centuries the same fact has been continually made evident. The Christian Church has been the nursing mother of nations. We have only to look at our English history for a signal example.

But that which we English men and English women have received, we must be ready, nay, eager to give. To watch, for example, a noble but weak nation perish, through our supineness or neglect, must be to us unthinkable. We ought to feel the injury as our very own, and suffer with the weaker nation. Again, to be ourselves the instruments of suppressing high national hopes, must be to us even more unthinkable. Rather, we have a solemn duty to perform to that body of humanity to which we all belong.

"Whether one member suffers all the members suffer with it; and one member rejoice all the members rejoice with it."

Freely we have received from our Christian forefathers, liberty, justice, national integrity: let us freely give, as far as is in our power, the same great blessings to others, whether in India, in Persia, in Egypt, or in Turkey. Let us not neglect in our own day and generation, either through race prejudice, or commercial greed, or political expediency, the great ideals of the great Victorians,—men such as Canning and Lawrence, Edwardes and Outram,—and I may surely add the name of our great and good Queen Victoria herself.

There are, indeed, many and great difficulties besetting the path I have outlined in a country which must still be governed by foreigners,—the pathway of race equality and encouragement of national aspiration. I have not spoken of these, but I should be the last to ignore them. I have been dealing only with the great positive principles which underlie our Christian religion; and I hold as strongly as possible that the difficulties will vanish only in so far as we uphold and obey these Christian principles.

We have, to-day, in our midst leaders worthy to rank with the great Victorians,—men who have won the confidence of other races by their sympathy, courage and impartial justice. We have also, I firmly be-

lieve, in spite of much that is altogether bad and reactionary, a growing body of public opinion in support of generous principles. What we need is the strength and inspiration that comes from an all-embracing movement such as that which put an end to slavery during last century.

Above all we need continually to go back to the vision of Christ, the Son of Man. Let our resolves be strong that nothing shall find a place in our imperial ideas and our treatment of other races which would be unworthy of His Name.

ORIENTALIA

By S. KUMAR.

Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient, tome. 12, fasc. 3.—The fasciculus under review comprises a catalogue of the Khmer Museum of Phnom Pen compiled by Mons. H. Parmentier. The Museum contains a large number of Sanskrit and old Khmer inscriptions, numerous specimens of sculptures, icons and architectural fragments; specimens of metal-works illustrative of the ancient Cambodgien art are also largely in evidence. The Hindu pantheon is very well represented and the finely carved images of such members thereof as Siva, Uma, Ganesa, Visnu, Laksmi, Garuda, Harihara, Brahma and Indra testify to the popularity which the paوران Brahminism once enjoyed in the Indian colonies of the Far East. A large number of grouped representations of Gods and Goddesses finds also a place in the collection. A good collection of Buddhistic images have been classified and arranged; they are chiefly of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas in diverse attitude. Specimens of architectural fragments in the shape of lintels, columns, capitals, and frescoes in basso-relievo as well as in alto-relievo have been properly arranged and catalogued. The specimens of paintings, jewelleries and potteries of both classical and modern epochs form not a very inconsiderable part of the collection and have received due attention of the compiler.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, pp., 3.—In the present number of the periodical, Prof. Jacobi has contributed two discourses on the dates of the Chola and the Pandya Kings based on the inscriptions forwarded

to him by the late Mr. Venkaya: the conclusions thereof are such as would require the revision of the tables of dates for south India which find acceptance at present, with the majority of the Indologists.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, pp. 2.—The most abiding interest of this number of the Journal centres round Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's History of the Chahmans of Marwar. The entire paper is built up of epigraphic evidences. The inscriptions are arranged in chronological sequence and all of them have been edited from the original impressions.

Indian Antiquary, Dec. 1912.—An article under the superscription of the learned editor of the journal appears in the issue under review which seems to be of considerable interest to the students of the history of the Indian Buddhism. An attempt has been made therein to arrive at a definite conclusion with regard to the vexed question of the Ajivakas of the seventh Pillar-Edict of Asoka. Dr. Kern and Prof. Bühler understood it to mean a sect of the Vaisnavas. The Ajivakas were noted for their ascetic practices and appear to have been in existence long before the rise of Buddhism. Prof. Hultsch considers them to be Jainas but does not specify any ground in support of his position. They were neither Buddhists as were mistaken by the Jainas, nor Jainas even in the later times, but formed a distinct sect. The most celebrated exponent of their doctrines was Makkhali Gosāla a contemporary of Buddha. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 1912, pt. 4.—

In the part under review of the periodical an article of considerable interest has been contributed by Mr. J. R. McClean on the "Origin of Weight." An attempt has been made herein, to trace from the beginning the employment by man, of the physical phenomenon of gravity since the days of the stone age. The author takes it for granted that the ideas and actions of early man were absolutely simple and says that the present conception of weight as a form of measurement is not an elementary idea. He is of opinion that the elementary idea with regard to this particular conception must have been a fixed size of an ascertained material, probably conceived in the amount that a man could carry. He adduces evidences from the Egyptian records translated by Prof. Breasted, that the earliest practical employment of weight was for the ascertainment of the quantities of precious metals, and that the Egyptians manufactured small weights out of stone before the end of the Old Kingdom, so that the idea of weight had by that time become separated from the material in which it primarily existed. In the early days of barter a fixed standard of quantity was maintained which found the basis of comparison and hence of price. The measures of number and capacity were the earliest reckoners employed, and they were perfectly adequate for the purposes of ordinary barter. But when a new material, however, was introduced in the form of wealth, necessity

was felt for the determination of different volumes of a precious material thus put in vogue; the value of capacity as a determinant of price was found quite inadequate for a substance which depended upon its weight for its worth. Thus weight was improvised and its elementary use was to ascertain the value of the newly ascertained precious metal by its specific weight or gravity. The precious metal referred to was gold. The varying weights of different qualities were so apparent that they forced upon the Egyptians the necessity of assessing the value of quantities of precious material. The author conjectures that electrum which was at one time largely imported into Egypt, by its comparison with the pure gold probably gave the necessary object lesson to the Egyptians of the value of weight as the test for worth in precious metal. This dates so far back as about the time of Thothmes II. The weighing scene of the Last Judgment described in the Book of the Dead has in it all the elements of truth with regard to the use of the balances by the Egyptians. The Greeks were indebted to their more civilised neighbours for this standard of measurement, and in fact, the Greek word 'Istyma' carries the Egyptian idea of estimating of gold and silver. Xenophon gives in his "Cyropædea" (8, 2 and 21) and in his Memorabilia the process of valuing goods in much the same way as took place with the Egyptians.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ENGLISH.

A System of Indian Scientific Terminology (Chemistry) Part I. The Nonmetallic Elements. By Prof. Manindra Nath Banerjee, M.A., F.C.S. Price Re. 1 (including Part II.)

A feeling is growing among Indian scientists especially in Bengal to publish their researches in the vernacular. There is also a great demand for popular books on scientific subjects written in the vernacular. But writers are greatly hampered from want of a standard system of nomenclature. Though learned societies like the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta and Nagri Pracharini Sabha at Benares have from time to time published lists of scientific terms, these have not found favour with the authors generally

on account of harshness and nonresemblance to existing European terminology. Prof. Manindra Nath have tried to solve the problem by coining words of Sanskrit origin but having striking *phonetic resemblance* to international scientific nomenclature. On account of this special feature Prof. Manindra Nath's terminology can be used throughout India and easily understood and remembered. In the pamphlet under review he has given the terminology of the nonmetallic elements only and we request the author to publish the other parts as soon as possible. We give below a few examples of his terminology. Oxygen—*अक्चजन*। Silicon—*शिलाकण*। Nitrogen—*नेत्रजन*। Chlorine—*कुलहरिण*।

PRAKODHA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAY.

England's Dilemma, by M. De Webb, C. I. E., Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, etc. etc. P. S. King & Son, London. S. A. Natesan, Madras. 7-6 net.

Mr. Webb is well known for his deep knowledge of finance, and it is mainly due to his steady, unrelenting advocacy of a gold standard and an open mint for India that these long neglected matters are again becoming questions of public interest in England.

British politics fall a prey to an inevitable Scylla and Carybdis. Home affairs are engulfed in the whirlpool of party; tossed hither and thither until their battered remains emerge in a well nigh unrecognisable condition. Questions relating to India and foreign parts of the Empire, since they are of no interest to the British electorate and therefore cannot be used to catch votes for either party, are shipwrecked at once on the rocks of indifference.

Gold money had been coined and used in India for at least fourteen centuries up to 1815, when the East India Company in an hour of financial panic, consequent on the opening up of Australian and Californian Gold mines, which threatened the rapid depreciation of gold to an alarming extent, demonetised the gold Mohur and refused to receive gold at the Indian Public Treasuries.

In 1893, in another panic, the Indian Government closed the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, but on the distinct understanding that they would shortly be reopened to the free coinage of gold.

That promise, of such vital importance to the peoples of India, has never to this day been redeemed, in spite of the fact that the Indian Currency Commission of 1898 composed "of eminent men expert in the requirements of commerce and currency unanimously recommended that the Indian mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions similar to those which govern the three Australian branches of the Royal Mint" and urged that the Indian gold reserves should be taken from London and restored to India from whence they should never have been moved.

Mr. Webb lays stress on the great loss suffered by India through the constant withdrawal of her money reserves to London where they are lent out at a rate of interest, with and without security, much below that of the Indian market, instead of being placed at the disposal of the Indian peoples themselves.

"It is here contended that the Secretary of State for India has no shadow of right of any kind or description to withdraw £30,000,000. to £35,000,000 of India's money from India to London in order temporarily to delay the shipment of an equivalent amount of gold to India. It is contended that such a policy not only stultifies itself (in that India will assuredly take the gold due to her sooner or later), but it inflicts grave injustices on India, depriving her, as it does, of capital which she sorely needs for her own development flching a certain amount of interest, her legitimate due, and involving unnecessary taxation upon her not over wealthy millions."

Again the gold reserves held by England are quite notoriously inadequate, so much so that in the opinion of experts, cash payments would have to be suspended if war broke out with a first class power. What would become of India's Gold Standard Reserve in such an emergency? We agree with Mr. Webb that "in trans-

ferring practically the whole of India's Gold Standard Reserve to London and there investing it in securities, the Secretary of State for India is deliberately exposing India to a risk against which it is his first duty to protect her."

We give one quotation from the Chairman's Annual Address to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce 1912.

"The situation is doubly dangerous because not only are the cash reserves of the United Kingdom admittedly inadequate, but the finances of Great Britain are now being manipulated in a way that has seriously impaired the confidence of large sections of the public. Tampering with the Sinking Fund and carrying on the daily business of government by aid of colossal temporary borrowings are not methods that commend themselves to sober financiers. These temporary loans have amounted to as much as thirteen millions sterling. What a contrast in Government financial methods! On the one hand Mr. Lloyd George with an overdraft of £13,000,000 from the London money market, and on the other hand Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson with such a plethora of cash in the Indian treasuries that he is able to spare £12,000,000 or so without any serious embarrassment! But, I ask, why should the people of India be so taxed as to yield these enormous cash surpluses for transfer to London, there to be lent, indirectly of course, to bolster up the unsound finance of Mr. Lloyd George? If the Government of India have any spare cash to lend, there is every reason why that cash should be placed at the disposal of the public in India, not transferred to London and lent out secretly at probably much lower rates to the London money market."

Into Mr. Webb's analysis of England's dilemma of high prices, frequent strikes and increasing labour unrest, consequent on the depreciation of the value of gold, and the connection of all this with the denial of gold to India, we do not now propose to enter. India owes Mr. Webb a debt of gratitude for his courage and determination in forcing this most vital question upon public attention. The book before us is written in the clearest and most straightforward manner; charges, proofs, defences, are all laid out before the reader, with chapter and verse for every assertion, and we most heartily recommend it to the serious attention of all public spirited people.

HILDA M. HOWSIN.

HINDI.

America Bhraman Part I. by Mr. Satyadeva. Printed at the Standard Press, Allahabad, and published by the Satyagranthamala office, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 121. Price—As. 8.

This is the long-announced narrative of Mr. Satyadeva's toilsome travel through 13 states of the United States of America. This was mostly performed on foot, and diverse forms of scenery, manners, customs and things were met with on the way. In this book only a beginning has been made with two States, Washington and Oregon, in the usual interesting and life-like style of the author. The description of "Hobs," an idle and almost innocent set of men, in some places, is rather amusing. Instruction and information are both to be found in the book.

Chandragupta Maurya, by Babu Joyshankar Prasad. Printed at Shree Lakshmi Narayan Press, Jatanbar, Benares City, and to be had of Babu

Ambika Prasad, Savay Govardhan, Benares. Crown 8vo. pp. 80. Price—As. 6.

In this book the different theories of the birth of the famous founder of the Maurya Empire are discussed and the life-history of this great man is reviewed with considerable research and pains. The book has been written on original lines. The language is chaste, while the printing is nice and has been effected on thick paper.

Sandhya, by Mr. Satyadeva. Printed at the Sri-krishna Press, Cawnpore, and published by the Satyagranthamala office, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 11. Price—2 pice.

In this pamphlet the author gives Hindi mantras in which, in imitation of the Sanskrit mantras of the Sandhya, speaking of God and natural forces, determination is made for serving and admiring the mother-country in various ways.

Rashtriya Sandesh, translated by Mr. Narayan Prasad Arora, B.A. and published by Mr. Satyadeva at the Satyagranthamala office, Cawnpore. Printed at the Standard Press, Allahabad. Crown 8 vo. pp. 92. Price—As. six.

This is a translation of the original of Swami Ram-tirtha. The rendering has been correct and idiomatic. Beneath the plans for advancing his fatherland, we see in the Swami's essays, his peculiar religious philosophy. The childlike, homely style of the Swami is perceptible in the translation also. The printing and get-up are nice.

Vaidic Vajiyanti, by B. Madan Mohan Seth, M.A., LL. B., of Bulandshahar, Secretary of the Arya-pratinidhi Sabha, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Printed at the Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow. Crown quarto. Pp. 179. Price—One Rupee.

This is a report of the work of the aforesaid Sabha for the last twenty-five years. The report is divided under several heads. The statistics given in tabular form will prove pretty useful in building up a history of the Arya Samaj. Portraits of several notable men in the Samaj are given; and the different philanthropic and patriotic works of the Samaj have been reviewed. Efforts have been made to show that the misapprehension in some quarters to the effect that the Arya-Samaj is a political body, is baseless. The printing on art-paper is good.

Naripushpavali Part I, by Shreemati Hemant Kumari Chowdhri, Lady Superintendent, Victoria Kanya Vidyalya, Patiyala State and to be had of her. Printed at the Sudarshan Press, Allahabad. Crown 8 vo. pp. 80. Price—anna's four.

In its short biographies of some Indian and European female celebrities, are given in simple and interesting style. The lamented and renowned Queen Victoria heads the list and among the Indian names we find those of the mother of Vidyasagar, Kunti, Savitri and others. Altogether there are 21 lives. निरस on page 7, line 3 should be नीरस.

Rajarsi Bhishm Pitamah, by Mr. Satyadeva. Printed at the Commercial Press, Cawnpore, and published by the Satyagranthamala office, Cawnpore. Crown 8 vo. pp. 75. Price—as. 4.

In it the writer has touched with his fertile pen the

story found in the Mahabharata about Bhishm Pitamah. The firmness and patience of this famous hero are pointed out. No doubt the book will prove eminently useful especially to young men. Such short treatises on the great men of ancient India, written on the basis of all the historical materials at command, will remove a great want in the field of the Hindi Literature.

Navajivan Vidya, published by Babu Pindidas, Proprietor, Pustak Bhandar, Lahori Gate, Lahore, and printed at the Bombay Machine Press, Lahore. Crown 8 vo. pp. 274. Price—Paper cover—Rs. 1-8-0. Board cover—Rs. 1-11-0.

This is a Hindi translation of the English book "The Science of a New Life" and is meant for "all the married and particularly for those who contemplate marriage." The duties and errors of a married life and the requisites of a married couple are dealt with. Though we may not agree with all the views of the author, we must say that the book is very useful and may be safely put in the hands of young people. The translator could have done well to adapt rather than translate the book as he has proposed in the preface. The rendering has been correct and accurate. The advice of advertising for a suitable spouse mentioning all the traits of character in the advertiser, will not sound well to the Indian ears. There are some printing and grammatical errors over and above those pointed out in the list of errata. On the whole, we must say that the Hindi translation of such useful books in other languages should be encouraged.

M. S.

PERSIAN ETC.

Philological Curiosities, by Mr. Mirza Kaliahbeg Fredunbeg, Retired Dy. Collector. Printed at Premier Steam Press, Hyderabad Sind. Crown 8 vo. pp. 192. Price—One Rupee.

In this book there are materials for extensive philological research. The author has brought together Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Turkish, Pushtu, Baluchi—and Sindhi words having either derivation or accidental philological conformity with English words or words of other European languages. As a collection, the book will prove most useful; and on its basis the historian may build up or support many historical facts or theories. The words have been got together with considerable labour and trouble. The printing and binding are good.

Jawahir Parsi, Rubaiyyat and Mufardat, by Do. and printed at Do. Crown 16 mo. pp. 75 & 70.

These are quatrains, tetrastiches and unrhyming couplets of several Persian poets, both Indian and foreign. The compilation and selection have been judicious. The Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayyam have not been given because several editions of them are on the market. The author has tried to bring to notice a lot of comparatively neglected poetry. The book is bound in nice board cover.

Persian Gems, by Do. and printed at Do. Crown 16 mo. pp. 150. Price—8 as.

These are translations in English verse of the Rubaiyyat portion of the selections reviewed above. The rendering though almost literal has been nice. The printing and binding have nothing to be desired and the book will form a nice pocket manual and a

companion to the above. The footnotes will prove useful to those who have not much of Persian.

M. S.

MARATHI.

The Writings of Swami Vivekanand. Part I.

The name of Swami Vivekanand is of world-wide fame and his influence as a religious reformer is felt not only on the land of his birth but in the far off lands of England and America. The present volume of his writings (part I, pp. 283) contains a translation of his speeches delivered by him before the Conference of the Religions of the World held at Chicago in 1892, and his private letters to his friends in India. The introduction to this volume is written by that gifted woman the late Sister Nivedita. This book professes to be a translation into Marathi of the Swami's English speeches but it certainly trespasses the limits of translation and partakes in a very large measure of the nature of free adaptation. The way in which Decanni saints are freely quoted in this volume makes it clear that the translator has taken severe liberty with the Author's speeches, though perhaps in so doing he has much improved upon the style of the author himself. Want of space forbids a critical review of the writings, which are full of a wholesale admiration of things reasonable and unreasonable in the teachings of Hinduism. The arguments advanced in support of the theory of Karma, although subtle in themselves do not convince thoughtful and critical readers of the book of the truth of the doctrine. All the lectures have a predominantly dogmatic note about them which deprives them of the otherwise persuasiveness of argument and style. The last chapter "The good effects of the Vedānta Doctrine on the world," is very confusing reading. The vaunting tone of it leaves a painful impression on the mind and while it tickles one's sense of what in some quarters passes for patriotism but which in reality is only an unhealthy condition of it, it cannot but make many sceptical of the truth of the numerous dogmatic assertions made in it. The book however is sure to serve one great purpose, and it is to create a taste for religious literature. It may also promote religious thought but it will not be at all in any decent proportion to the other effect, *viz.*, the cramping of the religious outlook. On the whole, however, the Marathi volume will form a very stimulating and bracing reading. The language of the book is chaste and forceful and the volume may take a high place in the awakening Marathi literature of modern times.

C. B.

GUJARATI.

Gujarati Junan Gito, by Kavi Bhavanishanker Narsinhram of Limbdi, (Kathiawad) printed at

the Ratna Sagar Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 90. Cloth bound. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1912).

The little songs which children learn at their mother's knee, the verses which they recite when at play with other children, the riddles which they are called upon to read at this age, furnish quite a fascinating literature in all the known languages. The same is the case with Gujarati and looking to the tendency of the present day school educations there appears to be every likelihood of these beautiful songs being lost to the literature, firstly because school books containing poetry with copy-book texts are ousting them, and secondly because no attempts are being made to rescue them from thus being wiped out. All honor due therefore to the Education Department of H. H. the Gaekwar which notified the award of a prize to such a publisher, and to this Kavi who undertook this compilation and carried off the prize. The songs are wee little things, falling very sweetly on the ear when sung by groups of small children, accompanied by suitable action. To be appreciated they have to be read and heard.

Kathiawadi Sahitya, Part I, by Kahanji Dharmsinh, of Rajkot, Printed at the Satya Prakash Printing Press, Khadia, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 109. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1903).

The indigenous literature of Kathiawad is very rich, and portrays the wild, romantic and picturesque life of its inhabitants in vivid colours. It chronicles historic events, and is also brimful of incidents which throw strong light on the social side of the life of its varied population. Unfortunately these verses lie scattered about in some cases in inaccessible corners, but in most, are preserved by means of oral communication from mouth to mouth. Till now no sustained effort has been made to collect and publish them.

This little book under review is an attempt to fill up the void, and we think it is a commendable one. The amours of well-known couples like Sona Rani and Halaman Jethwo, Fulande and Lakho, have been versified in very feeling words, the chastity of Ranakdevi who burnt herself on the funeral pyre with her husband rather than submit to the embraces of the king of Patan, is also celebrated in verse, which is full both of pathos and vigour. Besides this, the book contains many other *Duhas* (couplets) which are didactic and characteristic of the rough and uneducated men by whom they are composed. Short notes here and there enable the reader to understand the rather peculiar provincialism of Kathiawad. We think this book should be on the table of all lovers of Kathiawadi literature.

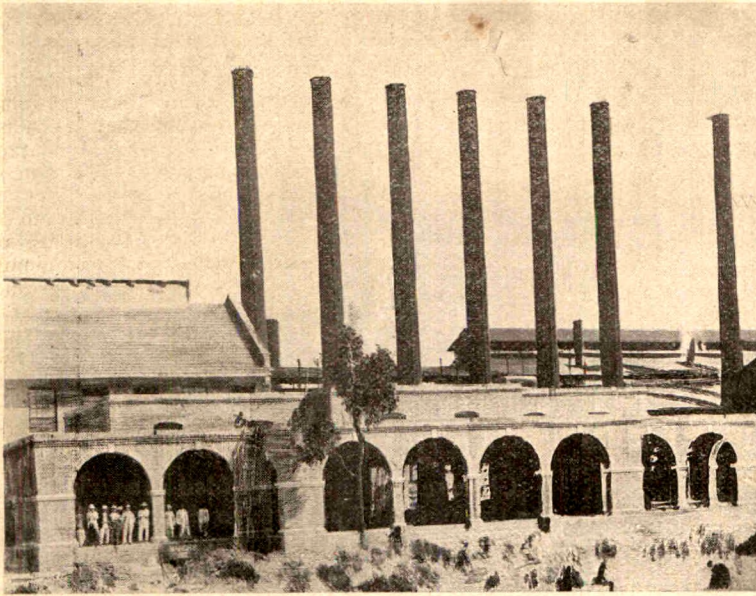
K. M. J.

NOTES

The Government Laboratory at Sakchi.

The account of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchi which appeared in the

Modern Review for March, although containing detailed and enthusiastic mention of important and unimportant institutions



The Government Laboratory at Sakchi.

connected therewith, ignores altogether the most important institution, namely, the Government Laboratory. It may not be generally known that the late Mr. J. N. Tata, before he finally decided to start the Works, obtained definite assurances from the Government of India for generous support. We are informed that the Government promised to buy at least 20,000 tons of steel rails per annum, provided, of course, they came up to the standard specifications. It became necessary for the Government to make provision on the spot for testing the steel rails which it would buy. For this reason, the Government engaged an eminent metallurgist from England, Dr. Mc William, A.R.S.M., D. Met., who was Professor of Metallurgy at the Sheffield University, the centre of the iron and steel industry in England. He established a fully equipped laboratory at Sakchi for mechanical, chemical and microscopic tests. He is at the head of the Laboratory and is ably assisted in his work by Mr. C. A. Irwin, Assistant Chemist and Mr. A. N. Bose of Birmingham University, Laboratory Assistant. No steel rails are purchased by the Government unless passed by Dr. Mc William. We understand the Tata Works are beginning to supply a small quantity to the Government. An illustration of the Government Laboratory is published, showing the tall

chimneys of the Works in the background.

B. L. MITTER.

The Tata Works and Qualified Indians.

In this connection, we note with regret that the Tata Co. gives but little encouragement to qualified Indians with special training, although there are at the present moment many Indian youths trained in Europe and America. All responsible scientific work at the Tata works is done by foreigners, mostly American and German. No Indians are employed even

in such subordinate positions as might in time fit them to hold responsible positions in the place of the foreign experts. This is no doubt a matter for the Company. But it has a bearing on the wider question of Indian youths taking to industrial pursuits. When the Tata Works were started it was expected that at last an opening was being found for Indian intellect for scientific industry. Unfortunately that expectation has not been fulfilled. We would not have adverted to the matter had it not been for the public aspect of it.

B. L. MITTER.

Indians and Higher Educational Posts.

Educated Indians know that it is not veterans like Dr. P. C. Ray alone who are quite fit to hold appointments in the Indian Educational Service; there are many younger men who are as good as and sometimes better than the European members of that service of the same age and academic standing.

At a time when the Public Service Commission is engaging the attention of the Indian public it is desirable that definite proofs should be published in the newspapers as to the capacity of Indians for honorably and creditably doing the work supposed to be done by Englishmen alone. The post of the Senior Professor of

Chemistry at the Government College, Lahore is reserved for the members of the Indian Educational Service. At the end of November 1912, Dr. S. M. Sane, B.A., B. Sc. (Allahabad), Ph. D. (Berlin) was appointed to officiate in the place of the retiring Professor until the arrival of a new nominee from England. Within a short period of less than four months, Dr. Sane was able to win over the hearts of the students as well as the College authorities. An interesting function took place on 17th March when the Chemistry students of the College presented him an address. The Principal, Major J. Stephenson, I.M.S., who presided, remarked that Dr. Sane had placed the College under deep obligations by taking up the work of the retiring professor at such a short notice. He was sorry to lose Dr. Sane but the Government Regulations did not provide any room for him in the Chemical Department.

It may be mentioned here that Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose is now doing the work of the Chief Chemical Analyser to the Government of Bengal.

S.

Affairs of the Chinese Republic

(1) THE DEATH OF LUNG-YU, THE LAST MANCHU EMPRESS.

The last two rulers of the Ching Dynasty have been women. The Empress-Dowager, Lung-yu, saw the end of the house which represented a conquering race of the smallest minority over the largest majority known to history. The lady passed away on the 22nd of February at 2 A.M., about a year after her and her son's abdication. It is more than interesting to note the feeling of the Chinese public on the death of Lung-yu, once the empress of China, but at her death a mere citizen of the great Asiatic Republic. The Chinese papers, to hand by the last mail, mark the event with sad columns. They remember her not as a hated member of a hated dynasty but as a capable and strong woman and as a helper of the Republic in the last analysis. She bravely tried to hold the throne for the infant emperor, and she, they say, gracefully acknowledged the sovereignty of the people and abdicated the throne in favour of the people when she saw resistance useless and disastrous.

The last words of this lady were "How shall my spirit find rest in the next world, *what face shall I show*, when I rejoin our ancestors in the ancestral temple, I the last empress of the ruling Dynasty." The Chinese people have not lost their sense of pathos with the commencement of their new political life, for they sympathise with the ex-empress in her expression of this feeling, and the government has taken charge of the Infant with a maternal responsibility "to give peace to the soul of the deceased lady." New politics has not, in the case of China, unlike that of Japan, denationalised Asia.

(2) AUSTRALIA AND CHINA.

Chinese publicists regarded it as a blunder on the part of Australia to shut out Chinese and Indian labour; for a large portion of the surface of Australia cannot be used by the Whites, as they are incapable of producing therein. Without labour Capital will not go there, and the financial circumstances which could be bettered by attracting Indian and Chinese workers are not allowed to improve. "Why," the Chinese publicists ask, "should not the hay, which is a food for the cow, be allowed to the cow, by the inhospitable dog who cannot eat it?"

(3) CHINA AND JAPAN.

We gather that there is some rivalry between Japan and the United States for bringing about an *entente* between the Republic and themselves. The question has been ostensibly put off till the loan has been settled. Private correspondence foreshadows a settlement of the loan affair with the United States.

(4) PREPARATION FOR THE NEXT WAR IN MONGOLIA.

China has imposed an extra tax of 20 per cent. on salt, wine, and tobacco since 11th February. An expedition against Urga being necessary field surgeons and officers have been put to active service. People are lecturing against Russia in the province of Canton. In Mongolia the real conflict would be against Russia. We are inclined to connect Dr. Sun Yat Sen's visit to Japan with the Mongolian problem. We should not be surprised if Japan and China jointly opposed Russia. It is however to be remembered that Japan does not hold

philanthropic views as regards Mongolia. There she has been laying the foundation of her effective influence for some time past. This aspect of the problem is personally more interesting to India. For Mongolia is a next door neighbour to Tibet.

(5) MERCHANTS' MILITIA.

The Merchants' Militia which was recognised in Canton in the revolutionary days for the protection of the city has just been recognised by the government. These citizen-solidiers are expected to take part in the Mongolian war.

The merchants of the popular centre, Canton, have received information from the government to organise a Chamber of Commerce.

(6) ELECTION CASES.

China is no exception to the defects of the modern elective system. The petitions before the Chief Justice of the Kwangtung Supreme Court, to set aside elections, are so numerous, that if the rivals succeed, the personele of the assembly might be bodily changed.

(7) INDIA AND DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S NAME.

It is amusing that the latter part of the name of the popular hero of the Asiatic Republic is Indian. "Yat Sen" is the Chinese transcript of the Sanskrit name of the super-human being *Yaksha*, which has travelled to China from Buddhist literature. No doubt he is a super-man in politics.

K.

Recognition of literary work.

Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., who contributed to this Review a large number of articles on the Mundas, published them later in book form. In recognition of the scientific value of his work, Government has conferred on him a Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class. In the Bankipur Durbar, when presenting the medal to him, the Lieutenant-Governor addressed him as follows:—

"It gives me great pleasure to present to you by command of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India which His Excellency has been pleased to award to you. You have devoted many years to investigation into the history and ethnology

of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur and have recently embodied the results of your enquiries in a most interesting and valuable work called "The Mundas and their country". You have rendered the people of this tribe even more useful service by your endeavours to secure a proper understanding by the courts of their laws and customs and you have throughout maintained, at considerable loss to yourself, a high standard of professional integrity which has won for you the esteem and respect of all classes. I congratulate you heartily on the honour which has been conferred upon you and I trust that you may long live to enjoy it."

We hope more of our countrymen will do original work like that done by Babu Sarat Chandra Roy, not for the honour that it may or may not bring, but for the worth of the work itself.

The Treatment of Animals in India.

In the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1913 the Hon'ble Mrs. Charlton has an article on the treatment of animals under British rule in India, in which special reference is made to systematic cruelty connected with the passage of troops and stores along the Kashmir road. In the course of her article, she remarks that "owing to conditions prevailing in the country, no undertaking, it matters not of how meritorious a nature, could ever be brought to a successful issue without some measure of official support." This is a matter which affects more things than the treatment of animals; it is the reason why modern India as a whole is more dead than alive. It is not creditable either to the Government or the people, that it should be the case that few undertakings, however meritorious, can succeed as the result of private enterprise, pure and simple. As in progressive Western countries, the people should see that private enterprise succeeds.

"The Madonna of the Magnificat."

Of this famous painting by Botticelli, Julia Cartwright writes: "The Virgin is in the act of dipping her pen into the ink, to write her song of praise on the leaves of the missal, which is held open by angel hands. Two other boy-angels hold a gilded crown above her head, and as the heavenly light streams over her, the child

on her knees looks up in her face with a sudden flash of inspiration. Then the full significance of the great sacrifice dawns upon the mother's soul, and at the very moment when she realises all her glory, when angels crown her brows, and the child guides her pen to write the words that pronounce her blessed among women, the sword pierces her heart, with its mysterious foretaste of coming agony."

The Late Professor Gauri Shankar De.

An educated Indian who nearly reached the age of three score years and ten may be said to have lived long, for unfortunately we are not now a long-lived class of men. Professor Gauri Shankar De, who died last month at the age of 69, was well-known



THE LATE PROFESSOR GAURI SHANKAR DE.

as a sound mathematician and a very able teacher. He crowned a brilliant academical career by winning the Premchand Roychand Scholarship. He had to his credit nearly half a century's quiet, unostentatious and conscientious work. Many educated men who are now themselves elderly and

occupy distinguished positions in many walks of life, were his pupils. He was as distinguished for his character as for his scholarship. In him the country loses one of its men of sterling worth.

Lectures on Art in the Punjab University.

In January, 1906, the Arts Faculty of the Calcutta University accepted Mr. E. B. Havell's proposal "that in the interest of general culture, Art should not be excluded from the Arts Courses of the University." But this proposal has never been acted upon at Calcutta. It was left to the Punjab University to do something in this respect.



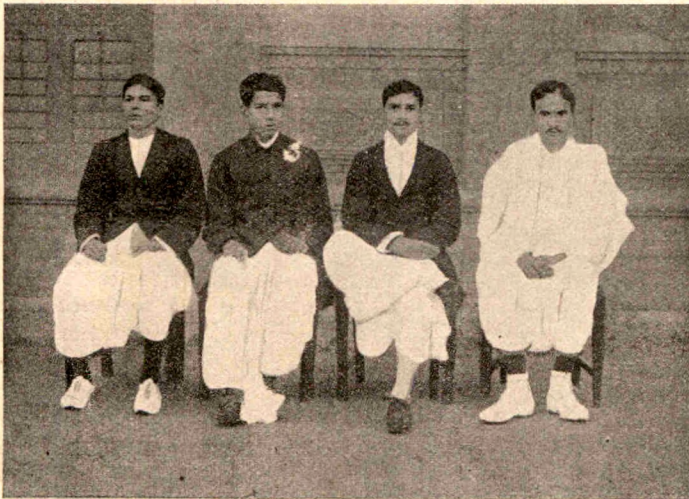
MR. SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

In March last that University invited Mr. S. N. Gupta, one of the pupils of Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore, to deliver a course of lectures on Indian Art. Mr. Gupta delivered five lectures, one of which we publish in this number. We are glad that the talents of this young artist have met with recognition at the hands of a University.

The Punjab University has in this way



THE LATE PROFESSOR BENOYENDRANATH SEN.



Babus Apurbaranjan, Bijoykrishna, Probodhkumar, Rohiniranjan.

tried to encourage the study not only of painting and sculpture, but of architecture as well, the task of delivering addresses on the last subject having been entrusted to Mr. Gordon Sanderson.

The Late Professor Benoyendranath Sen.

The death of Prof. De is mournful enough, though he may be said to have died full of years and honours. But in one respect the death of Prof. Benoyendranath Sen is still more mournful, as at the time of his death he had not completed the forty-fifth year of his life. He had a brilliant University career and was well-known for his devout and saintly character. He was very popular among students for his sweet disposition, his ability as a teacher and the keen and unceasing interest he took in their welfare. His work in this direction was done mainly in connection with the Calcutta University Institute. He was a man of varied activity, and exemplified in his life that harmonious combination of action and contemplation, which ought to be the aim of full manhood to attain.

Prof. Sen was a leading member of the Brahmo Samaj and one of its best and most thoughtful speakers and writers. He visited Great Britain and the United States of America and made an impression wherever he spoke.

Public Recognition of Heroism.

The Government resolution on the Sibpur boat disaster contained an appreciation of the heroism of seven young men who did rescue work at the risk of their own lives. They are Messrs. Milner, Sanat Kumar Haldar,



Statue of the late Justice M. G. Ranade by G. K. Mhatre.

Apurba Ranjan Barua, Rohini Ranjan Barua, Bijay Krishna Gupta, Prabodh Kumar Ghosh and Prakritikumar Ghosh. At a public meeting held at the Bharat



BABU SANAT KUMAR HALDAR.

Sangit Samaj premises, the thanks of the community were conveyed to these young men and gold medals were awarded to them. May there be more such men in our midst!

Mhatre's Statue of Ranade.

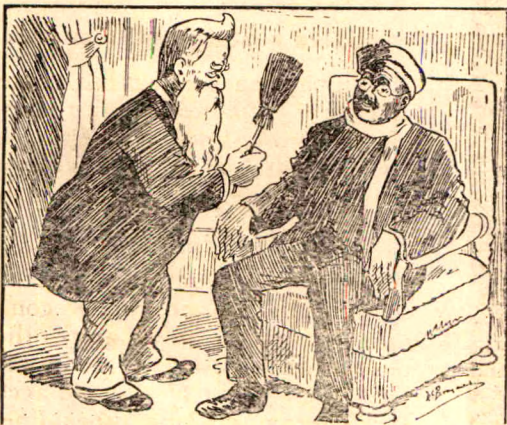
Bombay has shown her appreciation of Ranade by continuing his life-work and by erecting a marble statue of that great son of India. The progressive movement in India is not one-sided. It embraces all spheres of human thought and activity, whether religious, social, political, economic, industrial or of any other description. Progress along any line both depends on and accelerates progress along other lines. Ranade had this comprehensive idea of national advancement and was pre-eminently the thinker of the movement. His reverent love of India spiritualised his patriotism. Unlike some social reformers, he never fought shy of

politics or tried to belittle the work of political "agitators," nor, like some of the latter, was he blind to the pressing need of setting our own house in order. With reference to some incidents in his life one could wish his firmness in taking his stand on his principles were as great as the massiveness of his intellect, the ardour of his patriotism or the depth of his piety. But he was so good and great, that we feel that it is not for us to sit in judgment on him, nor is this the occasion to do so.

From the photograph of the statue, which we are enabled by the kind courtesy of the sculptor to publish, it is clear that Mr. G. K. Mhatre has done his work well. The likeness is unmistakeable and there is character and dignity in the statue. If anywhere else in India, marble statues or busts are required, we think we need not go outside India for their execution. The young artist has not belied the promise of his early achievements. We wish him still greater triumphs to his chisel.

A South African Cartoon.

The excellent *Indian Opinion* Souvenir of the Hon. Gopal Krishna Gokhale's Tour in South Africa which Mr. H. S. L. Polak has brought out, contains a reproduction of a cartoon from "Die Voorlooper" of



Brother, sweep your own house !

Capetown. In this cartoon, which we reproduce on a reduced scale, the "Hon. A. Fischer presents the Hon. G. K. Gokhale with a memento of his visit to South Africa, and suggests that he should sweep before

his own door, having regard to the depressed classes of India."

"Physician, heal thyself" is a good retort, but it is not good logic, nor does it afford any safe guidance for the conduct of individuals and nations using it. Two wrongs do not make one right. Because we have the "depressed classes" in India, no other nation would be justified in having "depressed classes" in their midst. No nation, race or class of people can be self-sufficient. People who practise social or any other kind of exclusion against whole classes or communities deprive themselves of some good which the latter might have done them. Apart from this consideration, whoever despises or is afraid of the competition of others gives an indication of his defective manhood.

Countries which are now following the policy of excluding or dehumanising whole races or classes, should remember the fate which has overtaken India on account of the prevalence of the cult of "Don't-touchism." It is not an enviable fate.

A new book about Vivekananda.*

In the year 1898 Sister Nivedita and some other disciples of Swami Vivekananda travelled with him in many parts of Northern India. The Sister kept notes of what the Swami said and did during these wanderings. These have now been published in a collected form. They make very interesting and instructive reading, and are distinguished by the author's well-known beauty and vigour of language. In them we obtain glimpses of the strong personality of Vivekananda and of his famous disciple. He tried to rouse the people of India to a consciousness of their latent spiritual strength and wealth. And when the spirit is once awakened, good of every kind follows.

The Foreword gives some idea of the contents of the book.

"Beautiful have been the days of this year. In them the Ideal has become the Real. First in our river-side cottage at Belur; then in the Himalayas, at Naini-Tal and Almora; afterwards wandering here and there through Kashmir;—everywhere have come hours never to be forgotten, words that will echo through our lives for ever, and once at least, a glimpse of the Beatific Vision.

* "Notes of some wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda. By Sister Nivedita of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda." Udbodhan Office; Baghbar, Calcutta. Re. 1-4-0.

"It has been all play.

"We have seen a love that would be one with the humblest and most ignorant, seeing the world for the moment through his eyes, as if criticism were not; we have laughed over the colossal caprice of genius; we have warmed ourselves at heroic fires; and we have been present, as it were, at the awakening of the Holy child.

"But there has been nothing grim or serious about any of these things. Pain has come close to all of us. Solemn anniversaries have been and gone. But sorrow was lifted into a golden light, where it was made radiant, and did not destroy.



The Late Swami Vivekananda.

"Fain, if I could, would I describe our journeys. Even as I write I see the irises in bloom at Baramulla; the young rice beneath the poplars at Islamabad; star-light scenes in Himalayan forests; and the royal beauties of Delhi and the Taj. One longs to attempt some memorial of these. It would be worse than useless. Not, then, in words, but in the light of memory, they are enshrined for ever, together with the kindly and gentle folk who dwell among them, and whom we trust always to have left the gladder for our coming.

"We have learnt something of the mood in which new faiths are born, and of the Persons who inspire such faiths. For we have been with one who drew all men to him,—listening to all, feeling with all, and refusing none. We have known a humility that wiped out all littleness, a renunciation that would die

for scorn of oppression and pity of the oppressed, a love that would bless even the on-coming feet of torture and of death. We have joined hands with that woman who washed the feet of the Lord with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. We have lacked, not the occasion, but her passionate unconsciousness of self.

"Seated under a tree in the garden of dead emperors there came to us a vision of all the rich and splendid things of Earth, offering themselves as a



The Late Sister Nivedita.

shrine for the great of soul. The storied windows of cathedrals, and the jewelled thrones of Kings, the banners of great captains and the vestments of the priests, the pageants of cities, and the retreats of the proud,—all came, and all were rejected.

"In the garments of the beggar, despised by the alien, worshipped by the people, we have seen him; and only the bread of toil, the shelter of cottage-roofs, and the common road across the cornfields seem real enough for the background to this life. . . . Amongst his own, the ignorant loved him as much as scholars and statesmen. The boatmen watched the river, in his absence, for his return, and servants disputed with guests to do him service. And through it all, the

veil of playfulness was never dropped. "They played with the Lord," and instinctively they knew it.

"To those who have known such hours, life is richer and sweeter, and in the long nights even the wind in the palm-trees seems to cry—

"Mahadeva! Mahadeva! Mahadeva!"

We have quoted the above paragraphs not for the purpose of comment, but to show the spirit in which Sister Nivedita's "Notes" have been written.

We are tempted to give here a few specimen—"Notes" at random.

"Much as he dreaded the luxury of spiritual emotion for those who might be enervated by it, he could not help giving glimpses of what it meant to be consumed with the intoxication of God."

"It was here, too, that we heard a long talk on Ram Mohun Roy, in which he pointed out three things as the dominant notes of this teacher's message, his acceptance of the Vedanta, his preaching of patriotism, and the love that embraced the Mussulman equally with the Hindu. In all these things, he claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohun Ray had mapped out."

"One day it was Sivaji and the Mahrattas and the year's wandering as a *Sannyasi*, that won him home to Raigarh. 'And to this day,' said the Swami, 'authority in India dreads the *Sannyasi*, lest he conceal beneath his yellow garb another Sivaji.'"

"That was a great hour indeed, when he spoke of Buddha; for, catching a word that seemed to identify him with its anti-Brahminical spirit, an uncomprehending listener said, 'Why Swami, I did not know that you were a Buddhist?' 'Madam,' he said rounding on her, his whole face aglow with the inspiration of that name, 'I am the servant of the servants of the servants of Buddha. Who was there ever like him?—the Lord—who never performed one action for Himself—with a heart that embraced the whole world! So full of pity that He—prince and monk—would give his life to save a little goat! So loving that he sacrificed himself to the hunger of a tigress!—to the hospitality of a pariah and blessed him! And he came into my room when I was a boy and I fell at His feet! For I knew it was the Lord Himself!'"

In a similar spirit of reverent appreciation did the Swami speak of Krishna, of incidents in the life of Christ, and of Islam.

"He had mentioned some doubt as to the authenticity of a certain religious history. 'What!' said Sri Ramakrishna, 'do you not then think that those who could conceive such ideas must have been the thing itself?'"

"He spoke of the inclusiveness of his conception of the country and its religions; of his own distinction as being solely in his desire to make Hinduism active, aggressive, a missionary faith; of 'don't-touch-ism' as the only thing he repudiated."

"The Englishman" on "the Sister and the Swami."

In the course of a review of Sister Nivedita's "Notes of Some Wanderings, with the

Swami Vivekananda" the *Englishman*, while not directly making them responsible for the terrorist outrages and other political troubles, really insinuates that they were at the bottom of these disquieting events. For instance, it writes:—

It would be unfair to accuse Vivekananda of deliberately provoking trouble, but in 1898 he was using phrases and expressions, which the writer calls epigrams, which were later repeated in the "*Yugantar*," with most mischievous results. For instance: "In order to become a nation, it appears that we need a common hate as well as a common love."

Both the Swami and the Sister are now beyond the reach of the most powerful individual or empire to injure. It is, therefore, unnecessary for anybody to try to defend them or justify what they said. As for their followers and associates, their lives are a sufficient vindication.

One cannot be quite sure what Vivekananda meant by a "common hate." But the *Englishman* has most probably understood it in the light of the following passage from Southey's *Life of Nelson*:—

"There are three things, young gentleman," said Nelson to one of his midshipmen, "which you are constantly to bear in mind. First, you must always implicitly obey orders, without attempting to form any opinion of your own respecting their propriety. Secondly, you must consider every man your enemy who speaks ill of your king; and thirdly, you must hate a Frenchman as you do the devil."

But it is just possible that the objects of hatred that a mariner and a monk might have had in view even in the sphere of politics were dissimilar.

The sayings of religious men may be interpreted or misinterpreted in various ways. Biblical texts have been quoted in justification of slavery. In many Christian churches God's help is invoked even in wars of aggression and He is often thanked after the bloodiest and most unrighteous of victories. The burning of heretical Christians has been sought to be justified by orthodox Christians by the quotation of certain sayings of Jesus Christ. In the Gospel according to St. Matthew, Christ is reported as saying:—

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I come not to send peace but a sword."

We are not quite sure that when he said this he meant to provoke or encourage sanguinary conflicts. But one may say that the nations professing Christianity have understood him quite literally.

But when we began to write this note, we had no idea of straying into the field of exegesis. So we stop.

Mr. Hornell and the Hornet's Nest.

By appointing Mr. Hornell Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, the Government has disturbed the Anglo-Indian journalistic hornet's nest. With the exception of the *Indian Daily News*, they are all up in arms. They even expect us to join in the outcry. But these good fellows forget that Mr. James, who is their favourite, himself got the principalship of the Presidency College in supersession of the claims of five of his brother officers, who were or are all senior to him by 10, 9, 7, or 5 years. Nor is it the fact that they are all obscure men. For instance, Dr. J. C. Bose is senior to him by 5 years; and it is superfluous to say that Mr. James's fame is parochial, whereas that of Dr. Bose is worldwide. When the Government raised Mr. James to the principalship, ignoring the claims of his seniors, did British journalistic throats in India protest till they became hoarse?

It is said that the Government has broken the pledge given by Lord Morley regarding appointments to provincial Directorships, and even the funny suggestion has been made that the Secretary of State should be sued in a law court. But what Lord Morley said was that no outsider would be appointed a Director, unless and until the Government failed to find a suitable man in the ranks of the Indian Educational Service by ransacking all the provinces. Now, the Government of India is a despotism, and it is the sole judge of a man's fitness or suitability. If the Government says that no member of the I. E. S. in the whole of India is fit to be the Educational Director of Bengal, what are the would-be litigants going to say in reply?

Supersession of just claims is wrong, but it is wrong irrespective of the race of the man who is unjustly passed over.

British Journals and Foreign Affairs.

Most of us think that the expression of opinion is quite free, or at least reasonably free, in Great Britain. And perhaps that is so, as far as the laws relating to sedition, defamation, &c., go. But it seems that there are forces behind the scenes, other than

legal, which prevent the unrestricted expression of opinion. A British journalist writes to us in a private letter:—

You say that the place for exposing such matters is "free" England. I do not think any one who has not been somewhat behind the scenes as regards the newspapers can have any idea how carefully and secretly they are controlled and censored in their "foreign affairs."

Of course if there is a scandal in your next village, an injustice in the home affairs, the press will be only too pleased to give it all the publicity you want. If it reflects on Tory practices the Radicals will glory in its shame. If it exposes Radical principles or persons the Tories will blazon it abroad. Everything is welcome if it can be used for party politics: if it can catch a vote for someone. But when you come to foreign affairs, then everything is manipulated or suppressed to suit "Head quarters." The English people are profoundly ignorant of, and wholly indifferent to, foreign affairs. It is the policy of both the political parties—or rather their Cabinets, to keep them so. For instance in the Persian affair hardly any details were allowed to get into the Press except through the "Manchester Guardian" and the "Nation," and even the former paper became practically silent after the visit of—to Manchester. Again in the Tripoli war there was a regular pro-Italian campaign in some of the papers, just as at the present time everything which might disfavour the Balkan Allies is withheld from the people. Our foreign affairs are in the hands of a privileged clique the members of which have common financial interests and are nearly all closely related by marriage so that it matters little which political party are in power. It only means a change of cousins or brothers-in-law! At the present time the financial interest which a few people have in Russia is at the bottom of much of our present policy. If the people as a whole understood the importance of foreign policy and concerned themselves in the matter and it became a real public question there would be almost a revolution but at the present time you cannot arouse the nation on this point. The only parties—the Socialists and the Labour, who might take it up are too much involved in extricating themselves from their own disabilities and they have not understanding enough to realise that most of the cords which are tightening round their own hearts are being pulled by the outer limbs of autocratic Imperialism. They cannot see the interaction of home and foreign affairs.....

Things have gone so far now that the people will not understand until some great upheaval or disaster has destroyed existing illusions and freed their minds and their vision. Do you know that Dr. Saleeby, our great Eugenist, computed recently that at the rate we are producing feeble-minded and incapable children in excess of the healthy, in fifty years' time the proportion will be equal. That is we shall have one sane person to every mental defective! We have in our false view of life, of prosperity sacrificed our human stock to the bank roll of the few. Our breeding stock as a nation is diseased, vitiated in mind and body in the fearful conditions of our slums, the commercial slavery of our industrial and social system....

Therefore it is that I am so anxious for India, for Africa to understand the situation,.....on the other hand not to be glamourised by the motor car and the gramophone and the meats and drinks of Western civilisation and not see the seething mass of corruption of which these too often are but the froth. I do not deny that the West has much of value to teach the East but unless the East is free to sift and discriminate the good from the bad, the cause and the effect, the appearance and the reality; the slavish and ignorant adoption of Western industrial and social methods will but involve her in the other's downfall. Moreover if the West has something to teach the East, the East has still more important things to teach the West. Indeed the "salvation" of the civilised world depends on the power of the East to persuade it to "enlightenment." And it is because I believe that India is absolutely necessary to the rest of the world, because I believe that her Vedanta philosophy is the reservoir of spiritual truth, of a right understanding of the purpose and evaluation of life that I believe in the Hindu Renaissance; that I believe that the freedom of India—that she may fulfil her destiny on every plane—is abundantly worth striving for. India above all other countries holds the "light to lighten the Gentiles.".....

The air-fleets of rival nations.

The March number of the *Review of Reviews* publishes an illustration showing "Britain's startling inferiority" to Germany and France in this respect. The total capacity of Germany's air fleet is 4,865,000 cubic feet, that of France, 3,322,000 cubic feet, and that of Great Britain only 180,000 cubic feet.

"The Partition of Asia."

Under this heading the *Review of Reviews* writes the following paragraph:—

In our last number we called attention to the methodical dismemberment and division of Asia now proceeding, without any criticism or comment; and since then events have proved how true was our statement. The Tsar has taken the unprecedented course of specially and publicly thanking M. Korostovetz, the special Russian agent in Mongolia, for his services to Russia and the Emperor. Mongolia and Tibet may therefore be considered as lost so far as China or independence is concerned. But the more serious happening is that Russia and Japan have now come to a very definite understanding, having for object nothing less than the cutting up of China. Very elaborate plans have been made, in which, we believe, provision exists for compensation to all interested parties, and all that now remains to be done is to precipitate the downfall of the Chinese Republic. The various manoeuvres and intrigues in connection with the so-called Six-Power loan, luring China on to ruin, have for real motive power this secret understanding. It affects this country really only in so far as we must already stand committed as a party to this somewhat arbitrary and high-handed settling of the destinies of a friendly nation.

Advance, Baroda!

We learn from the *Bombay Chronicle* that the Gaekwar of Baroda signalled his celebration of his fiftieth birthday by making an announcement of further reforms in education in his State. The most striking features of the reforms announced are the raising of the age for the compulsory education of girls from 11 to 12, and for that of boys from 12 to 14, and the raising of the compulsory standard from the fourth to the fifth. In taking these steps, His Highness has done the greatest service to his people, and has emphasised his position as the greatest educational reformer in India; as wise as he is courageous. Even in England at the present day, the school age has not yet been raised to 14. Mr. Runciman's Bill of two years ago contemplated the raising of the age to 14, but the measure did not pass, though it is one of the certainties of English politics that the reform will be carried out in the immediate future. Meanwhile, it will be a great satisfaction to all well-wishers of educational reform in India that the Gaekwar has been able to forestall even his British exemplars in the matter of the raising of the school age. The Gaekwar trusts that the Education Department, which has this important task before it, will do its utmost to carry out that policy with sympathy, intelligence and discretion. This is tantamount to an explicit direction to the Education Department, and we have no doubt the Department will rise to the occasion.

The Gaekwar has, it is said, appointed a *mehtar*, i.e., a gentleman of the "untouchable" sweeper and scavenger caste, a member of his legislative council. Orthodox people are, therefore, angry with him.

The National Council of Education.

The prize-day celebration of the National Council of Education of Bengal, was held last month, Mr. Justice A. Chaudhuri presiding. The reports presented by the Secretaries were on the whole satisfactory and showed progress during the past year. The Rector, Mr. P. N. Bose, in his address, said that the Council had passed through a rather anxious period, but had successfully got through it, and its future might be considered assured, though they could not look for any large measure of success on the literary side for some time to come. The

most formidable difficulty they had to contend with was the insidious influence of Western civilisation with which they had been brought into contact. Any education not exactly on Western lines or not of the Western type met with little favour among the majority of their countrymen. Was this Western tendency likely to benefit or injure their civilization? For the purpose of answering this question he compared Eastern with Western civilisation, and referred to the vitality of Hindu civilisation, which had survived inspite of the loss of political independence. For a civilisation like theirs to attempt to imitate the ways of Western civilisation would be fatal. The equilibrium of Hindu civilisation had been violently disturbed by the impact with Western civilisation in two ways, (1) by the virtual extinction of their indigenous industries, and (2) by the suppression of their ideals of intellectual culture, and, therefore, the restoration of that equilibrium depended upon their industrial regeneration and on their going back to their old cultural ideas.

He went on to refer to the gratifying success attained in technical education, and to the fact that the Government proposal to establish a well-equipped technological institute had deterred some of the well-wishers of the National Council of Education from continuing their support, but he assured them that even when the Government institute was an accomplished fact there would still be scope for an institution like this one.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri, in his presidential speech, said they had passed through a serious crisis, but had touched safe land, and he hoped their position would not be assailable in the future. They could not forget that they were born in a storm, at a time when there was considerable feeling in the country, and circumstances over which they had no control threw a cloud over them. They had lived in suspicion and doubt, but they lived an open life, their programme was known, everyone of their methods was known, and everybody in charge of the institution was known, and he thought that everyone of them was above suspicion. Referring to the mofussil branches, he said he was not disheartened by the fact that although they started with 18 branches they had only 8 of them now in

existence; he hoped that like a tree some of whose branches decayed or were broken off by the storm, they would still continue to be strong and vigorous. Some of these branches still in existence were doing very good work, and especially the one at Malda, which was doing glorious work. They made it clear, and wanted to make it clear, that they had nothing to do with politics, and that this was a purely educational institution. The students who had gone to England and America had been well spoken of as regards both their intelligence and behaviour. Of the twelve students who went up from all parts of India for an examination in the Punjab, two from this institution passed and only one of the others. For a post in the Geological Department, a young man who had studied here was selected from among all the competitors. All this shewed that they were making good use of their resources. He regretted to learn that the Geological and Dyeing departments had to close; but as regards the latter, at any rate, he did not think there was much scope for obtaining employment. He recommended them to take up printing and turn out good compositors. He knew of one Indian press which employed 2,000 of them.

Although they might have attained a higher civilisation at one period, and although this might be a matter for pride, still the time had come when they should lock up these traditions for a time. He had not the least doubt that they were strong intellectually and spiritually and had very truculent tongues, and judging by the standard, they were very good, but what was the use of the human mind working and the sight being good, when the body was suffering from paralysis? He hoped they would pardon him for giving them such an illustration, because it could not be very pleasant, but the fact remained that an institution like this ought to go up by leaps and bounds. One thing that had operated against them was that they had not yet been able to live suspicion down. He assured everyone that so far as admissions to this institution were concerned they were very closely scrutinised.

Mr. Justice Chaudhuri recommended the Council to take up printing and turn out good compositors. But evidently he does not know what class of trained men printing

firms are most in need of. There is certainly much room for improvement in our compositors; but only the proprietors and managers of presses and those who pay for good printing but do not get it, know that the trouble is not so much with the compositors, but with those ignorant men who run and mind the machines. It would be a great boon to printing firms, authors and publishers, if some institution could turn out good machine-men. We do not think Mr. Chaudhuri well weighed either his idea or his words when he exhorted us to lock up our traditions for a time. There are some traditions which ought not to be locked up for a single hour.

There is a great future before the Council, if only the public would support it with funds and by sending students to it.

Judicial and Executive.

In connection with the debate on March 7th last, when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea moved his resolution on the separation of judicial from executive functions, every non-official Indian member, nominated and elected, present on the occasion, recorded his vote in favour of the motion. There has been no such division in the history of Indian Legislative Councils. The division list is so remarkable, that we reproduce it here from the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

AYES—25.

Mr. Ghuznavi.
Maharaja of Cossimbazaar,
Raja of Mahmudabad,
Raja Kushalpal Sing,
Rai Sri Ram Bahadur,
Pandit Malaviya,
Nawab Saiyid Muhammad,
Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar,
Mr. Rayaningar,
Mir Asad Ali Khan,
Sir Rahimtoola,
Khan Bahadur Jehangirji,
Mr. Ebrahim,
Mr. Banerjea,
Ranajit Sinha,
Raja Saiyid Abu Jafar,
Mr. Das,
Maharaj-Kumar of Tikari,
Mr. Qumrul Huda,
Rai Sita Nathi Ray,
Malik Khan,
Raja Jai Chand,
Mr. V. R. Pandit,
Sir G. M. Chitnavis,

NOES—37.

Sir G. Wilson,
Sir R. Carlyle,
Sir H. Butler,
Mr. A. Imam,
Mr. Clark,
Sir R. Craddock,
Mr. Hailey,
Sir T. R. Wynne,
Mr. Monteath,
Mr. Saunders,
Sir A. H. McMahon,
Mr. Wheeler,
Mr. Enthoven,
Mr. Sharp,
Mr. Porter,
Sir E. D. MacLagan,
Mr. Gillan,
Major-General Birdwood,
Mr. Michael,
Sir C. P. Lukis,
Mr. Gordon,
Mr. Maxwell,
Major Robertson,
Mr. Kenrick,
Mr. Kesteven,
Mr. Kinney,
Sir W. Vincent,

AYES—25.

Mr. Marua.

NOES—37.

Mr. Carr,
Sir C. Armstrong,
Mr. Macpherson,
Mr. Maude,
Mr. Arthur,
Major Brooke Blackway,
Mr. Meredith,
Mr. Walker,
Mr. Arbuthnot,
Mr. Eales.

One can see at a glance that all the non-official Indian members present, representing every interest and all the provinces, voted in full force in favour of the motion, which is an unprecedented event. The significance of this division should not be lost on the Government. It shows that Indian opinion is unanimous on the subject. There is not even the lame excuse that the voters are irresponsible political "agitators." For it is from among these men that only two could be found to oppose the dangerous conspiracy bill, all voting in its favour. When men who support a Government measure in opposition to the opinion of their countrymen, record their votes in this way in favour of a reform, the case for it ought to be considered irresistibly strong. But it is the way of the bureaucracy to throw promises, pledges and consistency to the winds, when the people demand a measure with practical unanimity. Lord Minto's Government promised a sort of universal education. But when the people wanted it in a very moderate form, in the shape of Mr. Gokhale's elementary education bill, the Government stoutly opposed it. Five years ago, it was Lord Minto's Government, again, which pledged itself to a programme of reform in the direction of separating the judicial from executive functions. That programme was of far too modest a character. But it is clear that the Government has practically gone back on even this programme of theirs. The country is entitled to know what has brought about this change.

The public meeting held last month in the Calcutta Town Hall and the meetings subsequently held in different parts of Bengal, lend force to Mr. Banerjea's motion. Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, the Chairman of the Calcutta meeting, and the different speakers refuted all the arguments against the reform for the hundredth time. But bureau-

cratic objections have more than a feline vitality, and so they continue to live.

Regarding the question of cost, Dr. Ghose said:—

One word more. It may be said that this scheme will involve enormous cost and the same objection is raised to the separation of judicial and executive functions. It has however been shown by Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt and recently by Mr. Provash Chunder Mitter that there would be no material addition to the cost of administration and that even if it did involve any additional expenditure, it could be easily met by savings or economies in other directions.

In his memorable speech at the Calcutta St. Andrews Dinner in which he sneered at the educated classes as a microscopic minority, Lord Dufferin, a distinguished diplomatist, said with reference to the separation of judicial and executive functions that it was a counsel of perfection to which he was ready to subscribe. But he added—"And here also we have a question of money. The evils complained of are not of recent date; they existed long before my time, and had they been as intolerable as is now stated they would have been remedied while the existence of surplus funds rendered this practicable, but, as this was not done, it is fair to argue that, even admitting there is room for improvement, we can afford to consult times and seasons in carrying these improvements into effect."

I wonder if that time and that season will ever come. There is a season it seems for everything. There is a season for Seditious Meetings Acts, there is a season for Press Acts, there is also a season for Conspiracy Acts. But is there no season, we ask with hearts sick with that sickness in which the iron sometimes enters into the soul, is there, we ask, no season for the redemption of a solemn pledge?

Dr. Ghose might have added that there was a season for the exchange compensation allowance, and when the report of the Royal Public Services Commission is published, there would most probably be a season for increasing the pay of covenanted civilians and perhaps of other European servants of the Government. And did not Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson say in his last speech that he was leaving India prosperous? What sort of prosperity is it which can not spend money on a necessary reform?

Incidentally Dr. Ghose referred to the true meaning of the English character of the administration.

Gentlemen, we have been hearing a good deal lately of the necessity for maintaining the English character of the administration but this does not mean, as some of the witnesses before the Public Service Commission seem to think, the employment of Englishmen exclusively in all the higher offices. It means this and this only. The administration must be based on English principles and I would ask these gentlemen to read in their moments of leisure, if they happen to have any, for we all know that they are overburdened with work, a notable speech made by

Lord Shaw only the other day. Liberty and order, said his Lordship, are complementary functions of English social life kept together and unified by that justice which proceeds from the judicial realm. Order is to be conserved by the magistrate and liberty by judges who would not bow either to Royal favour or to popular clamour or even to the executive Government and who would throughout consider that they have a higher and nobler task, to conserve against them all that the community demands, liberty of the subject which is concerned with order and which forms the peace and security of the people. The executive Government in England, I may remind these gentlemen who talk so glibly of the British tone of administration, do not override the decisions of the High Court. They dare not do it. Nor if they ever ventured to do anything of the kind, would they think of declining to publish the official papers.

Munificent gifts to English Universities.

England is far better provided with educational facilities in the shape of universities, colleges and schools than India. Yet the effort to add to them, to make better what is good, is unceasing. In the current number of *Indian Education* Prof. M. E. Sadler of Victoria University, Manchester, records several generous donations to English Universities.

To Bristol University Mr. George Alfred Wills and his brother, Mr. Henry H. Wills, have given a further sum of £150,000 for the extension of the buildings. Of this sum, at the special request of the donors, not less than £20,000 is to be set aside for an endowment. This work is to begin, not later than the Spring of 1914 and will be completed in three years. The whole sum will be paid when the building contract is signed. A third brother, Mr. W. Melville Wills, has given a further sum of £20,000 to Bristol University in augmentation of the general endowment fund. Thus, at one stroke, the new University receives an addition of £170,000 to its resources. The new buildings will be erected at the top of Park Street, on a site which belongs to the University. The gift is made in memory of the father of the donors, Mr. H. O. Wills, who was the first Chancellor of the University.

To University College, London, an anonymous benefactor has promised to complete the buildings of the College, with a view to providing accommodation for architecture, sculpture and applied statistics, and for the Eugenics Laboratory.

At Cambridge, a large gift has been made for the endowment of a second Professorship of Astronomy. In addition to this, the Rev. John Henry Ellis has left to the University, subject to his wife's life interest, the residue of his property which will amount to not less than £90,000. This sum is to be applied, both as to capital and income, for the general purpose of the University, in such manner as the University authorities may think fit.

Thus the Universities, old and new, are in receipt of a succession of gifts which will make the present period illustrious in the development of English education. At a time when State aid is forthcoming to

University work in increasing amounts (and is needed in even greater measure) it is of the highest importance that private benefactors should, on their part, strengthen the financial autonomy of the different University institutions.

Indian educational gifts.

The latest notable educational donation in India is that of the Marwar Durbar to the Hindu University. It amounts to Rs. two lakhs as a non-recurring grant and an annual subscription of Rs. 20,000.

More remarkable is the amount collected during the last Gurukula anniversary, as the bulk of the money came from the pockets of the poor. Seventy-five thousand rupees were subscribed, of which about sixty-seven thousand were in cash. Babu Shiva Prashad Gupta of Benares subscribed five thousand and Seth Jai Narain eight thousand, Seth Baldev Das two thousand. Many ladies gave away their ornaments.

Prof. Bose's Discovery.

DISCOVERY OF NERVOUS IMPULSE IN PLANTS.

An important paper, announcing Professor Bose's discovery of nervous impulse in plants, was read at the Meeting of the Royal Society, held on March 6th. The universally accepted theory has been that in plants like the "Mimosa", there is no excitatory impulse analogous to the nervous impulse in animals, the propagated effects being regarded as merely a hydromechanical disturbance. This conclusion was based on the experiments carried out by the leading German plant-physiologists, Pfeffer and Haberlandt. They failed to arrest the propagated impulse in plants by scalding or by application of narcotics. Prof. Bose has shown the errors involved in these experiments. He has, moreover, by the invention of his resonant recorder, made the plant itself record the velocity of its nervous impulse, and the variation in that velocity under fatigue and under the action of various drugs. His new apparatus is of such delicacy that it measures automatically time intervals as short as a thousandth part of a second. Prof. Bose has, by interposing an electric block, arrested the nervous impulse in a plant in a manner similar to the corresponding arrest in the animal nerve. He has further been able by definite means to produce nervous paralysis in the plant,

such paralysis being afterwards cured by appropriate treatment.

This is not a new discovery in the sense that it has been made this year or the last year. It was made by Dr. Bose about a dozen years ago. It is new in the sense that British scientists have been able to perceive and recognise its truth recently.

A Poet's School.

An account of the school at Bolepur, founded and directed by Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, appears in the "Manchester Guardian." The writer ("W. W. P.") recalls the fact that the site, which is associated with the poet's father, the Maharshi Devendranath, was chosen about a dozen years ago by Mr. Tagore. He began with five boys. There are now 200 boys, receiving an education which combines the best traditions of the old Hindu teaching with the healthiest modern methods. "W. W. P.," who spent an evening with the master, thus describes the school and its atmosphere:—

At 8:30 a bell sounded for boys to turn in, and a band of singers, singing a religious hymn, went from dormitory to dormitory that the last impressions of the day might be helpful and inspiring. Similarly, in the morning at 4:30 the bell rings and the band of young choristers wakens the sleeping schoolboys to the work of the day by a chant. In fact, singing occupies a large place in the school day, and the poet's songs are constantly heard during the day and at evening.

Next morning, after an early walk to a neighbouring village, where, by the way, some of the older boys conduct a night school for the village boys, I attended service in the temple, a building open to the light and air on all sides and with a white marble floor. The boys, seated some inside and some on the verandah, worship reverently while the priests chant Sanskrit slokas or pray in Bengali. There was no altar and no image, for on the gate leading into the school grounds there is an inscription which says that no image is to be worshipped and no abuse of any man's religious faith is to be allowed in Shantiniketan. There "the one invisible God is to be worshipped, and such instructions will be given as are consistent with the worship, the praise, and the contemplation of the Creator and Maintainer of the World, and as are productive of good morals, religious life, and universal brotherhood." The service lasted half an hour, and the devotional atmosphere of the place, with the absence of all that might distract the mind, combined to make it one of the most impressive services I have ever been present at. In fact, the atmosphere of all the surroundings of the school is such that one is compelled to believe that the devotional spirit so characteristic of the founder of the school and of his father has been in some way imparted to the very trees and stones. In the evening and early morning, just at sunset and sunrise, a silence strangely still and beautiful seems to surround the place, and in the earliest hours of the

morning the stillness is so intense that it seems as if even the dew itself must have ceased to fall.

In what I have written it may seem that the school has too much of the monastic ideal to be of help to boys who have, when they leave school, to struggle in a modern world. But there are other aspects of the school life which I have not touched upon, but which contribute largely to the formation of the boys' character. The school has one of the best football teams of any school in Bengal, and the boys are strong and healthy and, above all, happy (I have rarely seen a happier set of boys). There is nothing languid or "soft" about them, for the school emphasises the development of the body as well as of the mind and soul. There are seven or eight football fields, so that even the youngest boys can get their daily exercise. The discipline, except in a few cases, is managed by the boys themselves, who have their own law courts and elect their own judges. Witnesses are allowed, but not barristers, each accused being expected to defend his own cause. And Arnold's motto, "Trust the boys," is found to be as successful with Bengali boys as with English.

Such is the school which owes its existence to the ideals of Mr. Tagore, and to any one visiting it there must, I think, be one dominant impression—namely, that of the pervading influence of one inspiring personality. Mr. Tagore's personal life casts a spell over all those who enter the gates of his school—to some that spell has already become the conscious guiding principle of their lives, but all, even the youngest, are being unconsciously influenced by the lofty character of the teacher whose life, even more than his poems, reveals to them the reality of spiritual things and leads them nearer to God.

Education of the Depressed Classes.

At the recent Bengal Council meetings Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar moved the following resolution, which was one of the most important moved:—

That this Council recommends to H. E. the Governor in Council

(a) that special facilities be provided for the education of the depressed classes, principally at the primary stage, by opening ordinary 'patshalas' and schools and establishing night schools wherever necessary; and that a sum of Rs. 5,00,000 be ear-marked for the purpose;

(b) that special accommodation be provided for students of the above-mentioned classes wherever necessary in hostels attached to secondary schools or colleges, and that special stipends, scholarships or prizes be offered to students belonging to such classes; and

(c) that the expenditure which may be incurred for the purpose of giving effect to the above proposals be provided from the lump sum grants made by the Government of India under the head of Education.

In his speech in support of the resolution Dr. Sircar pointed out that the so-called depressed classes constituted no less than one-seventh of the total population of the Presidency, and that some sort of provision for the education of so large a section of the

community ought to be made. The Government, said Mr. Kuchler in reply, had long been alive to the necessity of making some provision for the education of the classes referred to in the resolution; and he declared that provision would be made as far as possible for their education. The Government however, did not see their way to allot any fixed sum; and consequently the first part of the resolution had to be withdrawn. The other two parts were agreed to. This may go some way to popularise education among a class of people whose backwardness can only be removed, as Dr. Sircar pointed out, by the spread of education among them. But we ought to remember that the good intentions of the Bengal Government will not pass beyond the stage of intentions unless we "help" it in several ways to carry them out. For instance, by constant reminders, we ought to make it impossible for it to forget its promise and intentions. In the second place, private activity in this direction ought to be such as to shame and alarm the Education Department into putting forth still greater activity.

Exclusion of married boys from Schools.

At the last meeting of the Travancore Popular Assembly Mr. K. G. Sessa Iyer advocated the exclusion of married boys from Government Schools. The Central Hindu College at Benares has been enforcing this exclusion for several years past. The rule ought to be adopted everywhere. Seeing that the ancient ideal of students in India was celibacy until education was finished, there ought to be no opposition from orthodox Hindus. To prevent any possible hardship to married boys, who are not responsible for their marriage, it may be laid down that the rule will be enforced five years hence.

Public Service Commission Witnesses.

The Punjab was the last province visited by the Public Service Commission. As in the other provinces, so there complaints were made in the press that many witnesses whose evidence was desirable from the people's point of view were not called. It is difficult to say who were responsible for such omissions and to what extent,—the Government, the commission, or the people themselves.

Of the gentlemen of Behar and the United Provinces who were reported in the papers not to have been called Messrs M. Haque, S. Sinha and Madan Mohan Malaviya did actually appear before the commission to give evidence.

Mr. Justice Hasan Imam's evidence.

We do not know whether there was any time in the history of British India when all Hindus and all Mussalmans could be placed in opposite camps as regards their opinions on political and administrative questions. Probably there was not. But it is certain that at present the line of cleavage does not follow racial or sectarian grooves. We are divided, not into Hindus and Musalmans and Christians, &c., but into self-seekers and patriots, short-sighted men and far-seeing men, the traitors and the faithful, the cowardly and the courageous, &c.

For some months past, the evidence collected by the Public Service Commission has almost monopolised public attention. Among the mass of this evidence, some of the most remarkable and outspoken has been given by prominent Musalman witnesses. Take that of Mr. Justice Hasan Imam, from which we select a few passages:—

"Simultaneous examination could not be dangerous to the administration either in the present or the future. If qualified Indians got into the service there could be no danger to the administration. British rule held out the hope to the Indians that if they were qualified they would put them in responsible positions. No guarantee was needed that there would be no danger to the efficiency of the administration, if only qualified Indians got into the service."

"Witness wanted a British tone of administration which could also be done by agencies other than British. If Englishmen were thoroughly excluded from service by simultaneous examination it could only be when they were completely degenerated."

"He had no fear of Mahomedans suffering under simultaneous examination. Supposing Mussalmans did not get into the service, witness thought that it would not add to their dignity to place difficulties in the way of other communities."

"Examined by Mr. Justice Rahim, Mr. Imam admitted that class representation had been asked for in cases of high appointments also, but he questioned the wisdom of such demand and added that it would be wrong for the Government to recognise any such claim."

"He restricted recruitment to the Judicial Service from the Bar, because civil administration by civilians was not popular." . . . "Witness held a

strong view in favour of the separation of Judicial and Executive functions."

"His experience was that in matters of judgment based on law Munsiffs and Subordinate Judges were superior to District Judges. On the question of facts they were quite as good."

Mr. Imam has suggested that the citizens of British colonies which exclude Indians should be excluded from the Indian Civil Service. This is a suggestion which every self-respecting Indian will heartily support. *The Indian Daily News* approves of it and says:—

There is one suggestion in the evidence of Mr. Justice Imam which is of considerable importance in principle and that is the exclusion from the service of British subjects belonging to Colonies which exclude Indians. It is possible that this will not exclude many but is a good principle and one of the few legitimate ways in which India can express her decided views on this question. People retire from India to Australia and then send their children to the Indian Civil Service. A recent Lieut.-Governor, a High Court Judge as well as a Finance Minister are instances of this and we dare say, there are a good many more, but it is eminently desirable that these Colonies who talk such a lot about the Empire should understand what the Empire is. The Australians live in a state of chronic blue funk about Japanese aggression, they behave like some Englishmen do about the Germans, they see spies round every corner and then they make themselves disagreeable to Indian British subjects. Then they come round and ask for billets in India. With the views that prevail among Australians about the colour question, it is obvious that by their early training such men are quite unfit for the purposes of the Indian Civil Service which at least demands an open mind on the subject of Indians. Apart, however, from the question of qualification is the question of principle. The Australians and Africans are people who have carried their race prejudices and antipathies to very great lengths and have told the mother country that they are self-governing institutions which do not intend to carry out the ideal of Empire to the extent of admitting other subjects of the Empire to equal rights. Of course, that is within their power. Great Britain is not likely to coerce them or try to do so and as to reasoning with them, that is a mere waste of time. With regard to Natal, the Indian Government has refused to allow the Colonists to buy further "slaves" from India on the ground, however, mainly of bad treatment. It is time then, that the Government of India took up the question from Mr. Imam's point of view and asserted its right to prohibit Australians, New Zealanders and Africans on principle. It would be supported by all India on this point and everyone would be pleased to see a little more pluck and plain-speaking on the subject and nothing would be more popular among Indians or more calculated to make them rally round the Government. A Government which allows itself to be kicked is very much like an individual which allows himself to be kicked. And we are afraid the Indian Government has generally allowed itself to be kicked and treated by the Colonial office as Harris, the green grocer, was by Mr. Tuckle at the great Soiree at Bath.

Indian Immigrants killed in Demerara.

A Reuter's telegram dated London April 3, runs as follows:—

A message from George Town, Demerara, says that a serious disturbance occurred on a plantation in Berbice last month in which fourteen East Indian immigrants and one policeman were killed. Hitherto the details are obscure; but it appears that owing to an attack on the policeman the authorities used their fire-arms. There is a tendency in some quarters to attribute the outbreak to the presence of Indian Commissioners, whose object and powers have been exaggerated by the East Indian community.

The last sentence represents the Colonists' version. We know the nature of our countrymen, and under what circumstances they work in these plantations. We are almost sure that they were driven to desperation by some great wrong.

Protest of Hindus in Canada.

We have received an account of a gathering of Vancouver Hindus to protest against Canada's exclusion policy.

Declaring that the Canadian policy of denying entrance to Hindu women and children is inhuman and against all the codes of British justice; asserting that the Canadian public is misinformed about these people by a few politicians who "are pulling the public about by the nose;" that the Board of Inquiry is ridiculous in itself and that the immigration officer therefore constitutes a personal board of inquiry, Hindu and English speakers last night at Dominion Hall, protested in stirring terms against the restrictions that keep the Hindus' wives separated from them by thousands of miles.

Following upon a review of the efforts at Ottawa to alter the immigration measure, and its failure, a resolution was passed unanimously that delegations be sent both to the Indian and British governments to lay the matter before them.

Arguments set forth as reasons why the women and children should be admitted, were numerous. Speakers pointed to the Japanese and Chinese women, who are allowed to enter, and asking why the privilege should be denied India, which, unlike these two countries, is British. Mr. Campbell-Johnston declared there is no justification in any land to keep out the families of anyone, that it is inhuman, whether in the British empire, the United States, or any other country.

A Hindu speaker declared it was jeopardizing the family life, "the very foundation of British government. We who are domiciled in Canada have the interest of this country at heart," declared the chairman toward the close of the meeting in a sort of summing up address. "We certainly do not wish to see undesirables enter this country, but we are not an undesirable class, and I challenge anyone to show me satisfactorily why it would harm Canada for our wives and children to enter."

Intimations that India might cause trouble, at least of an economic nature, if the present policy continued, were hinted at several times during the evening. Mr. Campbell-Johnston said the Hindus here might refuse to trade with Canadians. "I believe the latter are so materialistic they would then look on the subject in a very different light," he added.

The American Income-tax.

In America no one pays income-tax whose income is below Rs. 12,000 per annum. Persons whose incomes are over Rs. 12,000 and up to Rs. 60,000 pay one per cent. From Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 1,50,000 a year they pay two per cent. Persons earning more than three lakhs a year pay four per cent. That is the maximum. Even multi-millionaires do not pay more. The incidence of taxation in India is said to be very light. But whereas an American earning Rs. 1000 per month is *not* taxed, an Indian earning Rs. 1000 per year is taxed.

Corrections.

In the article "A Basis for the Appreciation of Works of Art" by Mr. William Rothenstein, printed in the last February number, the following passages are not parts of the text, but are comments by a friendly critic on Mr. Rothenstein's address. They got mixed up with the text by inadvertence.

On page 126, "we are inclined to admit the greatness of Dante" to "a few superior persons of intelligence." On page 128 "will you say that music, the dance" to "art quickens the sensibilities." In the same paragraph "beauty regarded as a transcendent virtue is an awkward customer," and further on "I agree "art" is a concept" down to "but that to which art is attached" on page 129. Also on page 129 "This is Benedetto Avoce's position" to "as the expression of truth." On page 134 "True, but is the fault with the public" to "meeting the conditions."

By a mistake of the press in our last month's reviews under the head of "Hindi Vyakaran Praveshika" a review of another book (Hindi Bhasha Ka Sulabh Vyakaran by Pandit Kanhaiya Lal) was published. So the following corrections should be made.

After "Crown 8 vo." cross out the italicised portion and add:— pp. 18. Price—1½ annas.

In this introductory primer the elementary principles of Hindi Grammar have been given in clear and concise terms. We do not think there is much necessity of giving the lists of words in different parts of speech in rhyming couplets: the rules may rather be given in rhyme.

Hindi Bhasha ka Sulabh Vyakaran by Do. and to be had of Do. Crown 8 vo. pp. 118. 2nd edition. Price—4 as.



IN QUEST OF THE BELOVED.

From the water-color painting of Mr. Samarendranath Gupta by his kind permission.

Three color blocks by U. Ray & Sons.

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

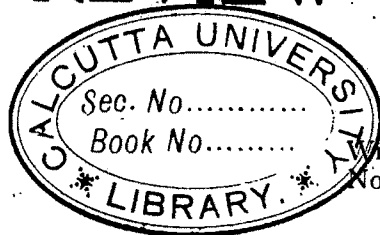
Amrita

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6

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WHOLE
No. 78

TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

When comes a king, the cannonade booms forth
Traditional greeting—along the flattering shores
The gaudy straining ranks declare their joy
Or counterfeit of joy; men's hearts are big
With pride of the glittering vision, until all —
Shores, banners, gazers, empty pageantry,
Are swallowed by the night. The king has passed!

But when the Poet comes, the patient shores
Maintain their wonted peace. Only the sun
Unflattering sweeps the broad plains of the sky
For brighter canopy, and loving minds
Enfold him with old comradeship; while ever
The silent processions of the day and night
Lay down their precious gifts and pass to peace.
Methinks when comes the Poet the songless plains
Are trembling with his nearness and the hills
Wave banners of delight while epic waters
Murmur a new content and rise to claim
Him as their lyric voice, and future time
In envy of the present frets for birth.
And from the desert silence of great towns,
From out the hunger of the choking plains,
Upon lone heights where white souls grope for peace,
From far dim shores of unborn centuries,
Wherever spirit yearneth unto light,
Or dumb lips crave an utterance divine,
In greeting and in yearning eager arms
Reach out to him. Behold the king has come!

MAYCE F. SEYMOUR.

Urbana, Illinois, U. S. A.

THE NEED OF A SCIENCE OF MORALS

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

WERE I to be asked what I believe to be the greatest need of the modern world I should certainly reply that it is for a deeper moral thinking, the development of a science of morals, a science of right-living, that is, the training of our youth, in school and college, to think about life and conduct, to analyse and criticise life, that they might get an intelligent grasp of life, and of the conditions of human well-being.

Wherever we turn at the present time there is social chaos and social war; a most deplorable but nevertheless growing class antagonism; infinite waste—waste of wealth, waste of time and energy, waste of life;—a striking lack of joyousness, of happiness, of real satisfaction, of the delight of living. The spirit of unrest has spread out her wings wide across the earth so that peace is scarcely to be found anywhere. Doubt seems to be in the very atmosphere; faith in the ideals of the past and in ancient modes of conduct is fast passing away; while knowledge, especially moral knowledge, true understanding of the meaning of life, is rarely to be met with, even among the so-called learned. Ours is decidedly an age of transition; our habits and desires are rapidly changing, while thought is in a state of flux; about nothing can we be certain, except, perhaps, that we no longer believe in the ideas and in the social order of the past: ignorance, sheer moral ignorance, an utter incapacity to understand life, to grasp the elemental conditions of well-being marks,—in this democratic age!—the present condition of society.

And this condition, be it noted, is universal, being almost as apparent among the advanced nations of the East as among the advanced nations of the West. In both hemispheres influences are at work which are tending to break up the ancient constitution and conception of society; to disinte-

grate and reconstitute the social order; to make every man, yea, and every woman too, a social unit, a free, independent and morally responsible being in the fullest sense of the term. Not that there is taking root a tendency to de-socialise, or un-socialise, man, not in the least, at any rate, not intentionally, although there can be no gainsaying that the temporary effects of many of the changes that are at present taking place seem to tend in that direction, but simply that the chief tendency of the times is towards greater liberty for the individual, greater liberty all round—economic, religious, political, moral. And what strikes me most profoundly—a fact that is forced upon me every time I talk with an Indian or read an Indian journal,—is not simply that the ideals of the East and the West, or, more precisely, of India and England, are coming to be almost identically the same, but that the national movements to which those ideals are giving rise, have for their object the attainment of very similar ends. It is customary, and quite in keeping with tradition, and, indeed, with fact, as things were, to lay stress upon the points of difference between Eastern and Western idealism, but, what strikes me is the essential unity of Eastern and Western idealism as those exist to-day.

By coming closer together, East and West and especially England and India, have been able to learn much of each other. The practical and social idealism of the West has gradually become attractive to the East while the leisureliness and mysticism of the East are having some effect upon the West. It is a lack of historical grasp that is the chief cause of misconception with respect to what we are apt to term the "essential" nature of Eastern and of Western idealism. We forget that a nation's ideals, like its habits and customs, sometimes change, and often very radically.

in the course of a comparatively few years. Thus we in England are in the habit of thinking Eastern, and particularly Indian, idealism extremely mystical, abstractly spiritual, and anti-social, or at any rate, non-social, and of regarding Western idealism as a sort of happy medium between the extremes of abstract spirituality, on the one hand, and sheer worldliness, on the other, forgetting that it is only latterly that we in England have begun to develop the practical or social side of our idealism, and that throughout the history of Monasticism, and during the early history of Puritanism, English idealism was almost as mystical, as abstractly spiritual as we now suppose Indian idealism to be. If it is the case that a great number of Indians find their ideal in a life of meditation, prayer and fasting wholly in the inner life of the spirit, and not in the love of things finite and earthly, in the cultivation and enjoyment of social relationships etc., we have need to remember that down to quite recent years the Puritans clung to a very similar idealism, and even went so far as to believe that to love wife or child, or any human being whomsoever, was evil, a direct robbery of God; and to remember also that this mystical, or one-sided idealism which we seem to think inseparable from the East is becoming more and more unpopular there. Indeed I am quite convinced from recent reading and investigation that there is growing up in India a social idealism very similar to that which we are developing in England. It is quite true that many ancient Indian customs are anti-social in their effects, as, for instance, the caste system, but just so are many English customs, but the fact remains that the most advanced Indians of the present time, and the men who are destined to be in the vanguard of the future development of India, are men whose idealism is essentially social, points to and presupposes vast human brotherhood, the unification of the entire human race in the bonds of a deep and common sympathy.

India is leaving behind her the abstract spiritual idealism of her past just as surely as England is, and is aspiring with equal ardour towards a loftier and profounder idealism, an idealism that includes social intercourse, human fellowship, as an inte-

gral part of it. And this opinion is confirmed when I read such poems as those by Rabindra Nath Tagore, who, although he is described in this country as an "Indian mystic", reveals in his poems a passionate love for every living and beautiful thing, and especially for human beings, human virtue and character, and who goes into rapture over the beautiful deeds, the social and spiritual achievements of man.

Now, as touching the question of the growth of individual liberty and of the disintegration of the old social order, both of which are bound to result from the spread of the belief in Democracy, what developments, and what new demands are likely to be made as the outcome of such growth? That quite new and undreamt of developments will be sure to follow we may be quite sure, but precisely what these will be it is utterly impossible to say beforehand. Happily, however, we have abundant evidence in the recent history of the most advanced nations of the West, both as to the nature of the demands which a democratic nation seems destined to make, and the particular evils to which Democracy seems prone. In England, for instance, where the process of transition from a governed to a self-governing country, from an Aristocracy to a Democracy, from a condition where the people's moral lives have been externally controlled to one where they are internally or self-controlled, has been in operation for nearly half a century, it is possible to detect not only the likely but many inevitable tendencies of Democracy, and to discover what the real nature, meaning and implications of Democracy are. A close study of the recent history of England, of the tendencies and conditions to which Democracy is giving rise in a country like England, therefore, ought to be of immense value to a nation like India where the movement towards Democracy is only just beginning, and is for the most part confined within a moderately limited circle of educated people. But such a study would be of equal value to England, for the plain fact is that England does not at this present moment understand herself; in the least realise the nature of the crisis through which she is passing, the importance of the step she as a nation is taking, what goal she is actually

making towards. What Democracy is, what its implications are, or what the ideal is that is really responsible for all the mighty changes that are taking place in her midst, England has only the vaguest idea. Consequently England does not realise her real and immediate needs, what attitude she ought to take up towards the new movements and tendencies that are taking root in her national life, and thus what she ought to do in order to transform what is now a condition of social war and social chaos into a condition of social peace and social unity.

Such being the case, therefore, we are able to see what a real unity there is after all between the civilisations of the East and of the West, and how that what is to be said upon this great and important question of the conditions of spiritual development in the twentieth century, the question of the present-day need for a science of morals, for a lofty and adequate spiritual idealism, will be applicable to the entire modern civilised world: to Western nations like England no less than to Eastern nations like India. And if in order to illustrate or prove my arguments I turn from time to time to the history and present condition of England, it is only because I believe the course of development in England to have been straighter and directer, and perhaps shorter, than that of any other country, and not because I believe the present condition of England to be exemplary or worthy of imitation. Indeed, as to this last point, such is the present moral and social condition of England, that if she cannot ere long be induced to face her moral and spiritual condition seriously and determinedly, terrible disaster will be sure to follow. And, as regards the present series of articles it is significant that what England needs in order to lift her out of the sordid materialism which is eating out her very vitals, is precisely what India is needing in order to escape a similar condition, and in order to attain those grander heights of spiritual being which the coming of Democracy makes possible.

Now Democracy is inevitable, for the simple reason that it signifies greater liberty for the individual. But a remarkable fact is that the liberty for which Democracy stands is not simply political, but moral; and it is

this fact that causes the coming of Democracy to have such momentous consequences, to give rise to so many new movements, so many new tendencies. We are approaching the democratic age, and the heart of the entire civilised world is beginning to swell at the thought that the age of liberty, especially of moral liberty is approaching. For the first time in the history of the modern world the people at large are beginning to claim for themselves absolute right to determine their own lives, to fashion their own ideals, to choose their own morals, to say what ends their life shall serve and by what means they will attain them. They are beginning to do this in the West and, if I mistake not, there are signs of a similar tendency taking root in the East.

Hitherto the great body of the English people, like the proletariat of every other modern nation, have accepted their morals and their ideals ready-made at the hands of some external authority such as a Church or a priesthood, and have been absolutely controlled by those tremendous forces,—tradition, custom and religion. But to-day quite a different attitude and spirit are manifesting themselves. A desire for moral freedom, for the right of moral self-control is spreading on every hand. And that is one of the surest signs of the approach of Democracy. For when a people are ready for Democracy they begin to suspect external Authority, whether in regard to political, religious or moral issues; and to develop ideas and opinions of their own. They are no longer willing to accept their morals, their ideals, or their political theories ready-made at the hands of established authority: they think it their right and their duty to produce their own. Hence, when the age of Democracy is approaching there is to be noticed a growing disposition among the people to criticise life, its customs and conventions, its morals and ideals, and ultimately to claim the right of absolute self-control: the right to choose one's religion, one's ideal of life, one's political theory, etc., for oneself. Accordingly, in every country where Democracy is beginning to establish itself there is to be noticed a marked tendency, even among ordinary and homely people, to rely less and less on established religion, on the priesthood, etc., for guidance

in the determination of their lives, to think about life for themselves, and to take full responsibility for their beliefs, principles and conduct.

This change of attitude towards established authority and towards life, together with the new demand for moral liberty, which is the chief characteristic of the present age, and which, as I believe, is destined to give effect to one of the profoundest social and spiritual revolutions that has overtaken the human race since the commencement of civilisation, is the surest indication of the approach of Democracy. Properly understood Democracy stands for increased personal liberty, and not political or religious liberty, merely, but moral liberty, as well the right of the individual to determine and control his entire life. In other words, Democracy stands for self-government carried out to its fullest extent; it may thus be said to stand for the moral and spiritual emancipation of the individual.

That the implications of Democracy are such as I have stated may be abundantly proved by tendencies which are everywhere to be noticed in countries where Democracy, or the belief in Democracy is spreading. For the sake of illustration let me make a few references to the growth of Democracy in England.

A generation ago the British working-man placed a profound trust in the British Government and in the British Constitution. During recent years that trust has visibly weakened, been quietly but deliberately withdrawn; and instead of being satisfied with government on trust working-men are now inclining to be critical, many of them having developed quite original and unorthodox ideas concerning the purpose and meaning of government.

Another fact equally significant is the awakening of the national consciousness to the thought and ideals of the finest and most independent writers and thinkers. Fifty years ago literature in this country was an esoteric force, the pastime and interest of a select few, or a small and well-defined class. Then, what was known as Society gave itself up with a dutiful and often pleasurable seriousness to the study and discussion of literature, art, religion, politics and science. This small class, with

the addition of a few artists, wits and intellectuals, who expended their genius chiefly for the benefit and amusement of their social betters, and who in return, were allowed to bask in the brilliance and luxuriance of an aristocratic environment, these, I say, together with a few scattered scholars and recluses, drawn chiefly from the Middle Class, comprised the reading and thinking public of sixty years ago. Could we but take a peep into the home of the average working-man of that time, we should probably find that it contained absolutely no literature, nothing, in fact, save perhaps a political pamphlet or two, which would be hidden away at the bottom of some drawer, as relics, an old newspaper, and in rare instances, one or two small books of a devotional or theological character.

But what mighty changes have taken place in the interim which separates that day from the present! Literature is no longer the possession of the few but a national heritage and a national force. The poorest man to-day who makes a claim to self-respect is ashamed to confess himself unread, devoid of ideas in regard to life generally, or in regard to the outstanding questions in religion, politics, morals, etc. Publishers' lists are scanned in the humblest homes, and the latest books on life and morals can often be found within a month of publication in the hands of working-men. Public libraries abound everywhere, while every small town has an abundance of lectures, literary, debating and improvement societies, etc.

Now, this intellectual awakening of the working-man has synchronised with the coming of Democracy, and has helped to bring about those changes in the average Englishman's outlook upon, and general attitude towards, life, which, for their importance and significance are perhaps unparalleled in our history. So vastly different is the average Englishman's attitude towards life, and towards the countless institutions which surround him from what it was half a century ago, that nothing short of a revolution has been achieved; and yet, outwardly and visibly, there has been little sign of revolution. The customs and conventions of past ages have been quietly questioned, severely criticised, and in a great number of cases, calmly but determinedly laid aside, with

the result that our English life is wholly different from what it used to be—different in form, different in content, different in spirit.

In politics, tradition has been abandoned, and the halo of mystery which ignorance and blind political faith had enabled to form around Toryism and Liberalism, converting them almost into a religion, is fast dissipating. Politics, even a generation ago, were a question of faith, of great personalities, of tradition, of family right, of blood; but to-day they are more and more becoming a question of principle, of universal individual right, of reason and public discussion. Unreasoning faith is fast being superseded by reason and the application of conscious principles.

In the domain of morals changes of a similar character are also to be observed. Fifty years ago the Church was the unquestioned authority on all matters appertaining to morals, to conduct. To do as the Church bade; to accept the condition and constitution of society which it sanctioned, was the undisputed duty of every self-respecting citizen. But latterly reason has been doing her work and has revealed the vast disparity between the conduct which the Church sanctioned and advocated, the social relationships which it commended and helped to form, and the conduct which Christ preached and practised, the social relationships which he tried to establish; with the result that the prestige and sanctity of the Church have been temporarily destroyed, while the Church's claim to be the sole and unfailing revealer of God's truth has been absolutely repudiated and shattered. Thus, in the sphere of morals, human reason has at last claimed the right and asserted the power to discover, demonstrate and teach, moral truth. And to such an extent has this right been claimed that the Church is manifesting great alarm at the fact of its weakening hold upon the people. At last the people at large have begun to think, and the effect is proving disastrous to all those institutions which stand for adherence to ancient moral standards. This age is out of sympathy with the Church for the simple reason that it has ceased to believe in the existing social order, in the conventionalism, in the played-out moral maxims which the Church, unfortunately, seems to

think its chief business to uphold. The Church, to-day, Nonconformist no less than Anglican, stands less for a principle of life, a beautiful and worthy spiritual ideal, an earnest attempt to grasp and teach the central principles of Christianity, than for a certain social order, to wit, the aristocratic, and for a hide-bound, sterilised, conventional code of morals.

Likewise in the sphere of religion the same assertion of independence, of the right of free thought and of free declaration of opinion and belief has been made. Public discussion of important issues in theology, philosophy and science, have made these studies familiar to the working-man, and have helped to raise in him a spirit of rebellion against every authority which presumes to deny his right of free discussion, of free expression of religious opinion and conviction. Moreover, it is undoubtedly the case that large numbers of working-men have, by sheer hard work and persistent endeavour in the short intervals for leisure between the long hours of toil, made themselves conversant with the deeper problems of life and thought, and have qualified themselves to hold an opinion on these vital matters. Half a century ago heterodoxy was anathema, and the ordinary man would have as soon thought of attempting to fly to the moon as of hesitating to believe what the Church taught. But to-day it is recognised that the Church does not possess a monopoly either of truth or intelligence, and also, that any belief which is accepted on the authority of an external institution and is not rooted in intelligence, cannot be of much consequence, possess much vital force.

Thus the real significance of the coming of Democracy lies in the fact that it stands for the freeing and the affirmation of the individual; of reason; for the highest culture of the spirit; necessarily so, seeing that it is the outcome of the conviction that only in self-conscious, self-determined conduct can real well-being be found. Democracy is the outcome of a belief in man in freedom, and has for its object the culture of the whole man, the fullest development of every part of the soul; thus it rests on the belief that the purpose of existence is not merely to function, to work, to spend and be spent, but to realise life, to do good things

knowing them to be good, to be the condition of well-being both personal and social. Consequently Democracy is inevitable, being a life-movement, an endeavour on the part of the great mass of humanity to live more completely and vitally, to realise more life, to reach out to higher heights of spiritual attainment. The coming of Democracy is indeed a sign of an awakening to the fact that a man's life ought to be something more than a blind pursuit of something he knows not what, a doing of things the value and meaning of which he has at best only the vaguest idea; that it ought to be both conscious and purposive, self-expressive, one long process of self-realisation. Man's work in the future, it is being felt, must be the product of love, of the heart and the understanding, an expression of intelligent purpose, of personality; for the truth has at last dawned upon men that in themselves in their own hearts and minds, are the issues of life, the conditions of highest well-being. The attainment of moral freedom involves the substitution of an internal for an external origin of conduct, it thus involves the elevation of life on to a higher and more god-like plane. The colourless, formal and mechanical life of the ignorant and benighted toiler is destined to pass away for ever; so also is the life of the mere wealth-seeker and of the mere pleasure-seeker. Conduct or life, it is now coming to be seen ought to be a spiritual activity, a means of self-expression, of self realisation, of increasing life.

But if with the coming of Democracy, and the attainment of absolute moral freedom, a new era is foreshadowed, it is none the less true that new dangers and perils loom into view, and that in return for his newly won rights certain fresh duties and responsibilities must be acknowledged. If the individual is to claim the right to govern and control his own life absolutely, it is surely reasonable to ask what guarantee society has that he will control it well, will live in accordance with high moral principles, will not allow his life to run to waste or be the means of causing a great amount of social suffering, unhappiness and ruin.

Now, whatever the plane of life he on which a man lives, a certain appropriate

training is necessary; but a training of a very special kind is called for on the attainment of Democracy, of moral freedom. There is one kind of moral training appropriate to the condition of semi barbarism; another kind appropriate to a moderately advanced civilisation; and another but quite different kind appropriate to the condition of Democracy. Morality in the first instance is enforced by means of fear and the threat of punishment, the meaning and purpose of morality at this stage not being understood. In the second instance morality becomes a part of religion and is made the condition of sonship with God, of gaining that Divine favour through which all good in the present life and in that to be believed to come; at this stage morality is God's Will, the discipline which God appoints for man in order that he may purify and perfect himself. Only in the third instance is morality free, for not until man is ready for Democracy, for complete moral freedom, does he realise the true significance of morality as not merely a means of personal discipline, but of developing those relationships with the world, with God, man, and Nature, whereby life may be beautified and spiritualised to the fullest extent. At this stage, therefore, morality is absolutely dependent upon insight, upon a clear perception of the social and spiritual purpose which every moral act serves. Prior to the development of free moral consciousness all morals are dogmas, which are enforced partly by promises of divine favour and of future welfare, and partly by inculcating a reverence for tradition, custom, ancient institutions, etc. But with the attainment of moral freedom no moral teaching can be in the least effective which does not go to the root of the problems of life and morality, and show that every duty serves a definite social and spiritual purpose, and thus leads to life, to spiritual advancement.

Now it is with respect to the moral training appropriate to the condition of Democracy, of moral freedom, that the present series of articles is being written. It is my purpose to show the kind of moral teaching that is needed in this the twentieth century, and, further to develop an ideal of life which will be the promise of the profoundest well-being, of the fullest and highest spiritual development to the civilised world in this

the twentieth century. And such a task needs to be undertaken immediately, for the simple reason that with the growth of the idea of Democracy and the consequent claiming by intelligent men and women of the right of complete self control, absolute moral freedom, thousands who are not intelligent, and who do not know what it is to think, especially to think about life and morals, have claimed that right also, and are thus living in the world without any adequate moral guide, the consequence of which is that large numbers of people have thrown off every moral restraint and are living more like libertines than men. It is precisely because of the want of adequate moral training that in the Western world to-day, in countries like the United States and England,—countries in which the seeds of a finer spiritual idealism are undoubtedly taking root,—a commercial system is in vogue, which, for its inhumanity, its callous human disregard, its tremendous waste of wealth, energy and life, surely surpasses the barbaric customs of savagery. Personally, I am quite convinced that in so far as England and the other Western nations are concerned, the number of those who have claimed the right of absolute moral control and have taken their lives entirely into their own hands, and who are yet capable of moral self-control, know the meaning and purpose of morality, or realise that the very existence of morality presupposes existence of a Good which it ought to be their first and chief aim to try and discover, is exceedingly small. The great mass of the people have grasped the meaning of Democracy to this extent that they know it means self-government; the right of the individual to control his own life; but only a few have realised that the right of complete moral freedom entails a deeper moral thinking, or that the chief purpose of moral freedom is to make life more spiritual, more abundant, more conscious and vital. Unless man is morally free, thinks and acts for and of himself, he cannot attain the highest life; but having secured his moral freedom, to neglect to think about life is to court unspeakable disaster.

Thus I maintain that nowhere in the world neither in the West, where Democracy is supposed to have come, nor in the East,

where it is beginning to be dreamed of, has the true significance of Democracy been grasped, the deeper obligations and spiritual implications which the attainment of moral freedom carries with it, been anything like adequately realised. In the West the people seem to be using their freedom as a weapon to thrust off those who would limit their chances of success by the intrusion of "awkward" laws and "foolish" morals, as a means, that is, of enabling them to accumulate, in the quickest time possible, and by any means in their power, or which a materialistic and morally decadent age can be induced to allow, a large amount of wealth. And in the East, as the idea of Democracy spreads, and as industrial development takes place, freedom will be used in a similar way unless it is prevented by a more adequate moral training.

The evolution of free moral consciousness marks an epoch in human development of unparalleled significance, for it means, that with proper guidance and adequate training, man is to be transformed into a being of spiritual beauty surpassing anything that has yet been conceived, while life is to increase unspeakably in depth and fullness, in joy and happiness. But the training! Everything depends upon that. The attainment of moral freedom, like the attainment of liberty everywhere, calls for a deeper thinking, a more thorough-going inquiry into the meaning and purpose of things. And the problem that the attainment of moral freedom demands that we shall investigate and inquire into is the problem of life itself, its meaning, its purpose, its goal and Good. The first question which the morally free man ought to ask himself, therefore, is this: What is the good which I ought to seek? and the second: How ought I to live in order to attain it? In other words he ought to ask: In what manner of relationships with the world is happiness to be found? Upon what principle or principles ought my life and conduct to be based? And when one comes to think about life, the problem of human well-being, of morality, to realise the calculableness of cause and effect in regard to conduct, the conclusion that life points to a good and that there is such as a best, an ideal, life, cannot possibly be avoided. Indeed, the more one thinks about this question

the more one is driven to the conclusion that life is, or ought to be, both a science and an art; that while there are many ways of living there is only one right way. As a means of helping many to realise that great and important truth more fully and intensely to find out what the Good is to which life points, the present and following articles have been written.

To conclude this introductory essay, therefore, let me say that for two chief reasons, *viz.*, first, that the present tendency in all the great civilised countries of the world, whether of the East or of the West, is towards the moral emancipation of the individual, the freeing of the individual from the moral over-lordship of external authority, and second, that the very fact of the existence of the moral law proves that there must be such a thing as a best or ideal life, it follows that one of the profoundest needs of the present time is for the training of the men and women, yea, and of the youths and maidens of our time in the art of moral thinking, the teaching them the principles of right living, the science of life, of morals. The day for teaching morals dogmatically is past, and the time has fully come when we must show to men that what we call morality is but the condition of attaining life, true well-being, for only thus can we hope to arrest their minds, make headway against evil and materialism, perfect, purify and spiritualise man, and increase happiness, beauty

and joy in the earth. And the fact is that nowhere at the present time do we instruct our youth in the science of life, in the art of living. Our young men are trained for the professions, but not for life; are instructed in the wherewithal to get riches, but not how to get life. Indeed they are nowhere taught what life is. It is true that in many of our elementary schools simple moral lessons are given, but as for the deeper problems of conduct, the question of life itself, its goal and good, not a single word is spoken. Such morals as are taught only affect manners, not motives; touch only the fringe of life, not its centre. Whereas every youth ought to be trained to think morally; to criticise life; to test its presuppositions; to ascertain the relative value of the different modes of life which society exhibits—the aristocratic life, for instance with its belief in Birth, Privilege and marked social distinctions; the priestly life with its social negations, its pride of vocation and of class; the Plutocratic life with its belief in wealth and power, luxury and magnificence; the Democratic life with its belief in freedom, simplicity, social intercourse, and with its hatred of shams, class distinctions, etc.

Indeed, the more I think upon the present condition of society throughout the entire civilised world, the more I am convinced that a greater problem than that of the proper moral training of the people for life in this the twentieth century does not exist.

THE PURPOSES OF ART

An Address to the Students of the Newcastle-under-Lyme School of Art, January 1913.

BY DR. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, D.SC.

CRITICS and historians of art may be of use in the present age, in so far as they act as the true servants of artists; but they ought to be entirely unnecessary, and certainly they did not exist and were not needed in the great periods of art, when every one took as much interest in painting and masonry and handicraft, as they do now

in politics. Those were great moments in the world's history, which we now recognize as the supreme attainment of each great cycle of art: for example, in early Egypt, in sixth century Greece, eighth century India and China, and thirteenth century Europe and Persia.

It has been the special privilege of this

age to learn to recognize one greatness in these diverse expressions of man's will and thereby, at least in theory, to disentangle the essential from the merely fashionable and academic. This process will have been most familiar to you in connection with Gothic, for though none of us can actually remember the time, it is less than a hundred years since the term Gothic was held to mean barbarous. We have learnt since then that the first requisite of art is deep conviction; that whatever is truly felt, has also great power to move others.

But I sometimes wonder whether you, who are going to be artists, have always the courage of your convictions, and believe, as we all ought to that the greatest art means the greatest life; believe, for example, that the thirteenth century represents the zenith of European culture, in respect of nearly all that concerns our most serious welfare. We have not been, since then, nor were we now, without great artists and craftsmen amongst us, perhaps as great as any that have been. But their work has more and more come to depend entirely on their individual greatness: while it is surely true, as Professor Lethaby tells you in his inspiring booklet about Architecture, that the greatest art is never one man deep, but a thousand men deep. It is the creation of a race, unified by one profound impulse; a race, moreover, so far single-minded as to regard the expression of its passion in works of art—in architecture, song, or handicraft as a sufficient end in itself, not merely as a means to something else.

In becoming artists, therefore, you have something much more to do than to aim at originality, or expression of your own personality. You have a harder task than that, the most difficult, but also the most inspiring that a man many undertake. It is the task of all artists in creative periods—to apprehend, not the past only or even the present, but the far distant intentions of humanity, and to give this will expression in your design. You may not know quite all that you are expressing, or why; but you will know that something is growing in the world, and that a little part of it is growing in yourselves. Perhaps then, in centuries to come, when artists once more come into power, men will look back on

the surviving fragments of your work, with due knowledge of the difficulty of your environment, and with the same loving recognition of your sincerity, that we now give to those impassioned artists of all ages whom we name the Primitives.

Perhaps you will think that in saying this, that I am speaking only of Painters and Sculptors and Architects and great Musicians; you will think that these may bring to birth a new art, expressive of the future, but that such a claim for the craftsman must be extravagant. But I desire to represent to you the solidarity of art; the fact that whenever art has been truly great, this greatness has been just as clearly written in the contour of an earthen pot, the carving of an illiterate mason, or the form of a sword, as in any painting or image. It is worth while to repeat, that the greatest art is a thousand men deep. The cure for Industrialism, whose greatest sin is to consider art as a means to something else (generally money), and not as an end in itself, extensive with life, has to be found by the people who make things, and will not make them stupidly. When you begin to make things to sell, you will find that it is very difficult to make them wisely, that is, sincerely and purposefully, if you are to depend upon your work for a living; while it is not at all difficult to combine great prosperity with very stupid and dishonest workmanship. In making art your calling, you are therefore bound to become revolutionists, unless you also agree to regard art as a means to something else.

It is only by means of art that a permanent revolution can be achieved. For any deep and lasting revolution can only be founded upon a re-education of the sense-sensitiveness of the whole race, which in this respect, is now probably at its lowest level. Certainly never before has our daily environment, unavoidable even by the wealthiest, included so many hideous noises, so many glaring colours, or so many lifeless forms. It is your task as craftsmen to undertake this long neglected education of the senses, nowadays so much despised, and everywhere sacrificed to the purposes of trade, empire, and priesthood. We may consider ourselves civilised in the true sense of the word, when the streets of a city

become again, what they once were, even more attractive to artists, than fields and mountains and forests. It is a bad sign that we townsmen should need to escape from our normal environment, for the re-creation of our senses

The importance of this sense education has been nowhere more clearly stated than by Plato. He indeed says, that the being able to distinguish quickly, without a process of reasoning, between good and bad workmanship, is in itself to be well educated. Probably you would all agree; but remember that that is now the accepted view of only a very small and uninfluential class, the artists of to-day. It rests with you to secure its universal acceptance, by the seriousness of your intention, and the devotion with which you express it. Plato explains further that the importance of this sense-education, of the value of fine workmanship, is just this that man absorbs into himself the harmony of whatever in his environment is beautiful, and is nourished by it. He insists, as carefully as Morris, on the fact that the qualities of which we speak appear as much in the hand work of the craftsman, as in that of the painter or sculptor. Expression, harmony, rhythm, he says, belong not only to painting and poetry, but "weaving is full of these, and carving, and architecture, and all workmanship of every kind of vessels...in all these there is propriety and impropriety." And he says, that we should require nobility in art, not only of poets, but of all craftsmen, "lest our guardians, being educated in the midst of ill representations, as in an ill pasture, whereby everyday plucking and eating a deal of different things, by little and little they contract imperceptibly some mighty evil in their souls." That is already the case with us, and the remedy lies with you: for, as Plato continues, "we must seek out such workmen as are able by the help of a good natural genius to trace the nature of the beautiful and the decent, that our youth dwelling as it were in a healthful place, may be benefited at all hands; whence from the beautiful works something will be conveyed to the sight and hearing, as a breeze bringing health from salutary places, imperceptibly leading them on directly from childhood to the resemblance, friendship and harmony with right reason."

Let us follow Plato in respect of a more

special matter, that of imitation in art. He says of imitative painting, just what it has taken us in Europe so many centuries to rediscover, though in Asia it was never forgotten: I refer to the passage where he says of painting—and the same, of course, applies to sculpture, that "imitation is a sort of amusement, and not a serious affair." The discoveries of modern science, if they have seemed to draw our attention away from more important matters, have at any rate rendered this service to art, that we have learnt from photography that it is no essential part of art to show us what things are like; we are more and more able to hand over the business of pure illustration to the photographer, with great gain for art. It even becomes possible for us to understand the exclamation of the old Indian cyclopaedist, who says so fiercely that the portraiture of men is an unhallowed thing, and requires of the artist that he shall represent none but the gods. At any rate, the discoveries of science have set the designer free to recreate a purely expressive art, concerned entirely with feeling, and hardly at all with description. This also brings the painter once more nearer to the craftsman, who has never departed so far as himself from the true basis of art, the creation of significant form. Perhaps, however, one word of warning is here required; it must not be supposed that this emancipation from the requirements of illustration (originating in the vanity or curiosity of patrons) can absolve the artist from the need for loving intimacy with nature, or excuse him, if his work become perverse or fanciful. However abstract or conventional his work, it is laid upon the artist that his creations must be infused with the same life as that which he sees in Nature; the same life, but even more clearly revealed. Is there not more intense vitality in the most strange and silent Egyptian goddess, than in the most talkative individual?

Whatever exists in your innermost self will, if you are sincere, find expression fully and inevitably in your work. In conclusion, therefore, I wish to invite you to avoid the error of confining your studies to the mere technique of your own art, and to keep yourself in touch with the visions of all great men: in other words to make your education, not merely technical, but also imaginative. Far

more often an artist fails for lack of anything to say, than because of inability to speak. Do not think that these other matters do not concern you; it concerns you intimately how Sigurd lived and died, how Helen drew the Greeks to Troy; you are concerned with your own folk-song and dance, with the poetry of Blake and Walt Whitman, the fulminations of Nietzsche, the theatre of Cordon Craig, and with the discovery of Asia.

If I may venture at all to criticise the methods of teaching art, customary in Europe, it is to find its limitations in a too exclusive concern with technique. In happier days, the art student learnt his craft in a workshop, which formed part of the world; now he grows up amongst a smaller circle of his own kind, very much isolated from the world, and ultimately becomes one of a class who are only respected by the world, in so far as they minister to the world's

convenience, or support its prejudices. It is therefore more than ever necessary to restore balance to the art student's life, by extending its scope. One further word about Old Masters: much as we may love the masterpieces of ancient art, Egyptian or Greek or Indian or Gothic, we must not think of them as models for ourselves; we must use them, with literature and music, and life itself, for our education. The essential thing in that education, is that we should become ever more and more sensitive to what the Chinese speak of as the "Rhythm of the spirit in the movement of living things",—sensitive, in a word, to Life. Thus only will it be possible to create a new art, of such a sort as to rank with the ancient masterpieces; that is, such as to reveal life with perfect clearness and simplicity, as it appears to the keenest vision of our own time and place.

SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

By REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, M.A.

KESHUB Chunder Sen, who holds so distinguished a place among the religious teachers of India, is honored and loved, not alone in his own land, but by many in this distant part of the world. In the following simple and somewhat disconnected thoughts concerning him I fear there may not be so much of value or interest to Indian readers as I could wish, but at least they will be the sincere utterances of one who for fully forty years has held this great and good man in high esteem and reverence, and who would gladly offer a tribute of affection, however humble, to his memory.

I never heard or saw Mr. Sen. I was not in England when he made his famous visit there. He desired at that time to come to America, but his stay on this side would necessarily have been so short that it did not seem wise to his English friends for him to undertake it. So he was persuaded to give up the idea, though he expressed him-

self as not quite happy in so doing. I believe that up to nearly the end of his life he did not wholly relinquish the dream of visiting this New World. If he had come, of course I should have seen and heard him. And what a host, of course, of admirers and friends he would found here! for his fame had already reached America. The great impression that he created in England and the warm reception that he met with there, were reported on this side; and his remarkable addresses were more or less fully reproduced in our periodical press. From that time on, his fame grew steadily here, as well as in England and on the continent of Europe. Great scholars and students of oriental religions, like Professor Max Müller and Sir Monier Williams, wrote in his praise. Travellers in India brought back word of his growing power and influence. Christian missionaries, who had gone to India from this country, wrote, and, when

they returned home, told, about him and about the religious movement which he was leading with such success,—sometimes generously praising him as a real reformer and a true benefactor of India, even though he did not call himself a Christian; but, quite as often, I am sorry to say, criticising him as an enemy of Christianity, dangerous because of his great ability, and rendered even more dangerous by the very fact of his seeming to be so kindly disposed to Christianity and so appreciative of much that is in it.

When Mr. Protab Chunder Mozoomdar came to America, as he did three times, and spoke with such noble eloquence at our great World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893, and lectured and preached with such spiritual power in many parts of the country, of course he gave us much knowledge, not only of the Brahmo Samaj, but of Keshub Chunder Sen, whom he held in such high esteem and honor. Indeed one of his lectures was upon Mr. Sen; and in articles published in the *Christian Register*, he gave extended accounts of his life, character and work, and of his family. One article I particularly remember, upon "*Keshub's Mother*," in which with rare tenderness he told the touching story of her charming young maidenhood, her marriage, her early widowhood, and her long life of love, self-forgetfulness, piety, beautiful care of her children, uncomplaining toil, and faithfulness in every duty however humble. He called her "our dear Mother Sarada"; and I remember that the article closed with the words:

"She is sixty years old now. But she wears on her benign face the serenity and sunshine of conscious purity and the light of divine grace. When Keshub finds the recognition of his greatness by a grateful posterity, I hope and trust the claims and virtues of of his good, noble-hearted mother will not go unrecognized."

When I visited India in 1895-96, many things interested me in all parts of that remarkable land. But naturally, on the whole, Calcutta appealed to me most,—partly because that was the national capital, but principally, perhaps, because it was the most important centre of the Brahmo Somaj movement. There the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy had lived and done his great work for scholarship, for both Bengali and English literature, for social and political

reform, and for religion. There he had organised the Brahmo Samaj; there step by step it had grown to influence and power; there had been the home of its second great leader, the saintly Debendra Nath Tagore, and of the third, Keshub Chunder Sen: and from there the movement had spread up and down India.

I was glad I could be in Calcutta during the January Anniversaries of the three branches of the Brahmo Somaj. This enabled me to see a larger number, not only of the Calcutta Brahmos, but of missionaries and others from outlying places, than otherwise would have been possible. The welcome extended to me as a messenger from the Unitarian Churches of England and America, could not have been more warm or generous. I must not mention many names; but I may say how peculiarly gratifying it was to meet Mr. Mozoomdar, whom I had learned to love in America, and the venerable Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, revered and loved by all who knew him.

Of course it was a very great gratification too, to meet the mother and brother of Keshub Chunder Sen, and also his wife and children. I think I may truly say that no places that I visited in Calcutta touched me quite so deeply as his birth place, the room where he died, the beautiful chapel or "Sanctuary" which he built close beside his home, and the spot where his ashes rest. Of the mementoes of Calcutta that I brought away, the two that I most prize are a little book given me by the Maharshi—a precious little book of his own golden thoughts, and a set of the complete English works of Keshub, presented to me by his youngest brother.

From the first of my knowledge of Keshub Chunder Sen, I have greatly admired him for his extraordinary religious breadth as manifested in his warm appreciation of and sympathy with what is best in all religions. Most religious teachers not only extol and magnify their own faith, but correspondingly disparage other faiths, not so this great teacher of India.

Ram Mohun Roy has been called, and I think justly, the father of the modern science, if we may call it a science, or at least the modern study, of Comparative Religion—a study that is taking a very important place in the world of modern

religious inquiry. Mr. Sen imbibed the spirit of his distinguished forerunner and carried it into practice in many impressive ways. Perhaps the most striking was his appointing men to become special students of the principal historic religions of the world, so as to be able to gather intelligently from them their different contributions to the central, spiritual, harmonizing religion of mankind which he desired the Brahmo Somaj to become. In this he sets an example for us of the West. I do not know of any eminent Christian teacher who seems to me to have shown quite so earnest and sincere a sympathy with all the great faiths of the world as did both Ram Mohun Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen.

I have always greatly admired Mr. Sen for his activity not only in religious but also in social, educational and political reforms. He was wise and great enough to see that these were vital needs of India, and he was brave enough to make himself their tireless advocate. He saw that the Indian people must be made intelligent,—that everything possible must be done to give the blessing of education to all, even the poorest and humblest. He saw that it was absolutely essential for India to have intelligent women as well as intelligent men, and therefore that education must be provided for girls. He saw the far-reaching evils of child marriage, and set himself to the difficult task of remedying them. He saw how seriously handicapped in a hundred ways India is by her system of caste, and made himself a stalwart leader in the battle against that. He recognized the growing evils of intemperance, caused largely, one regrets to say, by the drinking customs introduced into the land by Europeans, and by the policy of the Government in deriving revenue from licenses for liquor-selling; and he lifted up his voice with no uncertain sound in condemnation of these. It was inspiring to see that he spoke as strongly on these subjects in England as he had done at home.

I always admired Keshub Chunder Sen for his loyalty to Asia. Few men of Asiatic birth have been more appreciative of Europe, or more ready to receive her rich contributions to civilisation. But this did not make him ashamed of Asia, or forgetful of her great place in history, or

neglectful of her claims upon him as her son. He remembered that however much Europe has done for the world's civilization, Asia has done more; and that however great has been Europe's contribution to the world's religion, Asia's has been almost incomparably greater. He bore in mind that Asia, not Europe, is the mother of civilization; and that Europe's own religion is a gift to her from Asia. So, with all his great love for Europe, he was never carried off his feet by her, or made untrue to his own continent.

I always admired his loyalty to his own land, India,—his deep love for her, his profound faith in her future, intellectual, religious and political, and his firm conviction that if the sun of her greatness had in any sense set, it would rise again with not less than its ancient splendor.

Christian though I am, I admired him for calling himself a Hindu, and never breaking the historic connection between the reformed and purified religion of Brahmoism which he taught and loved, and the old religion of his fathers. The great heritages which come down to us from revered ancestors through centuries and millenniums of time are too precious to be lightly esteemed. He deeply realized this, and notwithstanding his admiration for Christianity, and his acceptance of many of the teachings of its great founder, he remained true to the land of his birth and to his inheritances from the past, and declared as firmly in England as in India, "I am a Hindu."

I am disposed to believe that Christianity will yet have an important career in India. But it will not overthrow Hinduism; we may be sure of that. I am of the opinion, however, that one of the most valuable parts of its service to the Indian people, will be its influence in purifying Hinduism from some of its worst corruptions, and thus enabling that venerable faith to become less a power for evil and far more a power for good than it has been in the past, or than otherwise would be possible in the future. In this respect we may expect Christianity to act as an ally, even if unconfessed, of the Brahmo and of the Arya Somajes in their important mission.

I myself believe that God has bestowed upon the people of India spiritual gifts and

As signs of this rich spiritual genius of India, a very great number of religious thinkers, seers, prophets and teachers of the past might be pointed to, but it is enough to mention here only the three best known leaders of the Brahmo Somaj, Ram Mohun Roy, Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen. It is needless to do much in the way of comparing these one with another. Their gifts were very different, as the work given them to do was very far from the same. Since Ram Mohun Roy had the advantage of superior scholarship, indeed of scholarship of extraordinary breadth, as well as an intellect of wonderful brilliance and power, and since it was given to him

The great work of Keshub Chunder Sen was done during the second half of the nineteenth century. I am convinced that among the religious leaders of the entire world during that important period he should be regarded as occupying a place not second in influence to any. I do not think that any nation of Europe or America produced within that time a more powerful religious orator, a truer prophet after the type of the Old Testament prophets and of Paul and Jesus, or a more impressive and inspiring religious personality, than he who gave to the Brahmo Somaj its great new birth of spiritual power and fervor, and who all through the sixth and seventh decades of the century so mightily stirred all India with an impulse toward religious and social reform.

Ottawa, Canada.

TRANSLATED BY KALI MOHAN GHOSE AND EZRA POUND

From the edition of Mr. Kshiti Mohan Sen.

That colour colours all the pictures
of this universe,
Body and mind alike
Forget all things else in that beauty.
He who has these ideas,
The play of the spring is his.
This is the word which is unutterable.

Saith Kabir: There are very few
who know this mystery.

II

My beloved is awakened, how can I sleep?
Day and night he is calling me,
And instead of responding to his call
I am like an unchaste girl, living
with another.

Saith Kabir: O clever confidant,
The meeting with the dearest is not
possible without love.

III

The scar aches day and night.
Sleep is not come.
Anxious for meeting with the dearest,
The father's house is not attractive at all.
The sky-gate opens,
The temple is manifested,
There now is the meeting with
the husband.
I make oblation of my mind and body:
To the dearest the cup of the dearest!
Let flow the quick shower of rain
from your eyes.

Cover your heart
With the intense deep blue
Assembling of the cloud.
Come near to the ear of the dearest,
Whisper to him your pain.
Saith Kabir: Here bring the
meditation of the dearest,
Today's treasure of the heart.

IV

It is true, I am mad with love. And
what to me
Is carefulness or uncarefulness?
Who, dying, wandering in the wilderness,
Who is separated from the dearest?
My dearest is within me, what do I care?
The beloved is not asundered from me,
No, not for the veriest moment.
And I also am not asundered from him.
My love clings to him only,
Where is restlessness in me?
Oh my mind dances with joy,
Dances like a mad fool.
The rāginis of love are being played day
and night,
All are listening to that measure.
Rāhu, the eclipse, Ketu, the Head of
the Dragon,
And the nine planets are dancing,
And Birth and Death are dancing, mad
with Anandā.

The mountain, the sea and the earth are
dancing,
The Great Adornment is dancing with
laughter and tears and smiles.
Why are you leaving, 'The world,'
You, with the *tilak*-mark on your fore-
head?

While my mind is a-dancing through the
thousand stages of its moon,
And the Lord of all his creation has
found it acceptable dancing.

V

O deserted bride,
How will you live in the absence of your
beloved,
Without hunger in the day,
Sleepless in the night-watches,
And every watch felt as if
It were the æon of Kaliyuga?
The beautiful has deserted you in the
full passion of his April.
Alas the fair is departed!
O thou deserted,
Now begin to give up your house and
your having.

Go forth to the lodge of the forest,
Begin to consider his name.
And if there he shall come upon you,
Then alone will you be come to your joy.
Eager as the caught fish for its water,
Be thou so eager to return!
Shapeless, formless and without line;
Who will be come to meet you,
O beautiful lady?
Take recognisance of your own wed Lord,
Behold him out of the centre of your
meditations,

Strip off the last of your errors,
And know that Love is your lord.
Saith Kabir: There is no second. Æon
After æon
Thou and I are the same.

VI

Very difficult is the meeting with him,
How shall I be made one with my beloved?
After long consideration and after caution
I put my feet on the way, but every time
They have trembled and slipped aside.
The slippery path leads upward
and the feet can not hold to it.
The mind is taken in shyness,
For fear of the crowd
And out of respect to the family.
Oh where is my far beloved?

And I in the family dwelling !
And I can not escape my shyness !

VII

How shall it be severed,
This love between thee and me ?
Thou art lord, and I servant,
As the lotus is servant of water.
Thou art lord, and I servant,
As the Chakora is servant of moonlight
And watches it all the night long.
The love between thee and me
is from beginning to ending,
How can it end in time ?
Saith Kabir : As the river is immersed in
the ocean,
My mind is immersed in thee.

VIII

Rishi Nārad, that hast walked upon the
winding path of the air,
That hast walked there playing the Vinā
and singing thy song to Hari,
Rishi Nārad, the beloved is not afar off,
I wake not, save in his waking,
I sleep not, save in his slumber.

IX

O receiver of my heart,
Do thou come into my house.
My mind and body
Are but a pain, in thy absence.
When they say that I am your mistress
The shame of it is upon me.
If heart lie not upon heart,
How is the heart of love there ?
The rice has no savour, the night is passed
and is sleepless.
In the house and in the way of the forest
my mind and thought have no rest.
Love-cup to the maid : water-cup to
famished of thirst.

Is there one, bearer of fortune, to make
clear my heart to my beloved?
Kabir is at the end of his patience
And dies without sight of his beloved.

X

O bearer of love, give voice to the
well-omened song.
The great lord is come to my house,
After employing my body in his love
I shall employ my mind.
The five mysteries will be enlightened
with love.
The receiver of my heart, to-day is the
guest in my house,
I am grown mad with my youth.
The pool of my body will be the place
of pilgrimage.
Near by will Brahmā chant Vedas,
The mind will be fused with my lover.
O opportune, and well-omened,
The three and thirty tunes of curious
sound here with the sound of Ananda.
The paired lovers of the universe are
assembled.
Saith Kabir : This day I set out for my
marriage
With a bridegroom who is deathless.
In the quarter of my body there
is music in process,
Thirty and six rāginis are bound up
into the burthen.
The bridegroom hath April play with me.
As Krishna with Rādhā, playing at
the spring festival of Horililā,
I play at the spraying of colours,
I and my beloved.
The whole universe is curious today.
Love and the rain of love are come
hither with their showers.

SIR THOMAS MUNRO

OF all the great names which adorn the distinguished roll of India's early British administrators who built up the empire, none stands higher than that of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras. His Life, in three bulky volumes, by the

Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A. (London, 1830) is full of a fascinating interest, if we omit the details of military plans and campaigns which have grown dry and rusty at this distance of time. One has only to glance through the record of the principal events

of his career to be conscious of the gulf which separates these giants of an earlier day from some of their modern successors, who do not hesitate to lay down reactionary maxims of government after spending a year or two on Indian soil. The antecedents of Sir Thomas Munro were humble, and he was essentially a self-made man. Born at Glasgow in 1761, the son of an ordinary merchant, and educated in a grammar school of his native town, Thomas Munro joined the Company's service as a cadet at Madras



SIR THOMAS MUNRO.

in January 1780, when he was barely nineteen years old. From that moment till October 1807 he was employed under Sir Eyre Coote and others in the military operations against Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan. He was present in the retreat of Sir Hector Munro from Conjeeveram in 1780 and the relief of Wandiwash in 1781. After having distinguished himself in numerous engagements, and risen to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, he was placed in charge of the civil administration of the Ceded Districts, in which capacity he earned the reputation of being the greatest revenue authority in the Company's service. After being employed in India without interruption for a period of nearly twenty-eight years, he

visited his native shores and remained there for six years. In 1814 he married and returned to India as Principal Commissioner for the revision of the internal administration in the Madras territories. Soon after his return, the Marhatta War commenced, and he quitted the civil line for the military, and took several forts, closing his brilliant campaign with the fall of Sholapur. The Marquis of Wellesley, Sir John Malcolm, Lord William Bentinck and Mountstuart Elphinstone were among his friends, and freely consulted him on all military and administrative matters. In 1818 he returned to England, but two years later, in 1820, he came back to Madras as its Governor, being nominated to that post by the Honourable the Court of Directors as the best man they could think of in that connection. He held the post for nearly seven years, his desire for retirement being postponed by the outbreak of the Burmese War. Having sent his family home, he went, on the eve of his retirement, on a tour through the Ceded Districts to pay a farewell visit to his old Indian friends, when on the 6th of July 1827, he died of cholera, amidst the universal lamentation of all sections of the community. In 1815 he had been made a Colonel, in 1819 a Major-general and a K. C. B., and in 1826 he was raised to the baronetcy. In the province where he had served for upwards of forty-seven years, he was known by the coveted appellation of the FATHER OF THE PEOPLE. Such, in brief, was the career of the man who forms the subject of the present sketch.

The estimate of his character and attainments which is given by his biographer is worth quoting:

"Endowed by nature with talents of the highest order; possessed of a judgment singularly clear and sound; full of fortitude; full of energy and decision; patient in enquiry, prompt in action; cool and persevering amid difficulties and hindrances: quick and ready in adapting his means to his ends; yet so sober-minded as never to be taken by surprise, Sir Thomas Munro seemed formed for a life of active enterprise.....Extremely temperate in all his habits; equally indisposed to give as to take offence; candid, open, manly in his bearing, over which neither jealousy nor prejudice was permitted to exert the slightest control, Sir Thomas Munro succeeded in securing the love and veneration, not less than he commanded the respect, of all around him.....There was no subject within the range of philosophy or science, no question connected with poetry or the belles lettres, in which he failed to take an interest and which he was not

prepared to discuss; while the facility with which he could pass from one to another was scarcely less surprising than the degree of correct knowledge which he possessed upon all. His acquaintance with the European languages, moreover, ancient as well as modern, was very extensive; whilst of those in use throughout the East, there were, comparatively speaking, few of which he knew not something. Persian he wrote and spoke like a native; he was well versed in Arabic; Hindustani was perfectly familiar to him; and in Marhatta, Canarese and other of the vernacular tongues, he could maintain, with great exactness, either a correspondence or a conversation. Sir Thomas Munro's natural turn of mind was contemplative and grave: he thought much, and reflected deeply; yet was he cheerful, and in the society of his more intimate friends, humorous and entertaining. In the private character of Sir Thomas Munro, again, as a son, a brother, a friend, a husband and a father, we find nothing that does not demand our unqualified admiration and respect. Generous and warm-hearted, utterly devoid of all selfishness, his career presents but a series of noble actions, which began when he was a subaltern, very scantily provided for, and ended only with the close of life itself."

Long as this extract is, most of these traits may be illustrated from his private letters, which have a charm all their own. Grave or gay, they all give us an equally pleasing picture of the man. With his brothers and sisters he often adopts a playful half humorous bantering style, full of a subdued but genial irony. His biographer doubts if many professed authors will be found to be more complete masters of style, and in this opinion we fully agree. A military commander who had taken part in a hundred fights, and administered vast provinces and laid down the policy of the government, in masterly despatches which will be remembered as well for their wisdom and sagacity as for the excellent language in which they were coached, Sir Thomas Munro's family correspondence showed him to be essentially a man of peace, of an affectionate disposition, cultivated tastes, and pleasant *bon homie*. Below are given some extracts from his copious correspondence, which will give us interesting glimpses of the private life of the man whose name loomed so large in the political history of Southern India for more than a quarter of a century.

We shall begin with the letters he wrote to his mother and sister giving an account of his first few months in India:

"When the ship anchored in the Roads, a number of natives came on board...one of them, a grave, decent-looking man, came up to me; he held a bundle of papers in his hand which he begged I would read;

they were certificates from different people of his fidelity and industry...I congratulated myself on having met with so respectable a person in the character of a servant...He inspected the contents of the chest. The whole was condemned, together with the bed-clothes, as unserviceable... He went out with the six guineas, leaving me with an empty chest, and my head full of new cuts of sleeves and skirts, which the tailor was to make in a few days. But all my schemes were disconcerted by some unfortunate accident befalling my good friend with the credentials, for he never returned. This unexpected blow prevented me from stirring out above twice or thrice in a week, for several months after."

"Cadets here are allowed either five pagodas per month and free quarters, or ten pagodas, and find their own lodging; all the cadets follow the first way. Of the five pagodas, I pay two to a Dubash, one to the servants of the mess, and one for hair dressing and washing, so that I have one pagoda per month to feed and clothe me."

"I have often wished that you were transported for a few hours to my room, to be cured of your western notions of Eastern luxury, to witness the forlorn condition of old bachelor Indian officers, and to give them also some comfort in a consolatory [poetical] fragment. You seem to think that they live like those satraps that you have read of in plays; and that I in particular hold my state in prodigious splendour and magnificence,—that I never go abroad unless upon an elephant, surrounded with a crowd of slaves—that I am arrayed in silken robes, and that most of my time is spent in reclining on a sofa, listening to soft music, while I am fanned by my officious pages; or in dreaming, like Richard, under a canopy of state. But while you rejoice in my imaginary greatness, I am most likely stretched on a mat, instead of my real couch; and walking in an old coat, and a ragged shirt, in the noonday sun, instead of looking down from my elephant, invested in my royal garments. You may not believe me when I tell you, that I never experienced hunger or thirst, fatigue or poverty, till I came to India—that since then, I have frequently met with the first three, and that the last has been my constant companion. If you wish for proofs, here they are.—I was three years in India before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch; my bed was a piece of canvas, stretched on four cross-sticks, whose only ornament was the great coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head. In this situation I lay, like Falstaff in the basket,—hilt to point,—and very comfortable, I assure you, all but my feet; for the tailor not having foreseen the various uses to which this piece of dress might be applied, had cut the cloth so short, that I never could, with all my ingenuity, bring both ends under cover; whatever I gained by drawing up my legs, I lost by exposing my neck; and I generally chose rather to cool my heels than my head. This bed served me till Alexander went last to Bengal when he gave me an Europe camp-couch. On this great occasion, I bought a pillow and a carpet to lay under me, but the unfortunate curtains were condemned to make pillowcases and towels; and now, for the first time in India, I lay my head on a pillow. But this was too much good fortune to bear with

moderation; I began to grow proud, and resolved to live in great style: for this purpose I bought two table spoons, and two teaspoons, and another chair—for I had but one before—a table, and two table cloths. But my prosperity was of short duration, for, in less than three months, I lost three of my spoons, and one of my chairs was broken by one of John Napier's companions; this great blow reduced me to my original obscurity, from which all my attempts to emerge have hitherto proved in vain.

"My dress has not been more splendid than my furniture. I have never been able to keep it all of a piece; it grows tattered in one quarter, while I am establishing funds to repair it in another.....my travelling expeditions have never been performed with much grandeur or ease. My only conveyance is an old horse, who is now so weak, that in all my journeys, I am always obliged to walk two thirds of the way; and if he were to die, I would give my kingdom for another, and find nobody to accept my offer."

Here is an extract from a letter to his sister, Mrs. Erskine, on the subject of his dislike for marriage, dated September 1795:

"The lady whom you pretend to have discovered for me, does not, I hope, expect that I am, by night and day, to ride over the hard stones on a tall trotting horse; for should I by chance, when thinking of her instead of my Rosinante, fall off and break my neck, how doleful it would be—I mean, on my part. We should have 'Love's Labour Lost,' and the story would make such a charming new ballad, that were I not a recreant knight, I ought to be impatient to see the adventure finished.....Now, what is to be done when I arrive, and find that she has given her hand to an unknown rival? If he were a knight, I might borrow's doublet and horse, and challenge him to mortal combat; but as it is more likely that he has never been dubbed, there is nothing left for me but to choose the most romantic manner of dying. Hanging and drowning have both many advocates among lovers; for my own part, I should prefer hanging; it is more pastoral, and I think dangling by the neck from a willow would have a fine Arcadian appearance; besides, the branch might break, or some charitable swain might pass that way, and cut me down before I had sighed my soul away, which are chances which I could not have at the bottom of a pond. But what makes this one of the most hapless love affairs that ever distressed a forlorn couple is, that besides the lady's objections, I might have not a few of my own. I have read so many romances and novels, that I have got very high notions of beauty; nothing but such a peerless dame as Rosalind, or Angelica, or Clarinda, will make me kneel. If the lady is not as fair as Melisendra, 'whose eyes misled the morn,' I would regard her with as much disdain as the Glassman in the Arabian nights did the Grand Vizier's daughter. The fair phantoms whom I have so often seen carried off by catiffs, and rescued by knights, hold such sovereign empire in my imagination, that there is no room for your Lady Marys and Lady Bettys, nor even for your Marias and Elizas. I have seen no woman in the course of my errantry, that I did not think vulgar in comparison of those transcendent nymphs with whom I have beguiled so many delightful days

"in hall and bower." But suppose that the course of true love should run smooth, and that we are both returning to our castle, mounted on white palfreys; here our troubles would begin, for when, after dismounting Melisendra, instead of taking up a lute, and pouring upon my ear a strain like the sweet south, should fall to scolding the servants, the spell would vanish, and instead of a magnificent palace near Trebizond, I would find myself in a small house in a dirty street in Glasgow.".....

The following are to his brothers. They are meant to convey advice, but it is wrapped in such a delicate coating of ironical humour that it would be apt to elude the superficial reader.

"All my correspondents mention with wonder your extraordinary talents. They say that you talk in quite a different style from the other boys of your age, and that you imitate none of them: this peculiarity is a sure mark of an original genius. They also say that your deportment is grave, and that you despise making a vain display of your abilities; that you are the wonder of your school fellows; that thought like yours never entered into any of their heads; and that you never open your mouth but you say something new and uncommon and utter sentences that deserve to be noted in a book. Whatever the boys may think, I hear that it was entirely owing to you that they all got books at the examination. When you go to the College, you will be of great use as a speaker in the societies. I have even hopes that you will rival your brother Daniel, who was a great ornament of them in former times. He once, if I mistake not, made a speech, and was, when he stuck in the middle of it, within an ace of gaining great applause.

Let William and Margaret know that it is my orders that they do not presume to interrupt your meditations. Should William not comply, he shall not hear a word about the Great Mogul: as for Margaret, she is a female, and they, you know, always take advice."

November 1, 1782.

"Dear Will,

The above appellation, will, I fear, be pronounced by the gentlemen of the College to be rather too familiar for a man of such profound condition as you assert that you are, notwithstanding what appearances may say.—

Among a number of Europe letters I received the other day, I saw one which, from the superscription, I concluded to be from James. I rejoiced at the thoughts of having my understanding enlightened by some of those sententious remarks and grave observations that he delivers without premeditation, but what was my surprise when, on breaking the seal, I found I had got for a correspondent one of the most eminent of the literati, who was a proficient in geography, was master of Euclid, understood all the cases of rightangled and obliqueangled trigonometry; had gone over the mensuration of heights, distances and superficies; talked Latin as fast as Greek, and English as fast as either, and had crowned all his studies by the attainment of the four common rules of arithmetic. I was one evening amusing myself in a boat upon the canal—your great discernment will tell you that it was before I left home—when the sun went down, and one of the company, (a weaver)

a sensible young man, observed that it put him in mind of Young's Night Thoughts. In imitation of this gentleman, Sir, give me leave to say, that your extensive learning puts me in mind of a Doctor—I have forgot his name—no matter, you will remember it, when I tell you it begins with an M—, and that he was a great theologian, and made speeches at the Council of Trent, and was less attended to than several who spoke less of themselves, and more of the public business..... I am sorry to learn that your Spanish drove out the French, and went after them. With proper respect of due decorum,

I am, profound Sir,
Your admirer
T. MUNRO."

Here are extracts from two letters to his sister, in which Sir Thomas Munro combats, in a half-serious vein, some of the theories of Mary Woolstonecroft, which seemed to have made a great impression on her:

"All nations are now, it seems, to be one family; and we are to have no more quarrelling, no more fighting, except intellectual combats; and every man of us is to cultivate philosophy and the arts, and to talk of nothing but urbanity, and humanity, and gentleness, and delicacy, and sympathy, and love,—every desert spot is to be converted into a garden, and the whole face of the earth is to swarm with the sons and daughters of reason and liberty! What then? Suppose all these fine things realised, shall we have changed for the better?... We shall not be able to walk out without being jostled on all sides by crowds of enlightened men and women. All the sports of the field, and all rural pleasures, will be at an end. There will be no rambling across the meadows; for every man will fence his territorial possessions of twenty feet against all intruders. There will be no hunting or shooting, for all wild animals will have been destroyed; and there will be no fishing, because every living thing in the rivers will have been poisoned by manufactures. There will be no poetry, no silence, no solitude; and if by chance some genius should arise and invoke the muse, he will sing more of being lulled to sleep by the clattering of falling mills and other machinery, than by the whispering of the zephyrs, or the sweet south, upon a bank of violets.... And the rich man, dressed in the finest stuffs that art can produce, will sit in his marble palace gasping for fresh air.....when the world, by the progress of knowledge, shall come to this pass, if the art of war, after being lost for many ages, is again discovered, it will be hailed as a noble invention, and the author of it will perhaps receive the honours of the Pantheon, for giving elbow room to the halfstifed inhabitants of the globe, by such ingenious machinery as firearms, instead of its being effected by pestilence and famine: It will no doubt be considered as a learned profession, and probably be classed as a branch of the medical art.....The mild and benevolent moralist who has been accustomed to fortify himself against the assaults of domestic calamities by the maxims of philosophers, when brought into active scenes—when agitated and exasperated by the strife of parties, and when his latent ambition was awakened by the prospect of power, would find all his former aids of old saws, of no avail; and might be hurried on to the commission

of deeds as atrocious as ever was imagined by Murat himself.....All malignant passions, and with them war, are to cease,—all nations are to be alike enlightened. The gentlemen of Timbuctoo are to speak French, and the ladies to warble Italian; and the tranquil pleasures of mankind are never to be ruffled, unless by the death of their cattle, or the birth of their children. To such a state of dull uniform repose, give me, a thousand times in preference, the world as it now stands, with all its beautiful variety of knowledge and ignorance,—of languages,—of manners—customs—religions and superstitions—of cultivated fields and wide-extended deserts—and of war and peace".

"As long as nations have different Governments, and manners, and languages, there will be war; if commerce should ever so far extend its influence as that trading nations will no longer fight for territory,—they will never refuse to take up arms for cloth—then the age of chivalry having given place to that of economists, prisoners will no more be released on parole.....Those who rail against war have not taken a comprehensive view of the subject, nor considered that it mingles, in a greater or lesser degree, with the most refined of our pleasures. How insipid would poetry be without romances and heroic poems, and history without convulsions and revolutions. What would a library be with nothing but Shenstone and a few volumes of sermons? What would become of all those patriotic citizens who spend half their lives in coffee houses talking of the British Lion, if he were to be laid asleep by an unfortunate millenium?

"I am so far from wishing to abolish hereditary distinctions, that I think them useful when kept within proper bounds. I speak of them rather in a moral than a political view. Nobility of birth if it does not always give elevation of sentiment often prevents a man from descending to actions which he would hardly have started at had he been born in an inferior sphere; the fear of disgracing his family keeps him above them; but this is only a negative kind of merit. When, however, nobility is joined to an excellent moral disposition, cultivated by education, it gives the possessor a dignity of thinking and acting rarely found in the middling ranks of life: of these there are many instances among the Spaniards."

The following to his sister alludes to a lady who used to take too much care of her husband's health:

"A wife cannot be gifted with a more dangerous talent. Such women be never at rest when their husbands sleep well a-nights; they are never at ease, except when the poor man is ailing, that they may have the pleasure of recovering him again; it gratifies both their medical vanity and their love of power, by making him more dependent upon them; and it likewise gratifies all the finer feelings of romance. What a treasure, what a rich subject I shall be, about ten years hence, when shivering at every breeze, for the laboratory of such a wife!.....I shall be forced, in order to escape her prescriptions, to conceal my complaints, when I am really sick, and to go out and take medicine by stealth.....I would consider her and myself as two hostile powers, commencing a war in which both would be continually exerting all the resources of their genius; she to circumvent me,

and throw me into the hospital, and I to escape captivity and elixirs. No modern war could be more inveterate, for it could terminate only with the death of one or other of the combatants. If, notwithstanding the strength of my conjugal affection, the natural principle of self-preservation should still be stronger, and make me lament to survive her, I imagine my eating heartily and sleeping soundly would very soon bring about her dissolution."

Here is another extract from a letter to his sister:

"I have myself so vulgar a taste, that I see more beauty in a plain dress than in one tricked out with the most elegant pattern that ever fashionable painter feigned. This unhappy depravity of taste has been occasioned, perhaps, by my having been so long accustomed to view the Brahmin women, who are in this country, both the first in rank and in personal charms, almost always arrayed in nothing but single pieces of dark-blue cloth, which they throw on with a decent art and a careless grace which in Europe, I am afraid, is only to be found in the drapery of Antiques. The few solitary English ladies that I meet with only serve to strengthen my prejudices. I met with one the other day all bedizened and huddled into a new habit, different from anything I had ever seen before. On asking her what name it went by, she was surprised that I did not know the *a la Grecque*. It looked for all the world like a large petticoat thrown over her shoulders, and drawn together close under her arms. I could not help smiling to think how Ganganelli, and the Abbe Winkelman, and the King of Naples would have stared had they dug such a Greek as this out of Herculanum. (Referring to a poem by a lady) She is continually running after the ancients. A man cannot look into an ode, or sonnet, or anything else, but he is instantly thrown over "Lethæ's wharf" or plunged into Cocytus. The hills and the glens of the Highlands are as wild as any of the old poetical regions; or if they are too vulgar for being so well known, yet still we have other scenes or real nature—the wilds of Africa and America, the Andes, with all its rushing streams, and the frozen seas in the Polar regions, with their dismal islands, never trod by human foot—sublimar subjects of poetry than all the fictions of Greece and Rome. In Burns's best poems there is no mythology".

Here is a last extract from a letter to his sister about his brother James:

"If James did not find in the study of an anatomy, in the wonderful construction of the human frame, a wide field for indulging the contemplations of a religious mind, I should be afraid of his abandoning the hospital for the pulpit. He is so very spiritual, that he seems to follow literally the text of "Thank God for all things." When I opened his first letter, I thought I had got hold of a new litany. In every sentence there was "Thank God"—"if it please God"—"God willing," and many other ejaculations of this sort. I have been obliged to quote his favourite book, to show him the impropriety of such expressions, except in his closet."

The following gives a characteristic glimpse of the man:

"Alexander says that he is the most desponding of

mortals, and that he is always foreseeing calamities that never happen. This is quite different from me; for though I have been halfstarved for these dozen years, I have never ceased to look, with great confidence, for some signal piece of good fortune; and though I have, to be sure, been mistaken, this has had no other effect than that of making me more sanguine; for I don't reason, as philosophers do, from analogy and other such matters. I don't say, bad luck today, and worse to-morrow; but rather, that bad luck, like other things, must have an end;—that mine having already lasted so long, is a strong argument that I cannot have much more of it; and that I may therefore, like Quixote, very reasonably suppose myself to be on the point of achieving some rare adventures. And should I go on for another dozen years in the same way as the last, my confidence would hardly be diminished. Were it possible that I could, by any supernatural means, be informed that I should never be independent in my fortune, it would not, I believe, sit very heavy on my mind; for I have considered very seriously the consequences likely to follow my acquiring what is called a moderate fortune, and I have doubted if I should be more happy with it than I am without it."

The following are in more serious vein. To his brother:

"I have seen you, with all the dignity of a philosopher, speak contemptuously of the understandings, the pursuits, and the engagements of your neighbours; but nothing is more unphilosophical, and what is of more consequence, more imprudent, than to show a slight to any person, however humble his capacity: there is hardly any man who ever forgives it: and true philosophy consists, not so much in despising the talents or wealth of other men, as in bearing our own fortune, whatever it may be, with an unaltered mind. I am preaching to you about an error that I often fall into myself; but never without repenting it."

To his sister:

"I have almost as much local attachment to Vellore as to North side; for it is situated in a delightful valley, containing all the varieties of meadows, groves, and rice-fields. On every side you see romantic hills, some near, some distant, continually assuming new forms as you advance or retire. All around you is classic ground in the history of this country; for almost every spot has been the residence of some powerful family now reduced to misery by frequent revolutions, or the scene of some important action in former wars."

"Not with more veneration should I visit the field of Marathon, or the capital of the ancient Romans, than I tread on this hallowed ground; for, in sitting under a tree, and while listening to the disastrous tale of some noble Moorman, who relates to you the ruin of his fortune and his family, to contemplate by what strange vicissitudes you and he, who are both originally from the North of Asia, after a separation of so many ages, coming from the most opposite quarters, again meet in Hindustan to contend with each other—this is to me wonderfully solemn and affecting."

The following is from one of the earliest letters to his mother (dated 1785).

"Though my situation is not such as I might have

expected, had Sir Eyre Coote lived, yet I still look forward with hope and I do not despair of seeing it bettered. The only cause I have for repining, is my inability to assist my father as I wish, and the hearing that your spirits are so much affected by the loss of his fortune. Yet I cannot but think that you have many reasons for rejoicing. None of your children have been taken from you; and though they cannot put you in a state of affluence, they can place you beyond the reach of want. The time will come, I hope, when they will be able to do more, and to make the latter days of your life as happy as the first. When I compare your situation with that of most mothers I remember, I think that you have as little reason for grieving as any of them. Many that are rich, are unhappy in their families. The loss of fortune is but a partial evil; you are in no danger of experiencing the much heavier one—of having unthankful children. The friends that deserted you with your fortune were unworthy of your society; those that deserved your friendship have not forsaken you."

Here is another letter he wrote to his mother after the loss of a brother:

"You have suffered some trials, but you have still many comforts left. You have lost him of your sons whom you perhaps could least have spared, but those that remain, though they can never hope to make you forget him, will leave nothing undone to console you, as far as consolation can go on such an occasion. They are not rich, and may not be so for a long time, but they will always, I believe, be in a situation to place you in comfort. I am convinced that you do not consider riches as essential to happiness, and that, while your sons can keep themselves independent in the world, you will feel no regret at seeing other men in better circumstances than they. I often think that you enjoy more real happiness amidst anxiety for their welfare and continual hope of their acquiring fortunes and returning home, than you could have done if they had all been born to independence and never been separated from you."

The following to his wife, refers to his child:

"I then turned towards the garden, where I always found you, and Kamen trotting before you, except when he stayed behind to examine some ant-hole. How delightful it was to see him walking, or running; or stopping to endeavour to explain something with his hands to help his language. How easy, and artless and beautiful are all the motions of a child. Everything that he does is graceful. All his little ways are endearing, and they are the arms which Nature has given for his protection, because they make everybody feel an attachment for him. I have lost his society just at the time when it was most interesting. It was his tottering walk, his helplessness, and unconsciousness, that I liked. By the time I see him again he will have lost all those qualities—he will know how to behave himself—he will have acquired some knowledge of the world, and will not be half so engaging as he now is. I almost wish that he would never change."

We shall close these extracts from his voluminous correspondence with two more

written on the eve of his retirement. These letters are dated 1826.

"As peace has returned, I have no object in remaining in this country now, and shall be very happy when a successor arrives and sets me at liberty. It is a long time since January 1780, when I arrived here as a cadet, and borrowed thirty pagodas of Andrew Ross about six months after, to equip me for the field against Hyder Ali. I begin to feel, though my health is good enough, that I am not so active as formerly; that my hand is not so steady; and that either the heat, the climate, or the lapse of time, has had the usual effect, and made me older than I was then. It is now too late to think of getting younger by dying my hair, or changing my dress, or going home. I shall quit this country, where I have passed so much of my life, with great regret, but still I shall be delighted to go home."

"I am anxious to leave India, and yet I shall leave it with a heavy heart. I have spent so much of my life in it, I am so well acquainted with the people, its climate is so fine, and its mountain scenery so wild and beautiful, that I almost regret that it is not my own country; but it is not my home, and it is time that I should go there, whether it is to be in Scotland or in England."

All the letters to his father, and most of those to his friends, are in a serious vein, and deal with the military operations in India; and comments on the strategy or policy underlying them, and detailed descriptions of the more important battles, constitute their main theme. The Civil administration of the country, revenue assessment, reform of the Judicial tribunals and the like, also form the subject of a large number of these letters. Some extracts from them will be given in their proper place.

Before we pass on to other subjects we cannot refrain from making one or two extracts from his letters describing certain classes of the people. They throw interesting sidelights on certain aspects of Indian life.

Here is a beautiful pen-picture of a farmer's wife:

"In this caste the women manage everything, and the men hardly ever venture to disobey their orders. It is they who buy, and sell, and lend, and borrow; and though the man comes to the cutcherry to have his rent settled, he always receives his instructions before leaving home. If he gives up any point of them, however trifling, he is sure to incur her resentment. She orders him to stay at home next day, and she sallies forth herself in great indignation, denouncing the whole tribe of revenue servants. On her arrival at the cutcherry, she goes on for near an hour with a very animated speech, which she had probably begun some hours before at the time of her leaving her own house; the substance of it is, that they are a set of rascals for imposing upon her poor simple husband. As the cutcherry people only laugh at her, she carries

her eloquence where she knows she can make it be attended to. She returns to her unfortunate husband, and probably does not confine herself entirely to logical arguments. She is perhaps too full of cares and anxieties to sleep that night; and if any person passes her house about day break, or a little before it, he will certainly find her busy spinning cotton. If I have not seen, I have at least often heard, the women spinning early in the morning, when it was so dark that I could scarcely follow the road. It is the farmer's women who make most of the thread used in all the cotton manufactures of India."

On Indian Swamis:

"I have this moment had a long visit from a Swami. All Hindoos treat not only the principal but their inferior Swamis with the highest respect; the greatest princes go out to meet them and bow down before them. The Swamis do not marry like the pagoda Brahmins, but must lead a life of celibacy, or rather abstinence. They have no nephews and neices like the Swamis of Europe. Their abstinence is real, their diet is more simple than that of a peasant. They travel in state with elephants, palanquins, drums, and standards, but they amass no wealth. Whatever they receive, they distribute as fast as they get it, and on the whole they are fully as respectable as their brethren in Europe."

The following is on the 'simple mode of living, dictated both by caste and climate' of the Hindoos;

"His (the minister of State's) dwelling is little better than a shed. The walls are naked, and the mud floor, for the sake of coolness, is every morning sprinkled with a mixture of water and cowdung. He has no furniture in it. He distributes food to whoever wants it; but he gives no grand dinners to his friends. He throws aside his upper garment, and with nothing but a cloth round his loins, he sits down half-naked, and eats his meal alone, upon the bare earth, and under the open sky. These simple habits are not peculiar to the Hindoos. The Mahomedan also, with a few exceptions among the higher classes, conforms to them."

In a memorandum on Indian trade written in 1813, Sir T. Munro says:

"No nation will take from another what it can furnish cheaper and better itself. In India, almost every article which the inhabitants require is made cheaper and better than in Europe. Among these are all cotton and silk manufactures, leather, paper, domestic utensils of brass and iron, and implements of agriculture. Their coarse woollens, though bad, will always keep their ground, from their superior cheapness. Their finer camblots (कम्बल) are warmer and more lasting than ours. Besides the peculiar customs and climate of India, we must look to the superior skill of the Indian workmen. We cannot profitably export to them until our own fabrics excel theirs. The grand obstacles to our exports are the inability of the Indians to purchase our commodities, and the cheapness and excellence of their own. They (European adventurers settling in India) could not become manufacturers, as the superior skill and frugality of the natives would render all competition with them un-

availing.... They would be kept down by the great industrious Indian population, and they would probably dwindle into a race little better than the mixed caste descended from the Portuguese.

In a letter written in 1825 as Governor of Madras, Sir T. Munro refers to the stifling of Indian manufactures as follows:

"India is the country that has been worst used in the new [tariff] arrangement. All her products ought undoubtedly to be imported freely upon paying the same duties and no more, which English products pay in India. When I see what is done in Parliament against India, I think that I am reading about Edward III and the Flemings."*

Regarding Indian institutions, he says in another letter.

"It is too much regulation that ruins everything; Englishmen are as great fanatics in politics as Mahomedans in religion. They suppose that no country can be saved without English institutions. The natives of this country have enough of their own to answer every useful object of internal administration, and if we maintain and protect them, our work will be easy."

The regulations of 1793 abolished the Panchayet and withdrew all vestige of power from the hands of the people. The Panchayet system was partially rehabilitated by the code of 1816. The views of Sir Thomas Munro on this peculiarly Indian institution deserve to be quoted:—

"There was nothing in which our judicial code on its first establishment departed more widely from the usage of the country than in the disuse of the Panchayet. When this ancient institution was introduced into our code in 1816, there was so much objection to it, both at home and in this country, lest it should become an instrument of abuse, that it was placed under so many restrictions as to deprive it of much of its utility.... The defects of the panchayet are better known to the natives than to us; yet with all its defects, they hold it in so much reverence that they say, where the Punj sits God is present. In many ordinary cases the panchayet is clear and prompt in its decision, but when complicated accounts are to be examined, it is often extremely dilatory.... These irregularities, how-

* Till the development of the cotton trade towards the close of the 18th century, the woollen industries were beyond comparison the most important sources of wealth in England. Edward III prohibited the exportation of English wool, which was much prized, to Flanders and other European centres whose woollen manufactures excelled those of England, under pain of life and limb, in the hope of fostering the native industries. On the opening up of the colonies every effort was made to encourage the use of the woollen products of England, and the manufacture of woollen goods was discouraged and even prohibited in Ireland. The importation of colonial wool was subjected to a heavy import duty which was removed only as late as 1825. —Encyclopædia Britannica, s. v. 'Wool' Ninth Edition;

ever, are all susceptible of gradual correction; and, indeed, even now they are not found in practice to produce half the inconvenience that might be expected by men who have been accustomed to the exact forms of English courts of judicature. They ought not to prevent our employing the punchayet more than we have hitherto done, because its duties are of the most essential advantage to the community, and there is no other possible way by which they can be so well discharged. The natives have been so long habituated to the punchayet in all their concerns, that not only in the great towns, but even in the villages, a sufficient number of persons qualified to sit upon it can be found..... The use of the punchayet in criminal

trials has been recommended by several persons..... I am persuaded that the measure would be very beneficial, and until it is adopted, facts will never be so well found as they might be. The employment of the punchayet, independently of the great help it affords us in carrying on the business of the country, gives weight and consideration among their countrymen to those who are so employed, brings us in our public duties into better acquaintance and closer union with them, and renders our Government more acceptable to the people."

(To be concluded).

POLITICUS.

THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF THE FACTORY, THE WORKSHOP AND THE COTTAGE INDUSTRY IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF INDIA

BY PROF. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A.

INDIA is now the battle ground of conflicting economic ideals, methods and systems of production. Western industrialism is here brought face to face with a type of social organisation, the product of centuries of slow evolution, whose characteristic features are, fundamentally different from it. The disparity of wealth, the luxury of the few capitalists and the appalling poverty of the labourers and the consequent chronic social unrest present a striking contrast with the spirit of co-operation which pervades the Indian industrial organisation. In India social institutions like the joint family and caste are dominated by the ideal of an equitable distribution of wealth in the community. Western industrialism which has been built up by individualism, very often anti-social in its character, has become an enemy to these more or less communistic associations. The communistic ideal is even now very strong in the country and fights shy of the methods of production of the West in which the excesses of a crass individualism have threatened the very foundations of social life. Not only is Western industrialism thus meeting with resistance in India but its very roots are now sapped by the criticisms directed against it by the economists and social

philosophers in Europe. When the West is thus revising her judgments of her own economic institutions, the questions which now naturally arise are, Should India adopt the Western economic institutions in order to repeat in her own soil the social evils of the West? Should the Indian industrial system be a feeble echo of the Western organisation with its trade-union disputes, strikes, lock-outs and social crises? Should India introduce into her country the conflicts of labour and capital and thus destroy for ever the communal spirit which dominates her economic life even in the present day? Should she not, on the other hand, develop her own economic system, the product of centuries of past evolution, and adapt it to the needs of the times?

The problem before India is, therefore, this, How should India modify her own economic institutions to withstand the economic disintegration that is going on throughout the land? Throughout the country the decay of village agriculture is proceeding *pari passu* with the rural exodus. While agriculture, which is our national industry, is declining, our dependence on foreign manufactures is only too well-known. The extent of our economic dependence is clearly shown by a study of import and export figures. The total value

of exports in 1911 was 238.1 crores and of imports, Rs. 197.51 crores.

The chief items making up our imports of private merchandise were—

	Crores of Rs.
1911	
Cotton goods	49.56
Metals	14.31
Comprising copper	2.77
Iron and steel	1.10
Machinery and mill work	4.25
Railway materials and stores (including import by Govt.)	6.95
Hardware & cutlery	3.56
Instruments and apparatus	1.37
Clothing (other than cotton) etc.	
Woollen goods	3.4
Silk (raw and manufactured)	3.7
Apparel (including shoes)	3.53
Articles of food and drink	
Sugar	11.93
Provisions	3.19
Liquors	1.93
Spices	1.54
Salt	0.84
Tobacco	0.66
Mineral oils	4.24
Other things	
Glass-ware	1.54
Paper and paste board	1.17
Books and stationery	1
Drugs and medicines	1.03
Dyeing materials	0.92
Chemicals	0.96
Matches	0.87
Coal	0.51
Pearl and precious stones	0.89

Leaving out Government transactions and treasure imported by private persons, out of our total imports of merchandise in 1911:—

Cotton goods formed	36 p. c.
Metals	10.2 "
Sugar	8.6 "
Mineral oils	3.2 "
Railway materials (including Government imports)	5 "

Analysing India's Exports by sea, in 1911, we find:—

	Crores of Rs.
1911	
Indian merchandise	221.72
Foreign re-exported	6.02
Gold and silver	10.36
Total	238.1

Government exports have not been included in the above, as they were of negligible amount, in all about 15 lakhs worth.

The chief items making up our exports of private merchandise were:—

	Crores of Rs.
1911	
Raw materials	
Cotton	29.4
Jute	22.5
Seeds (for oil)	26.9
Hides	13.9
Wool	2.58
Silk	0.45
Articles of food and drink	
Rice	29
Wheat	14.14
Other grains and pulses	8.26
Tea	12.94
Coffee	1.34
Fruits and vegetables	1.37
Provisions	1.08
Fodder, bran and cattle food	4.71
Manufactures	
Jute goods	16
Cotton goods	9.77
Oil	1.51
Lace	2
Indigo	0.37
Other things	
Opium	13.08
Dyeing and tanning materials (excluding indigo)	0.75
Metals	1.14
Coal	0.77
Manures	1.16

Of our total exports in 1911	
Raw materials formed	44.4 p. c.
Articles of food and drink	31.3 "
Indian manufactures	16 "
Raw cotton	13.2 "
Rice	13 "
Jute	7.2 "
Tea	5.8 "
Hides and skins	4.3 "

If we look to the principal articles of import, we shall at once come to the conclusion that they are not economically indispensable. The raw materials of most of them are produced in the country, but these are exported to foreign countries in order to be manufactured into finished commodities there. The reasons for following such a line of action which involves twofold disadvantages, viz, loss of wages and profits which have to be paid to foreign labourers and entrepreneurs and loss of money due to freights is that our industrial organisation cannot efficiently utilise the natural resources of our country. The small artisans working in their cottages with small capital and a few necessary tools and implements and no organisation for effective sale, cannot be as efficient as entrepreneurs in Western

countries producing on a large scale with the most specialised forms of capital and commanding a highly specialised machinery of sale and exchange. Thus the small industries of India are being superseded by the manufacturing industries of the West whose products have been flooding our markets. There is therefore a general consensus of opinion for the establishment of new industries in our country similar to those of the West.

The Indian public strongly feels the necessity of calling into existence the requisite business ability and technical skill of the people and the plentiful capital for manufacturing the commodities, now imported from abroad, in Indian mills and factories. The demand for technical education is thus strong and persistent throughout the country. Several public bodies have been organised in different provinces for imparting technical education or for sending young men to foreign universities to be educated in polytechnic institutes or to serve as apprentices in workshops and industrial establishments. In order that manufacturing industries may grow in number and in strength within a few years in the face of the competition with the West, the Indian public opinion is strongly protectionist.

The industries of the country, says every journalist and every public man of the country, are young and, managed and organised as they are by men of much lower business ability than those in the West, need a definite support from the Indian government by means of high import duties or by bounties.

It is however a striking feature of the new industrial spirit which has been awakened in India that there is no clear public opinion with regard to the nature of the industries which ought to be started in the country and protected by the Government. Every new factory established is hailed by people of all shades of opinion, if it tends to supply needs hitherto supplied by the manufacturing industries of Europe, no matter whether it competes with the indigenous cottage industries of the country or not. The cottage industries of India are regarded as obsolete and medieval types of industrial organization which will have no place in the future economic evolution of

the country. They are, it is said, bound to be superseded by manufacturing industries sooner or later; and hence it is better to have their place filled up by Indian manufacturing industries than allow European industries to take the lead in the process of supersession which is inevitable.

The time has now come when we have to consider seriously the question, What will be the place of the cottage industry in India's economic evolution? Is it inevitable that our cottage industry will be superseded by the modern factory? Is it desirable? Are there in our industrial life such features as might lead us to suppose that the growth of the factory in India is a *necessary* step towards the necessary concentration of industry? Is every kind of factory industry welcome under the circumstances, even if it competes with the cottage industry of the country scattered throughout the country? What form of organisation of industry, again, will be the most economical?

There are certain conditions in which the concentration of industry is inevitable. The advantages of centralisation from a *technical* point of view under these circumstances are so great that the domestic industry using hand-power cannot live at all in the competition with the factory industry. Thus in industries in which a disproportionately large amount of durable plant and the co-operation of a large number of labourers are necessary, when huge metals have to be dealt with, large establishments are inevitable. The mining industries, the iron works, the steamer and ship-building industries decidedly belong to this category. The small scale business under these conditions results in a waste of efficiency, labour, and skill which should always be deprecated. Indeed, in the interest of efficient production, which alone can give the leisure as well as satisfy the conditions of healthy and complete living, production on a large scale under certain economic conditions is equally necessary with that on a small scale.

Generally it has been recognised that when commodities of the same pattern are produced to meet a large and continuous demand e.g., in industries engaged in supplying the physical and routine needs of men, large scale production and the use of machinery are inevitable. In the production of commodities of precisely the

same shape, size, colour and material, machinery will always excel because of its obvious advantage in the increased output of motive force it can apply to industry, as well as the greater precision in the application than in the case of hand-power. It is easily seen that the satisfaction of the primary animal wants,—hunger, thirst, cold, etc., are common to all; in those purely physical demands there is less qualitative difference in different men: as the needs are the same the consumption will be the same. The absence of wide individual differences of taste, indeed, marks out the commodities for routine or machine production. As individuals are nearest alike in their prime physical needs, so, as they gradually develop higher material wants, and, after those are satisfied, æsthetic, intellectual, moral wants, their individualism becomes more and more marked. It is therefore in the most highly developed or, as they are sometimes called the more “artificial” wants of men, that the diversity of individual nature shows itself most strongly, and demands a satisfaction peculiar to itself which only art can give. In a highly evolved society it is likely that many physical needs and even some intellectual needs, will be common to all and will engage little individual attention.* They may be regarded as routine-wants and will be satisfied by machine-made goods. Indeed, it seems reasonable to expect that on the whole machinery will retain and even strengthen and expand its hold of those industries engaged in supplying the primitive needs of man, his food, clothing, shelter and other animal comforts.

If we study the development of Indian manufactures, we will find that the industries in which we have been making the best progress during the last two decades are the manufacture of cotton and jute, coal and gold mining and the petroleum industries. In 1901 there were 197 cotton mills with a capital of 16 crores. In 1908 there were 232 cotton mills and the capital increased to 19 crores. The jute mills also increased in number from 36 in 1901 to 52 in 1908 and the capital increased from 4.3 crores to 6.75 crores. The coal industry has made a phenomenal progress. The output of coal for the whole

of India in 1908 was 12.76 millions while it was 6.6 millions in 1901. The petroleum industry has also made rapid strides. The output has increased from 50 million gallons in 1901 to 176.6 millions in 1908. We have a few other larger industrial concerns but they are either languishing or insignificant. We have made little progress for example in the sugar industry, the oilpressing industry, paper manufacture and wool and silk manufacture. While in leather manufacture, glass manufacture, the manufacture of umbrellas, stationery and in metal manufacture our progress is insignificant.

In the mining industries the local production on a small scale was doomed with the development of metallurgy and chemistry and the obvious advantages of large scale processes in Europe. Thus the European chemist, armed with cheap supplies of sulphuric acid and alkali and aided by low sea freights and increased facilities for internal distribution by a spreading network of railways, has been enabled to stamp out, in all but remote localities, the once flourishing native manufacture of alum, the various alkali compounds, blue vitriol, coppéras, copper, lead, steel and iron and seriously to entail the export trade in nitre and borax. The potentialities of the mining industry of our country, conducted on a large scale are indeed great. The Tata Iron and Steel Works mark an epoch-making advance in mining and metallurgy and are fraught with immense possibilities in the future. Shipbuilding will naturally follow the manufacture of steel plates and India might become the workshop of the East. All this can become possible when the industry is carried on on an extensive scale with a large output of capital and an enormous labour force.

If we leave aside mining and mineral industries in which the advantages of a large establishment are too obvious and study the two other important manufacturing industries *viz.* cotton and jute-mill industries, we find that they have made most progress because there is little or no competition with the indigenous industries of the country or are even supported by them. In the cotton mills the cloth goods which are mostly manufactured and have a sale in the country are produced in the handlooms only

* Vide John A. Hobson's *Evolution of Capitalism*.

in insignificant quantities. The handlooms may be said to manufacture only special classes of cloths. The bulk of the very coarse classes of cloth, warp counts of 6s. to 16s., 6s. to 20s. is woven on the handloom from yarn spun in Indian mills. This cloth has been considered as coming within the absolute sphere of the handloom. Though foreign cloth is being imported, the improvement of the handloom-industry, both in the mechanical processes as well as in the economic organisation will, it is hoped, tend to check the imports. In the jute mills, again, there is no competition with handloom-weaving, the products of which consist mostly of coarse blankets, carpets and rugs. The jute mill industry again, has some special advantages of its own. Outside India, the manufacture of jute fabrics represents a business monopoly. It has also to be recognised that it is conducted solely by European capital and business ability.

In the case of the sugar industry, there are only a few factories in India, and no one of them can be said to be prosperous. The difficulties of organising successfully a modern type sugar factory in India are very great. It is very difficult to get a sufficient supply of sugarcane at a reasonable rate. Half of the total acreage under cane is in the United Provinces, and in some districts the sugarcane area is sufficiently large and compact to justify the establishment of large factories like those of Java and Mauritius. But in other provinces, the sugarcane area is not very compact and if factories can be started at all they must be of moderate size. Thus there is ample scope for the indigenous cottage industry. In Madras and in Bombay specially, the demand for *Gur* is steady and sometimes greater than the supply. Thus the cottage industry there is prosperous. In Bengal, which comes next to the United Provinces as regards area under cane, several factories are now running but they are all more or less languishing. Big factories cannot get an adequate supply of cane and unless they are economically managed cannot face the competition with foreign sugar. The Java sugar especially can compete successfully, Bengal being on the sea coast, and it is recognised that it is the best course under the circumstances to concentrate the efforts in improving the

cottage industry by employing better methods instead of introducing the central Factory system.

In the case of leather manufacture, the technical advantages of producing on a large scale and of the use of electricity in chrome-tanning are very great and there is no difficulty in getting an adequate supply of raw hides, and skins at reasonable rates. The field for leather manufacture on a large scale is, therefore, very extensive, the scope of the cottage industry in future being therefore limited to repair work, the manufacture of fancy articles, book binding, etc. In leather manufacture as well as in several other industries, like oil-pressing, flour-milling, cotton-ginning, wool-weaving, beer-brewing and paper making, the possibilities of success are very great. In these industries we have not made any appreciable progress. In glass making the factory system has been tried but the result has been a failure. In Belgium and Bohemia, however, the two centres of glass-making industry in Europe, as well as in Japan, however, the cottage industry is successfully holding its own. It has been proposed that small beginnings should be made to experiment glass manufacture on the lines of the indigenous cottage system of the country.

We have pointed out the scope of large industrial establishments and shown how little has been our progress in this direction. In order that large scale establishments can succeed in India we have in our country no class of entrepreneurs or captains of industry amongst us. We have only a few big technical institutes for the training of men in industries. All our youths are trained in universities which impart an over-literary education, without a touch of the modern side. Thus our middle class people usually become schoolmasters, lawyers and government servants and seldom business men and technical experts. In order that there may be trained organisers and business men who will be able to utilise scientifically the material resources of the country, we have to organise in our country a system of technical education adjusted to the needs of our industrial life. As long as such a system is not devised, we have to send students for industrial education to Europe, America and Japan, as we have been doing. To ensure success, students will

be required to show industrial aptitude and get a first-hand knowledge of small factories in India by personal inspection and tour before they go to foreign countries, and they will be trained only in those industries which have a fair chance of success in the country. Thus when they return from Europe they will not feel disappointed in the search for employments which cannot be procured. Industries should be in search of men, and not men in search of industries, in the initial stages of a country's industrial career.

It is also essential that they should acquire a thorough practical training by serving as apprentices in workshops and factories of foreign countries so that when they come back to India they possess not only the requisite technical knowledge but also the practical capacity and business knowledge which are so essential for the entrepreneur. Too frequently business enterprises have failed in India on account of the dissociation of business ability from expert knowledge. If the organisers had acquired sufficient business knowledge along with scientific skill during their stay in foreign countries, many of our industrial ventures during the last decade would have been successful.

Along with the training of entrepreneurs, we need also as a co-ordinate branch a system of commercial education for training bankers, brokers, correspondents, and commercial agents who act as intermediaries between the producers and the consumers. They will supply business organisers with information about markets where their wares can find a ready sale. It is well known that it is a great disadvantage at present for Indian merchants to depend for such information solely on the agents of European firms, who are often apt to mislead them in the interests of European establishments. If Indian youths cannot immediately overcome the traditional prejudice against manual labour, let them get the requisite education in order to discharge efficiently the services of commercial agents which are now undertaken by Europeans. Such training can well be secured in India and will therefore appeal to a much larger section of the people amongst whom there still persists the prejudice against sea-voyage.

Again, until technical education is more generally diffused among the people, we cannot expect that our literate classes will devote themselves to industrial enterprises. In the meanwhile they might secure independent livelihood as traders, merchants and bankers. In the modern world the merchant has become as important as if not more so than the manufacturer. It has been remarked that the Americans and the Germans are ousting the British out of their markets not so much by any superiority in the quality of their goods, but by the superior knowledge of the demands of the markets, by better communication with foreign countries, by establishing regular intelligence departments, and, above all, by possessing and exercising superior commercial knowledge. Thus there is a rich field for the education of Indians in this direction the importance of which, however, is not fully realised in the country. The vast internal trades of the country are now left solely in the hands of illiterate merchants who have no knowledge of distant markets. They are ignorant of modern methods of advertisement. They are indeed unfit to act as intermediaries in these days when tastes are so continuously varying among the people. Again, the exporting trades are concentrated in the hands of foreigners who gain by far the greatest portion of the profits accruing from them. We want that the brightest of our youths may be able gradually to take their place. They should be able to take a comprehensive view of distant markets and tell our manufacturers and craftsmen what style of goods is now in demand. They will have to read and understand provincial and imperial trade statistics, agricultural ledgers and industrial monographs. They will have to inspect personally not only the principal industrial and trade centres of the country but also the district centres and marts as well in order to seek out the cheapest sources of supply and the best markets for different commodities. They will ascertain and utilise the cheapest means of transport for such commodities. They will be able to organise sale agencies, and mercantile houses, banks as well as joint stock companies, to appreciate the changes in the money market, and the fluctuations in export and import figures, to discuss probable

crops and to anticipate the output of manufactured products. Thus, gradually, there will be developed in India a race of traders and merchants, who will lead India in the struggle for commercial predominance among the trading nations of the world.

But these are hopes of the future. The economic problem before us at the present day is this, How we should best utilise the existing technical and commercial education of the middle classes in order to achieve the best possible results. We have to take it for granted that technical education is at a low ebb among our people and that commercial education is almost nil. Again, on account of the absence of technical skill, business capacity and commercial enterprise, capital in India generally fights shy of industrial concerns and a large portion of it remains idle and unproductive. When industries have been started in India by the Indians, they have often been started with insufficient capital. The effects of insufficient capital are often ruinous. Old and cheap machinery are bought and thus efficiency is sacrificed to economy. Again, the clamour for good dividends after a short interval also leads to inefficient management when foresight and provision against losses are no longer the guiding principles of industrial establishments.

Under these circumstances our object should be to make the most efficient use of our small capital in the hands of organisers possessing the present low standard of technical skill and business capacity. Our aim should be to choose those industries in which success is almost sure: for failures at the beginning of a nation's industrial career create a widespread pessimism which is ruinous to industrial development. Thus instead of attempting large-scale industries

it is better for the present to organise small industries in which there is a better possibility of success by the utilisation of our present resources in labour, capital and business enterprise. Iron and Steel works, Glass Blowing, Textile Fabrics and Dyeing, Paper-making, Alkali works and the like, are too big to be generally attempted with our present resources. It is better to take up these industries in some of their under stages. Thus cutlery, nails, door-fittings, buckets founding and moulding works, &c., may be taken up under Iron works; bottles, bangles and other crude glass works, utilisation of breakages of important crockeries, &c., under Glass-blowing; use of improved handlooms of all kinds, extraction of fibres, &c., under Textile fabrics; use of aniline and country dyes to produce chintz, coloured cloths, yarns, silk, &c., under Dyeing works; paste board and card board works under Paper-making; utilisation of inflorescent earth such as reh to produce soda, nitre, &c., under Alkali works; &c. In this way manufacturing products of cruder quality may be taken up, care being taken not so much for ideal finish at the expense of quantity as for practical utility coupled with cheapness.* The quality will have to be the best possible under these two necessary conditions (*viz.* cheapness and quantity) of Indian consumption to which the production must conform. These are therefore the larger industries which afford a rich field for the probable utilisation of our present resources in business enterprise and capital.

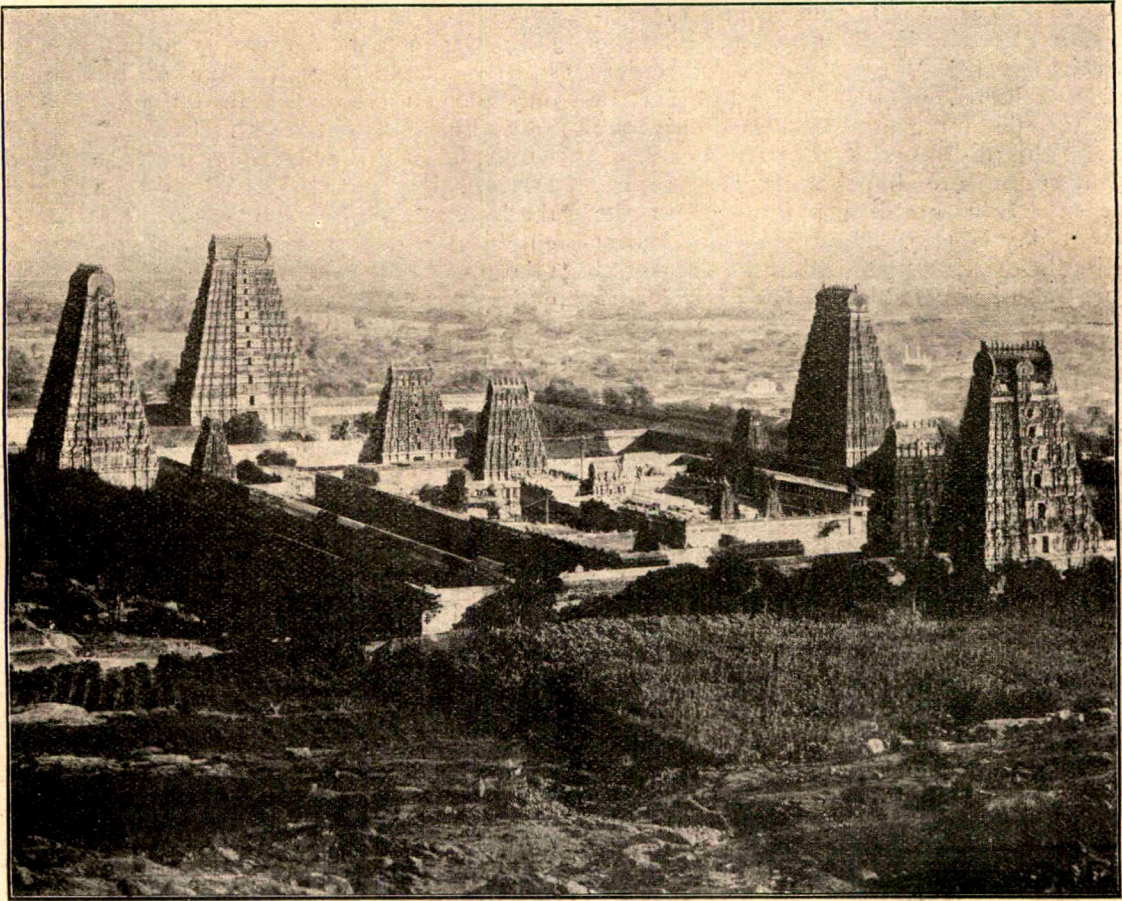
* The importance of this principle has been well pointed out in Prof. Radhakumud Mukerji's lecture on 'Lines of Indian Industrial Advance' (Industrial Conference, Allahabad), from which I have also derived the above list of industries manufacturing cheap and useful products of cruder quality.

SRIRANGAM ON THE CAUVERY

A TEMPLE CITY.

THE very mention of the name "Srirangam" to a follower of Ramanuja, the great Hindu religionist, acts like

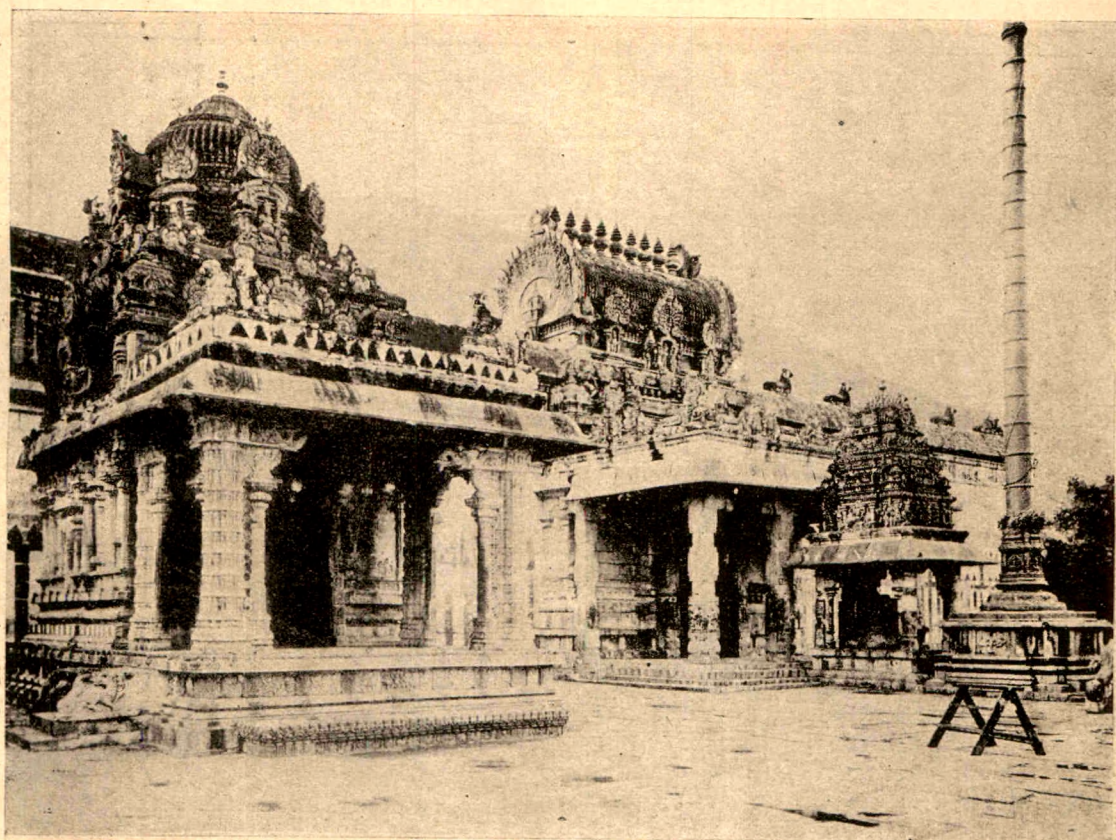
magic, and he will never tire of talking of this, the most sacred place in India to members of this sect. But Srirangam is a temple of such extent and interest that all



The Temple City of Srirangam.

classes unite in placing it high among the cities of this country. No temple in Southern India is more sacred, and the fact that the famous Ramanuja resided here for many years, and ultimately died within the precincts of the temple, sometime in the eleventh century, gives it a name that adds greatly to its fame. It must not however be thought that the great temple as it is known to-day existed at so distant a period, for as late as the eighteenth century we find the work in progress. The inner shrine was probably built as early as the tenth century, and on the walls are to be found inscriptions which date several additions some time in the thirteenth century. In his *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Fergusson argues that this temple is one that has been marred by a false system. In this it follows several other temples in South India. The fact that the building has been carried out

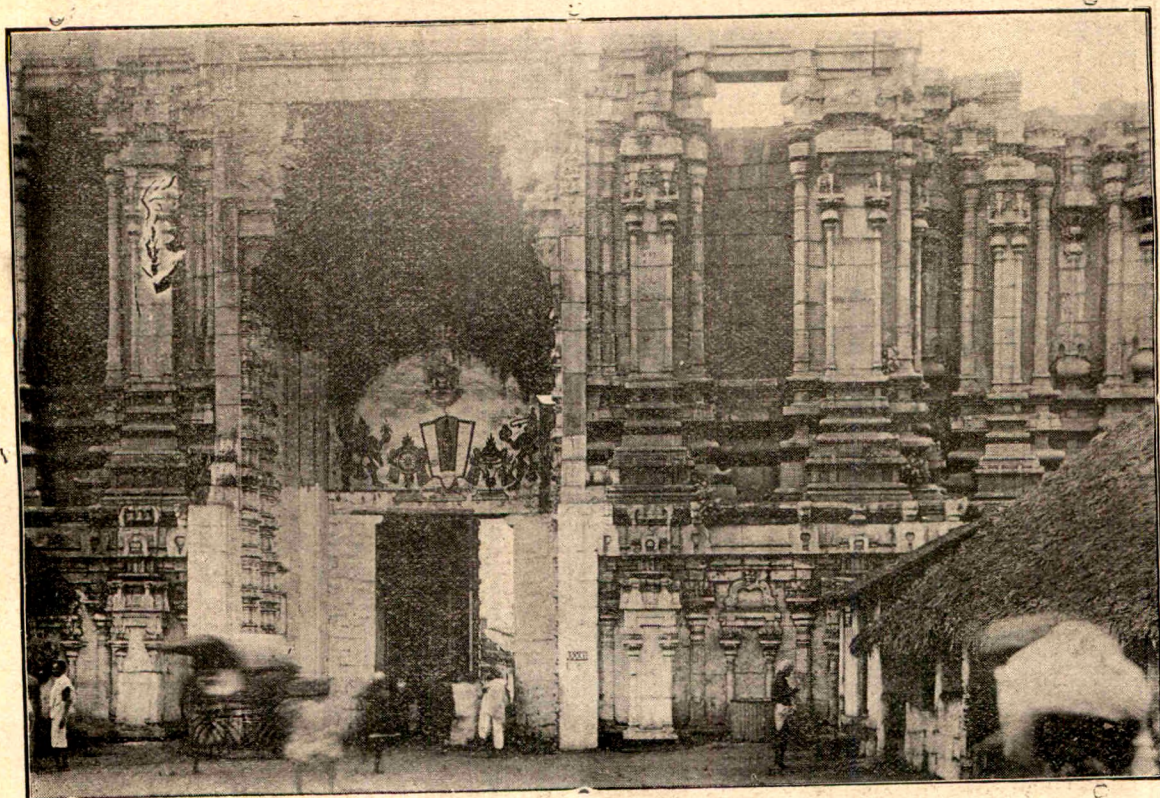
on a wrong principle has taken away a considerable amount of its beauty and grandeur. It is evident that the shrine in the centre of the temple was first erected, and there is nothing about it that is not to be seen in any ordinary village shrine, save that the dome has been covered with gold. As we come from the centre to the outer walls the surroundings, etc., grow more magnificent. He says that had the principle been reversed, and the four large gopuras formed the four sides of a central hall, and the others gone on diminishing in three or four directions to the exterior, the result would have been far more imposing and satisfactory. In spite of this the whole is a wonderful structure and by far the largest in Southern India. Before describing the temple it may be worth while to draw attention to the part Srirangam has played in history, especially in the eighteenth century.



The Ganesha Temple at Tirubannamalai.

The town of Srirangam is unique in several ways, for it is essentially a temple city, over 20,000 people finding their home within the temple grounds. From a distant period this temple city has been self-governing, and in 1871 the Madras Municipal Act was extended to Srirangam. There are practically no houses in the municipality which are not within the enclosures of the temple. A visitor to the temple is somewhat surprised to find that the first three courts consist of shops with crowds of people waiting to purchase their ordinary stores as in a large town. In fact the outer courts of the temple form a bazaar. Its position on the sacred river Cauvery adds to its sanctity, and it is not surprising that everyday great crowds of pilgrims wend their way to this temple. Especially during the great annual festival in December or January, great preparations are made. One large space is covered over with a large pandal which is handsomely decorated with figures of the various gods

in mythology. It has been pointed out by an eye-witness that among the groups of gods there is always to be seen a sorrow-faced Collector administering justice, surrounded by peons, with a prisoner in front of him. It would be of interest to know why this rather striking custom should be carried out so regularly. During the eighteenth century the town and temple of Srirangam played a most important part in connection with the French and English armies. It will be remembered that the French espoused the cause of Chanda Sahib, and the English the cause of Muhammad Ali in the quarrel as to who should rule the country of Arcot. After the battle of Ambur Muhammad Ali was forced to submit to a siege by the French and Marathas who took up their position in Srirangam from which place they kept a close watch on Trichinopoly where Muhammad had fled. The famous expedition of Clive to Arcot, made so that the besieging forces should be thinned, was entirely successful, rendering



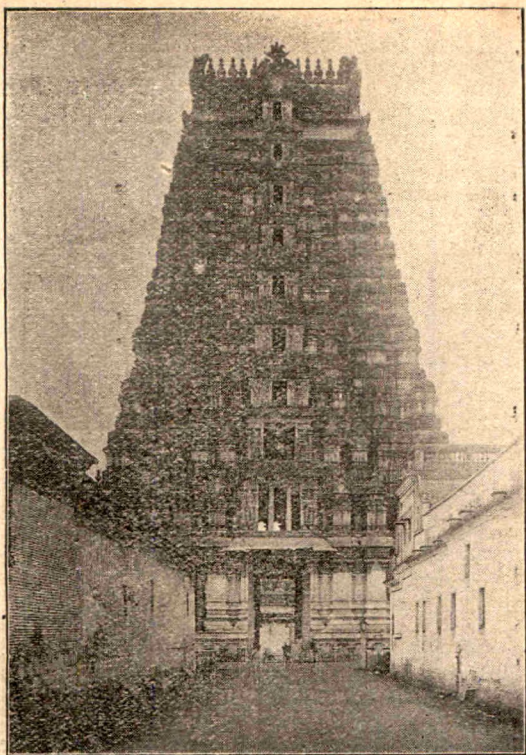
Outer gateway ; inside pillars single pieces of stone.

it possible for Major Lawrence to bring an army to relieve Trichinopoly. An attempt was made by Dupleix to intercept this army but without success. Captain Dalton successfully attacked a reinforcement sent to assist the remnant left in Srirangam. Chanda Sahib's army deserted him, he himself was put to death, and the siege of Trichinopoly was raised. In this the first war with the French most of the fighting was done in the island of Srirangam, and it is not surprising that we find little was done toward extension of the temple during that period.

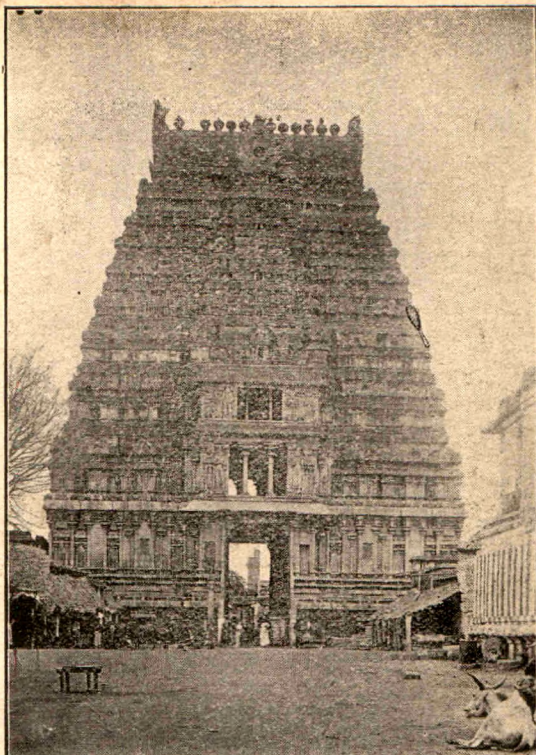
We again find Srirangam is the centre of fighting in connection with another attempt on the part of the French to overthrow the British power. The General of the Mysore Army had expected as a reward for assisting Muhammad Ali, the town of Trichinopoly, but the application was refused. He retired to Srirangam, and with the assistance of the French, only too ready to strike a blow at the English, he hoped to conclude a successful siege. But he had not measured the powers of the

English General, Major Lawrence, for, in spite of increased additions sent by Dupleix, they suffered an overwhelming defeat at the battle of the Golden Rock. Thus we see that the Island played a not unimportant part in the wars between the French and the English. After this brief outline, it will be well to turn to the temple itself in order to describe some of its leading features. It has already been pointed out that the first three enclosures give one the impression rather of a busy bazaar street than the precincts of a temple, and it is only when the visitor reaches the fourth enclosure that he sees the temple proper.

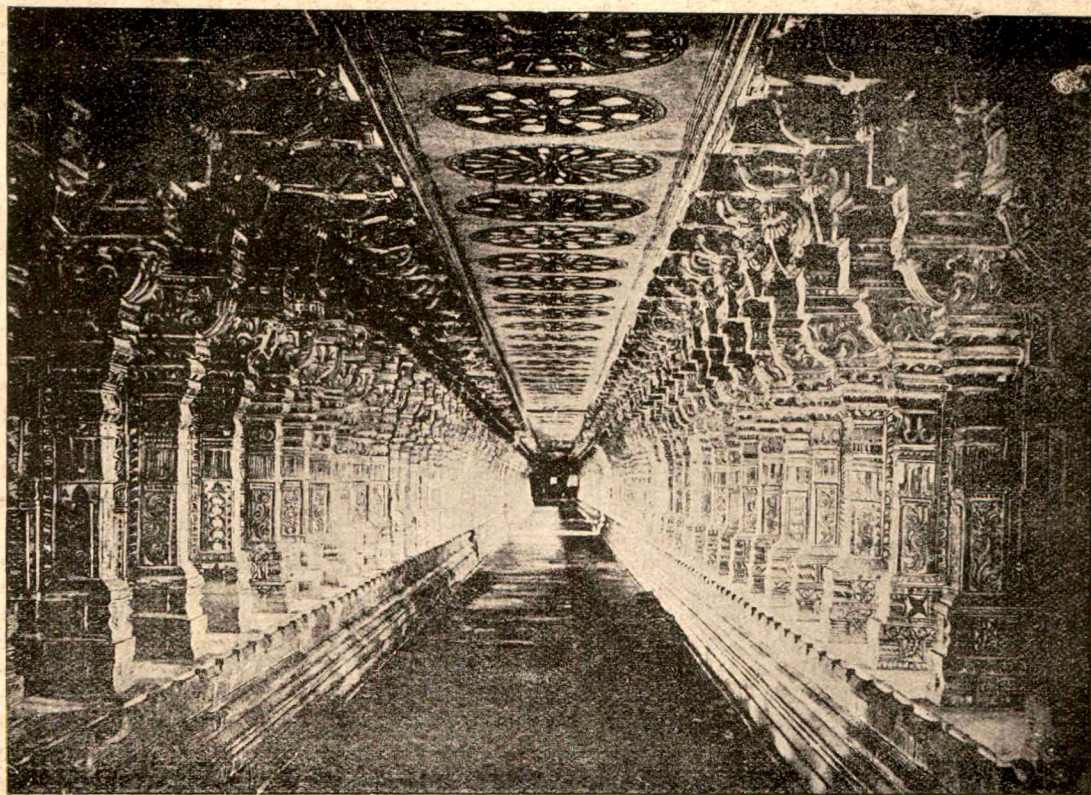
The wall surrounding this outer enclosure measures about 2500 feet by 2865 feet, and it is said that if the gopurams had been finished they would have surpassed all others in the south to the same extent as these dimensions exceed those of any other known temple. The illustration shows the gateway on the south side from Trichinopoly and the Cauvery, and it will be seen that the gopuram is unfinished. It measures



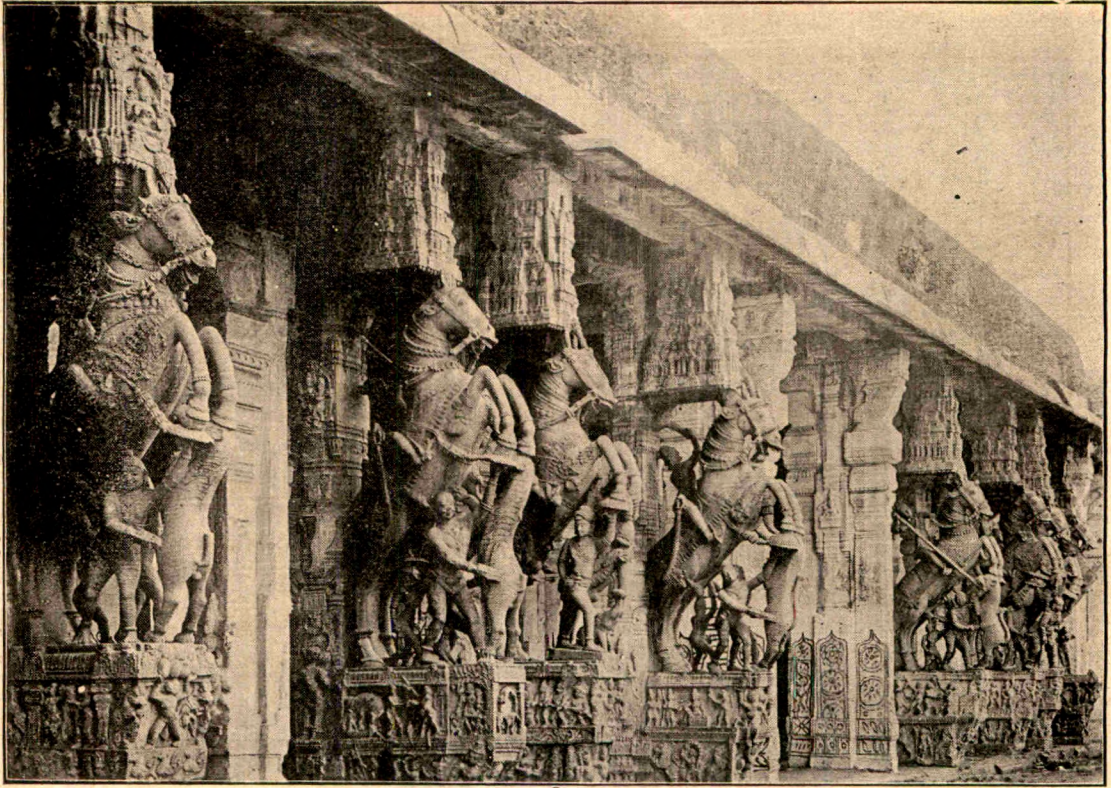
The Highest Gopuram or gateway in India.



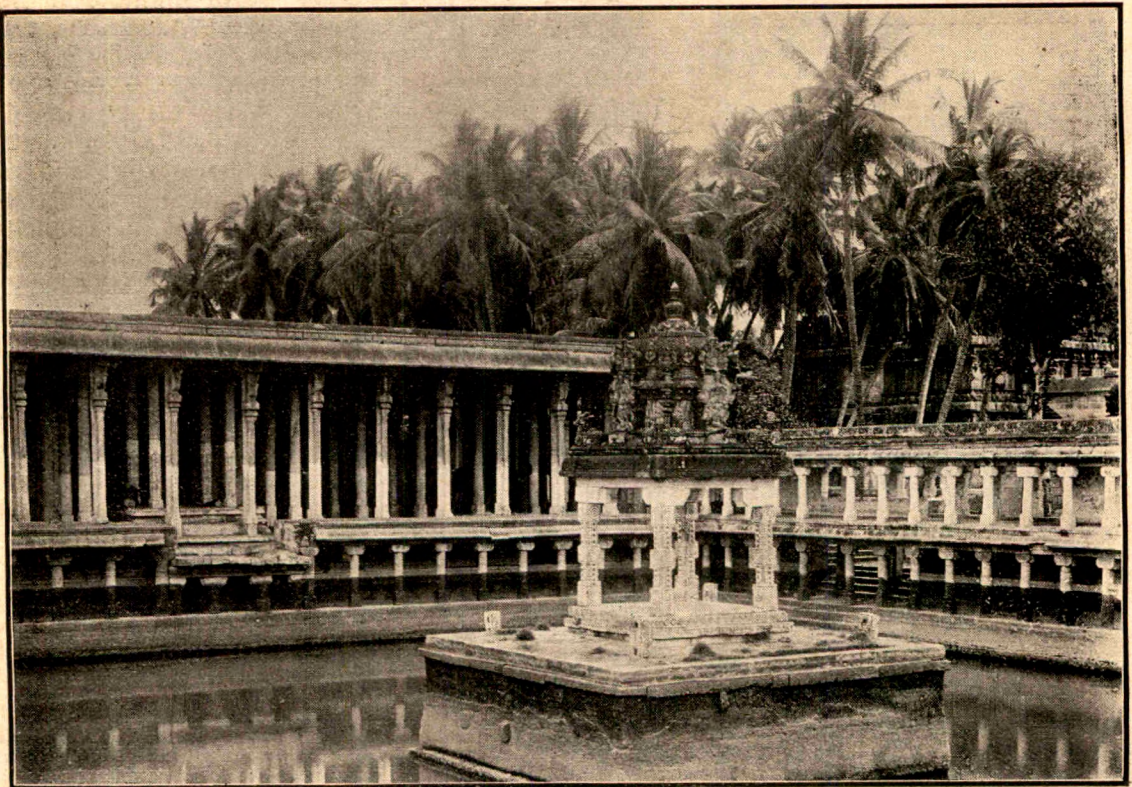
The Broadest Gopuram or gateway in India.



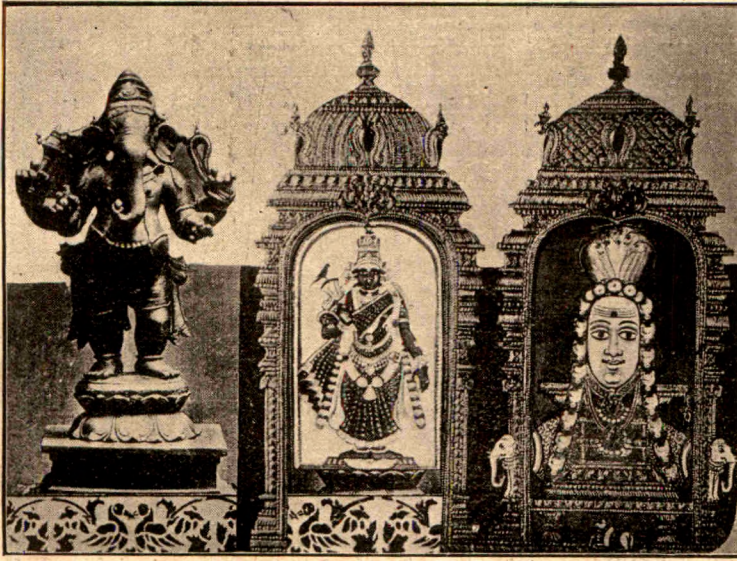
The Hall of thousand pillars at Rameswaram.



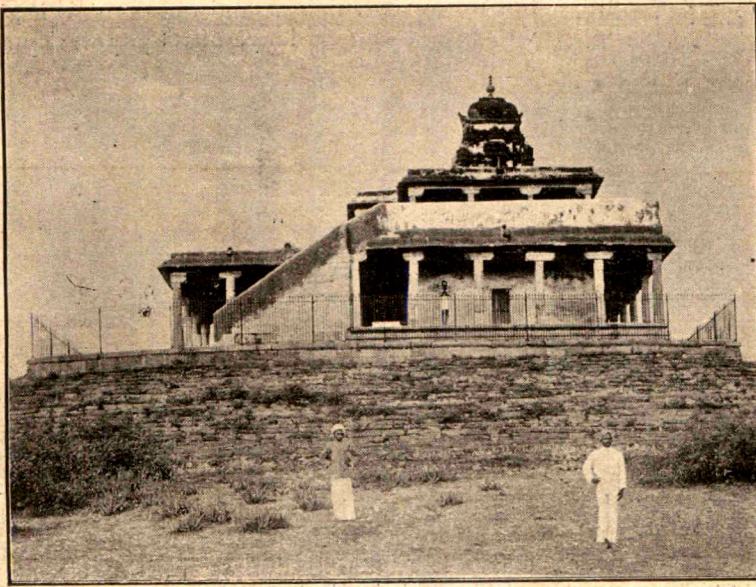
Carvings on the temple pillars.



Siva Temple.



The gods and goddesses of the Madura Temple.



Rameswaram.

130 feet in width by 100 feet in depth. The gateway is of huge dimensions, in fact, the greatest in any temple in India, for it is 43 feet high and half that in width. The gate posts are over 40 feet high and consist of single slabs of granite. The slabs used on the roof of the gateway are also large being about 24 feet square. In the case of the other gopurams the work had not reached so advanced a stage when it was

temple, elaborately carved horses with a number of other figures in front make a very striking picture.

During the visit of the late king when Prince of Wales, the temple authorities were anxious to show all honour possible to him but even his rank and position would not justify them in permitting him to enter the sacred shrine. In front of the building past which no European is permitted to

interrupted by the wars referred to. The gateposts project about the walls and present a rather curious appearance. Leaving the bazaar part of the temple, the fourth enclosure and in some respects the most interesting and important, is reached and entered by means of another large gateway. The Hall of a thousand pillars, a marked feature of the old Dravidian temples, is to be found in this enclosure. It is rarely that the exact number of pillars is to be found there and in this case the exact number is 953, but on the occasion of a festival they make up the number by erecting a kind of small temporary building in front of the hall. The pillars consist of solid blocks of stone, carved but not elaborately. The whole cannot be said to be particularly impressive. Opposite to this large hall is the Seshagiri-rao Matapam, which contains some of the finest carving in the temple. On the pillars facing the Hall of the Thousand Pillars, there is some very fine work, very much like that found in the Madura

go, the authorities ordered that images of the gods which are worshipped inside, should be carved. The goddess occupied a very unusual position. It is seldom one comes across a goddess lying down. In addition to this special arrangements were made by which the Prince could ascend to the roof of the Hall of a thousand pillars from which point of vantage he could see the gold-covered shrine over the god. Not only so but from this point it is possible to get a splendid view of the whole temple, and the surrounding country. The priests usually expect the visitor to pay one rupee for this privilege. In all there are about fourteen gopurams, several of which contain excellent work. The two used to illustrate this article are the highest and broadest.

Reference must be made to another temple in the island, considered by many to be much finer than the Vaishnava temple for workmanship. I refer to the Siva temple known by the title of Jambukeswara. There is a fine gopuram in front of a hall containing 250 pillars. On the right of this temple is the tank which is one of the prettiest in South India. It is fed by a peren-

nial spring and is specially notable for its double row of pillars. An examination of the architecture of this building leads one to conclude that in all probability this temple was constructed before the great one dedicated to Sri Ranganatha. The inner part was probably erected in the thirteenth century while the outer enclosures may have been built as late as the seventeenth century. Of this Fergusson says,

"One of the great charms of this temple, when I visited it, was its purity. Neither whitewash nor yellow nor red paint had then sullied it, and the time-stain on the warm-coloured granite was all that relieved its monotony; but it sufficed, and it was a relief to contemplate it thus after some of the vulgarities I had seen. Now all this is altered. Like all the pagodas at Rameswaram, and more so those at Madura, barbarous vulgarity has done its worst, and the traveller is only too fully justified in the contempt with which he speaks of these works of a great people which have fallen into the hands of such unworthy successors."

Srirangam still holds the premier place among Southern Indian temples, and the huge crowds which attend the regular festivals is a strong evidence of its popularity as a place of pilgrimage.

S. T. H.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

I believe, all of us who know anything about America, know this very well that primary education is free in that free country, also that it is compulsory; but there are many who do not know or have no means to know what this education consists in, and what it aims at. For such people I will try to briefly portray a clear picture if I can, of this education.

American primary schools generally begin with the kindergarten. Games, songs and children's sports make a beginning. Flowers, leaves, grasses, fruits, butterflies, moths and birds are brought to the class-rooms, or the children go on expeditions to explore Nature's wonderland, making excursions to squares, parks and the open country. Kindergarteners plant tulip bulbs and flowers in the city parks and visit farms in order to meet the farm

animals. After such visits the children talk and sing about the things they have seen.

After such a preliminary training the children enter the elementary "grades." Reading, writing and arithmetic do not constitute a satisfactory elementary education. Like the kindergarten, the elementary school is designed to touch real life; like the kindergarten it provides for what the child needs. Old methods of teaching spelling, multiplication and syntax have given way to the new methods of teaching children those things which they need, irrespective of homes.

CONCRETE EXAMPLES.

In order to make clear what I mean I will give some concrete illustrations. What is the difference between our old methods of

teaching geography in India and the new one in America? In India the child begins with capes, peninsulas, continents, meridians and trade routes. In America the child begins with the town in which he lives. The school room is provided with a large map of the city. On a series of outline maps, centering about a familiar square, shop or public building, each child fills in the surrounding streets and points of interest. In the lowest grade geography begins with a description of the school yard and surroundings. When in the later grades the children are taught about Europe and Asia they learn on a background of their own geographical experiences in yards, alleys, squares, streets and play-grounds.

In the same way arithmetic begins with life. The teachers organize games in which some children play while others keep score. Under the stress of the most gripping of impulses—the desire to win—these score-keepers learn addition and subtraction. As they advance they take up practical problems—measure the rooms for flooring and the school pavement for cementing.

Similarly the higher-grade mathematics work is made concrete. Prices and descriptions of materials are supplied, and the children buy meats and groceries, heat and light houses, furnish homes, construct buildings, keep the costs in the machine shops and dressmaking rooms, finance the city hospital, arrange the city budget, and do a host of other problems involving the conduct of public and private business. Well-taught mathematics thus becomes a part of the real experience of childhood and furnishes a foundation for the knowledge of later years.

Even more important is English—of all subjects taught in the schools, the most practical because it is the mother language of the children, the most used in life. They buy with it, sell with it, adore with it, and protest with it. Unlike Indian schools where the mother language is made secondary, the American schools, recognising its importance, have given English—real English—a first place in school work.

In one of the public schools in Massachusetts, just before Halloween, pictures of a witch on a broomstick, with a cat at her side, riding toward the moon, were distributed amongst the girls and boys of the

school. Each of them was called upon for an original poem on this picture. One of the boys wrote:

The witch's cat was as black as her hat,

So black as her hat was he,

He had yellow eyes which looked very wise,

And he sailed high over the trees.

These children are given now and then different subjects to write stories on. One careless, indifferent, eighth-grade lad of the same school once chose "Birds." Gradually the subject got hold of him. Morning after morning, at half past four, the spring found him, out in the parks and fields studying birds. Although he was absorbed in birds the whole tone of his school work improved greatly, and when in May he delivered an illustrated lecture before one of the teachers' meetings on "The Birds of my city" he was triumphant. In less than a year he had vitalised his whole being with an interest in one study.

They are encouraged to stand up and deliver speeches too. In one of the schools, a roughly clad, uncouth boy was asked to recite before his classmates. He began saying, though stumbling through the broken periods of his ungrammatical sentences, "And Esau went out after a venison, and Jacob's mother cooked up some goat's meat till it smelled like a venison. And then Jacob, he took the venison, I mean the goat's meat, to Isaac, and Issac couldn't tell it wasn't Esau because"—so the story continued for two or three minutes. When it was ended the boy stood looking gloomily at the class.

"Well, class," queried the teacher, "has any one any criticism to make?"

Instantly three-fourths of the class were on their feet.

"Paul," said one manly fellow, "you should raise and lower your voice more." The teacher turned: "Yes, Mary?"

"Paul, your grammar wasn't very good. You did not make periods."

One by one, in a kindly spirit, the children criticised. Then the teacher said: "Paul, you did very well. This is your first time in this class, isn't it?"

"Yes'm"

"Yes, Paul, you did very well, but Paul—" and with care and precision, she outlined his mistakes, suggesting in each case ways of avoiding them in future.

The public is not satisfied by changing the methods only. They have, in addition to the old subjects, introduced new ones, like hygiene, Nature study, civics, manual training and domestic science to enrich the elementary school curriculum.

With the help of physiology, the children are taught that the body is worth caring for and developing into something of which every boy and girl may be proud. Also public health, and private and public sanitation are emphasized. From Nature and her doings the child is led to see the application of the laws of physiology and hygiene to the life of the individual and of the community.

Nature study, elementary science, horticulture and school gardens occupy important places in these schools. There is a training in the sequence and significance of the seasons, given to the children as well.

Attempts are also made to teach children the relation between individual and communal life. For this, children of higher grades are taken on trips to the city bureaus—water, light, health, fire and police. They also learn, in the factories which they visit, the relation between industry and individual life, and social concepts are developed by newspaper and magazine reading and class discussions of the articles and books which the children have read. They discuss politics, strikes, labour troubles, woman suffrage, and are even asked to suggest methods of making a given wage cover the needs of a family.

Through domestic science and manual training the girls are taught to make their own garments, cook and serve meals to teachers or to other classes, while the boys make furniture, steds, derricks, bridges, and

telegraph instruments. Chair caning, weaving and clay moulding are also used in the hand work of both boys and girls.

In many of the schools, a regular practical arts course is offered, in which children may elect commerce, practical arts, household arts or literature. The regular English, mathematics, geography, history and science of the upper grades are supplemented by social dancing, physical training and music. In addition to these regular subjects the students have, in the commercial course, typewriting, short-hand, book-keeping, business arithmetic and designing; in the practical arts course, drawing, designing, printing, making and repairing; in the household arts course, cooking, sewing, home-keeping, and household arts; and in the literary course half time in modern language and the other half in manual training and household arts. The practical course is planned for the children who expect to leave school at fourteen. Curiously enough sons of doctors, lawyers, and well-to-do business men, boys and girls preparing for college, and children who must leave school in a year or two, all flock to this kind of school. In spite of the fact that pupils are kept in these schools six hours a day instead of five, as in other schools, the attendance here outruns the accommodation.

This kind of American education is broader than our Indian because it adopts any study which seems likely to meet the needs or wants of any child. The storehouse of the mind of the American child is unlocked with educational keys, and filled with materials, of which educators in India scarcely can dream.

JAGANNATH KHANNA.

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GENERAL SHOOTING OF COOLIES IN BRITISH GUIANA BY THE POLICE

THE pen staggers, the heart palpitates and the head reels, at the very thought of the dismal tragedy resulting in the instantaneous death of sixteen Indian labourers and the wounding

of more than thirty enacted at a Sugar Plantation, Rose Hall (Canje Creek), Berbice, British Guiana.

Never in the history of this South American colony has so much bloodshed occurred,

and at such a petty excitement to the Police. We hear from some aged South American gentlemen that in 1906, there occurred a disturbance among the black porters and they destroyed much property and life; but to disperse these so-called rioters empty cartridges were fired over their heads and at the last moment when they could not be dealt with by lenient measures, a few shots were fired in the crowd, resulting in four deaths and some casualties. The crowds were very threatening and indeed as we hear the whole of George Town (capital of British Guiana) was at the mercy of the rioters.

The present disturbances which had such a tragic end and to the spectator on the spot was blood-curdling, has been nothing of the sort. It was a fair and simple argument for wages between the labourers and the employer and just like ordinary strikes in European countries, it was a dead-lock between the two parties concerned, which last is the only resource depended upon by the labour party.

Perhaps a brief history of the whole affair ending in blood-shed from the beginning up to date might interest all well-wishers and true patriotic sons of mother India—who though far from us, still have everything in common with our unfortunate enslaved brethren in the colonies.

At a plantation called Rose Hall in the county of Berbice (British Guinea) there are almost more than one thousand free and indentured Indians living for working on the sugar fields. Almost all of these, except a few children and a very few young men, were sent as "coolies" to the colonies. Now since January 1913 or I should say December last, the relations between the local authorities and the Indian labourers, began to show some signs of high tension. Various causes were assigned for the presence of this feeling of discontent, and some mischievous, arch-asses from the managing staff even went so far as to ascribe it to the activity of agitators and seditionists. Later on when the true facts were disclosed, we need not say that these short-sighted youngsters did feel rather upset, for in order to hide their own faults they were only trying to throw the blame at the door of some unknown per-

son or persons, who most probably dwelt only in their imaginations.

To go on with the subject proper, it is a custom on the Sugar Estates here and which existed for a considerable time at Rose Hall too, that at the end of the grinding season when the Building (Sugar Factory) stops working, the labourers, because they work very hard (sometimes 18 hours in the day and night), during this particular period, they are allowed four pounds of sugar each and given four days' holiday to make merry before they start again the monotonous, uneventful and hard and dry work in the field. On this particular occasion, the manager was very much pleased with the work of all the people on the estate and promised to give them four days' holiday, though he did not distribute the usual dole of sugar. The people, however, did not mind the sugar, for they were more anxious to get a holiday, which is so rare in the sugar-estate life. As promised, the manager gave them the holiday for two days and on the third day when they were still under the impression that they were enjoying a holiday and had consequently made several arrangements to treat their friends and guests, the driver came in and asked them to get to work and plant the cane tops. This sudden call to work specially when there was no such emergency, surprised them and they resented the driver's orders. They told him that the manager had allowed them four days' holiday and under that impression they had formed general programmes for spending their time merrily. On hearing this the driver, a pig-brained villainous scamp, whose main amusement is to ill-treat his fellow-countrymen, who takes bribes from all the poor labourers and petty farmers, whose tongue is as venomous as that of a cobra and who is all in all to the Manager of the Estate, cursed them with as filthy a tongue as he could find.

The men sent some of their number to the Manager (of course which infuriated the driver more) to ask him the reason for these sudden orders. Well, he said that everything was left to the driver and cursed them to his heart's content.

At this the men struck work that day and subsequently learnt that seven of their compatriots has been summoned as deserters.

This excited the whole estate and when the case was called the whole population of the Estate went to the Magistrate's Court.

The writer of this article was however on the scene and observing the discontented state of the minds of the working-men, got the case settled amicably for which he was very kindly thanked by the magistrate.

Nothing particularly worth mentioning happened externally but now and then through the local press it was learnt that the people were not contented; that they wanted the transfer or the dismissal of the driver who made it a point (as it was alleged) to heap insults after insults on them which were unbearable. They represented the case to the manager, entreated him, nay, even begged him to change the driver and overseer but to no effect. For it is seen generally that petitioning and entreating flatters the vanity of most lightheaded people and makes them worse. The only alternative for the people was to strike work and sit at home. If they went to the Immigration Agent General in a number exceeding six they were to be treated as an unlawful assembly. But the trouble is that, if they only sent a few, then these are branded as ringleaders.

In this state of high tension the plantation existed for fully six weeks. But the people had not stopped work altogether during this period, only resenting the treatment of the driver and the particular overseer.

It is rumoured that some five coolies had threatened the overseer and they, also being thought the inciters for a long time, it was arranged that warrants should be issued against them. But by reading the details of how the warrants were prepared the farcical nature of these preliminary proceedings will strike even the casual reader. These 5 coolies were also to be transferred to different estates.

The police in George Town was telephoned, though there was a strong posse of police already on the scene. The Inspector-General of Police went to the scene, with a maxim gun and plenty of ammunition!

The Inspector who was in charge of the District consulted his chief as to how they should proceed to make the warrants. Law books were consulted, and after a good

deal of conference some warrants were made and sent to the Magistrate to sign.

As the warrants were not properly made the Magistrate came on the scene to give his legal advice and new warrants were made.

I leave it to the imagination of the reader how this force would look. The Indians on the estate seeing such a big army, two squads of Police all armed and a maxim gun, determined not to let the police arrest their fellow-countrymen, whom they considered quite innocent, whose only fault was that they spoke for all to the authorities.

Now imagine, dear reader, a miniature battle field, on one side the Inspector General, lordly, fat, gray-haired, with eyes bloodshot with anger at the audacity of the "D—d Coolie" in refusing to give up their innocent companions. He is a good hand at shooting and the history of his past life shows that he had won laurels several times for shooting human game. Imagine him with his maxim gun and all his men fully armed and then imagine the poor, thin-faced, half-starving, armless except for a few sticks and their instruments of agriculture, standing on the opposite side. There was only a distance of six feet between the two forces. I wonder, if the Brave Colonel at all felt exultation, for it is the hardness of the resistance that makes the victory more glorious.

The "Coolies" were asked to give up those five people, to which they did not consent. The Colonel read the *Riot Act*. As soon as this was finished the coolies turned back to go to their houses and had only gone about 70 to 90 feet from the police, when they noticed that one corporal and some policemen were following them to arrest one of the men, who, as soon as they reached that particular man, caught hold of him. A struggle ensued between the two and as soon as one of the Indians was going to help his companion the police began to fire. It is said that the man who went for helping struck the corporal with a stick and that caused his death; but the death of the Corporal of Police was caused by a bullet piercing his skull, as the inquiry revealed.

The Police did not fire one or two shots but they were ordered to fire two tremen-

dous volleys into the crowd and then stray shots followed.

I can not command an adequate vocabulary to describe the scene on that bloody Estate. The poor coolies with their backs towards the police were proceeding to their houses and yet they fell dead as wild birds. Some women and children got shot and met their death while sitting in their houses quietly.

Dear countrymen, this is the way your compatriots are treated here. You can yourself analyse the whole situation and

thus work out for yourself, that, for the arrest of five people, 16 lives were lost and 40 people wounded. I wonder if the thoughtful people of India will realise the necessity of protesting strongly against the present system of indentured emigration, or they will still blindly believe that the glory of their mother country is enhanced by thus exiling (or letting to be exiled) their ignorant, misled and fooled countrymen.

R. N. SHARMA, L. M. S.

GEORGE TOWN,
British Guiana, South America.

THE ORAONS OF CHOTA NAGPUR

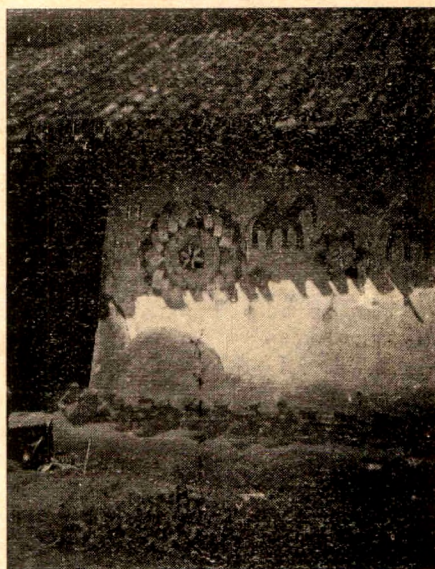
II

TECHNOLOGY.

Village:—An Orāon village consists of a cluster of huts huddled together without any definite arrangement. Bits of winding alleys or pathway form the only thoroughfares inside the village. The interior of the village with its stinking manure-pits, filthy sink-holes, and stagnant pools of foul water made all the fouler by pigs and cattle wallowing in it,—is as dirty and disagreeable as its outer surroundings—its bits of pretty scrub-jungle, the open fields, and here and there a hill, a hill-stream, or a mango-grove,—are pretty and delightful. Among the public places of an Orāon village are the *akhra* or dancing-ground and the *dhumkuria* or dormitory for the bachelors of the village.

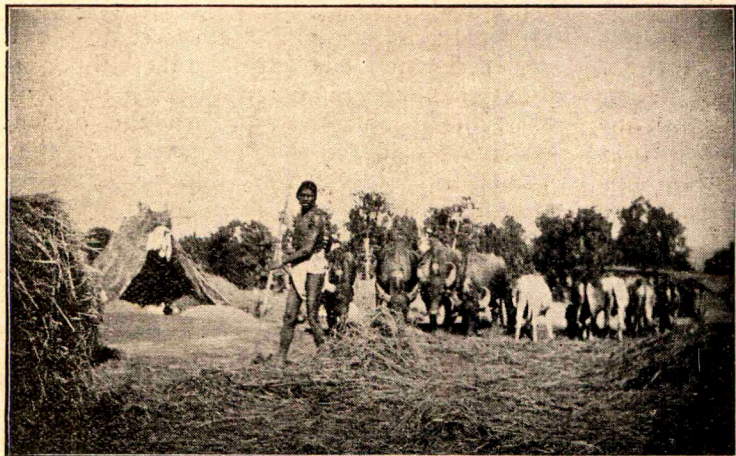
Houses:—The average Orāon tenant has two huts, each with four mud-walls, one opening or doorway, and roof covered either with tiles or with a grass-thatch. The grass-thatch has now been mostly displaced by tiled roofs in the central plateau, but in the more jungly parts in the west and south-west of the Ranchi district thatched houses are still common, and the walls are sometimes made of twigs plastered over with mud and cowdung. The bigger hut is ordinarily divided into two main compartments, the larger compartment serving the purposes of a sleeping-room, dining room, and kitchen, and the smaller compart-

ment serving as the lumber-room and granary where paddy and other grain as well as all sorts of pots and pans are stored. A small *veranda* is often attached to the hut, and serves as the sitting-place, and old men generally sleep in this veranda.

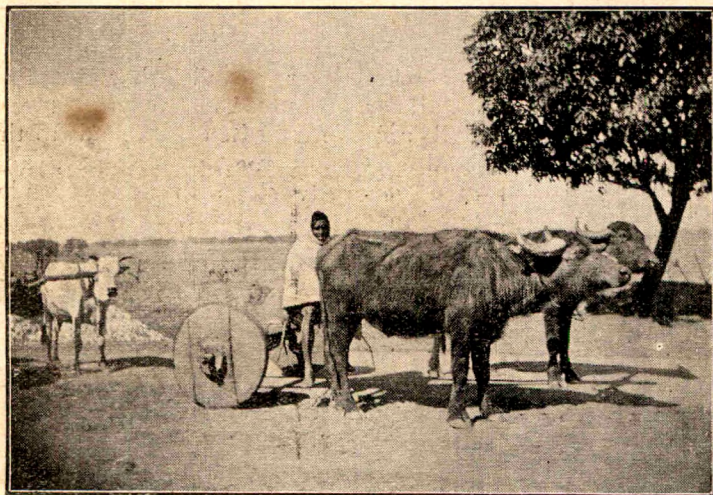


An Oraon hut with drawings on the wall.

At one corner of the large compartment, a small space is usually partitioned off with a bamboo-fencing and serves as a fowl house. The smaller hut is ordinarily



The Oraon threshing paddy : the small straw-shed at the left is called a *Kumha* in which the Oraon sleeps at night to guard his crops.



The Sagar or country cart of an Oraon.

used as a cattle-shed, and a small lean-to or *verandah* attached to the cow-shed serves as the pig sty. In larger families, the central portion of the smaller hut is also used as a sleeping-room, the cattle-pen and fowl-pen being separated each on one side of the central portion by a bamboo partition. The poorest Oraon who owns only one hut uses the larger room as his sleeping, eating, and cooking room, and the side-room as his granary and store-room, whereas a portion of the sleeping-room is partitioned off with bamboos to serve as his cattle-pen, another corner as fowl-pen. Very well-to-do Orāons with large families

have more than two huts or rather houses with a quadrangular courtyard in the interior, and at the back a *bari* or plot of land for growing kitchen-vegetables, maize and the like. The houses of these well-to-do Orāons are more commodious and respectable looking than those of poorer people. The posts, rafters, and beams are generally made of *sal* wood procured from the jungles of the village, and, where there are no jungles in the village, from the jungles of some neighbouring villages. There are no windows and rarely more than one door to a hut. A few Orāons living amongst Hindu neighbours have taken to imitating them in the matter of adorning their house-walls with drawings of animals, flowers, and human beings.

Food.—Rice is the staple food of the Orāon. But the average Orāon cannot provide for himself and his family a full diet of rice all the year round. When, in August, the poorer Orāon gathers in *gondli* (*Panicum miliare*), he and his family live on it for two or three weeks. Even the Orāon of ordinary means at this season

gets rice and *gondli* mixed together and boiled for his meals, thus eking out his moderate store of paddy with his crop of *gondli*. After this when in August his *gora* or upland rice is harvested, and not long after his *marua* (*Eleusine carocana*) is gathered in, these form the principal articles of food till November when his low-land paddy is harvested. From November to April or May, the Orāon has plenty to eat and drink; and consequently that is the period when he celebrates his principal religious and social festivals and marries his children. The months of May, June, and July are generally bad months for the aver-

age Orāon rayat, and some member or members of many Orāon families, soon after the winter paddy is harvested, annually go to Calcutta or its suburbs or to the labour districts to work there for a few months. In the jungly parts of the Ranchi district, a number of wild roots or yams are collected by the Orāons in January and February and stored for use in the months of want. The corolla of the flowers of *mohua* (*Bossia latifolia*), collected in March and April, is also similarly used by the poorer people.



Orāon women on a journey.

For a side-dish, the more well-to-do Orāon takes *dal* or pulses of various sorts. He boils his *dal* in water only with a little turmeric and salt. To the rayat of ordinary means, *dal* is a luxury which can be indulged in only on special occasions. But the poorest Orāon manages to have some *sāg* or edible leaves every day, and for a side-dish takes such *sāg* boiled in *mār* (the starchy liquid drained off his boiled rice) with a little salt added. The ordinary Orāon does not generally use oil in cooking his meals, only the very well-to-do Orāon living amongst

Hindu neighbours can use oil, and that very sparingly for culinary purposes. The oil thus used is obtained either from mustard or from Niger oil-seed or *sūrguja* (*Guizotia Abyssinica*). As for vegetables, pumpkins, some sorts of a-um, sweet potato, brinjals, *jhingi* (*Luffa acutangula*), lady's finger, beans, radishes, onions, and chillies, are used by the Orāon, when he can get them. In some villages only, potatoes are grown in limited quantities by well-to-do Orāons. This is generally done for sale and not for consumption. As for animal food the Orāon has no objection to eat most birds and animals, whether dead or killed. He can, however, rarely afford to kill animals and fowls for food except on festive and ceremonial occasions and in his periodical hunting excursions.



Oraons blowing the *bhenr* or long trumpet.

Drink :—*Hauria* or rice-beer is the favourite drink of the Orāon as of other aboriginals of Chota Nagpur. Country liquor or *pachai*, too, is very much in demand. Their excessive love of drink and characteristic improvidence have spelled the ruin of many an Orāon family.

Dress :—The generality of Oraons use clothes made of home-spun cotton. Their men ordinarily wear a loin-cloth known as *Karea*. It is from 5 to 6 yards long and about a foot wide. The poorer Orāon while in his village, as also old men unfit for work, wear only a *bhagoa*, which is a similarly narrow piece of cloth about a yard in length. This is passed between the thighs and fastened by the ends to leather-strings or dyed strings of thread, called *Kardhani*, worn round the waist. The ends of the *Karea* are



The Musical Instruments : The *Mandal* slung on the shoulders of the men on the right, and the *Nagera* at the left corner.

generally ornamented with figures interwoven with red thread, and sometimes also pendant balls of red thread. As a covering for the upper part of the body, the Oraon uses two varieties of sheets made of country cloth, and known respectively as the *barkhi* and the *pechhouri*. The former which is about 3 yards long, and about a yard and a half in width, has two folds sewn together at the borders, and is therefore more suitable for the winter than the latter which has a single fold only and is usually shorter in length. Well-to-do Oraons use blankets as wrappers in the winter. While out on a journey, the well-to-do Oraon also uses a piece of *Karea* wound round the head to serve as a *pagri* or head-dress.

The ordinary Oraon woman while going out wears a piece of cloth about 5 yards long and about two feet wide called *hari* or *janana kichri* round the waist, a portion of it being used to cover the trunk. While working inside the house, she wears a shorter *hari*, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and about 2 feet wide, which does not therefore cover the upper part of the body. As a separate covering for the upper part of the body used on journeys, and in ceremonial visits, she wears a *khanria kichri* which is about 6 yards long and a yard in width. Up till their second or third year, Oraon children

generally go about naked. From his third year (earlier in well-to-do families, and later in very poor families or in the jungly parts of the district) a boy wears a small loin cloth or *karea* and a girl a *gajsi* or *pulli* round her waist. In more well-to-do families as also on special occasions, the girls sometimes wear another piece of cloth over the upper part of the body. It may be observed, however, that in the remoter parts of the district not only men but also women go about without any covering above the waist or below the knees. And in the case of poorer women, this scanty loin cloth too is often made up of patches of rags sewn together.

Jewellery.—Young Oraon women, like their sisters of the Mundā tribe, are fond of decorating their persons with various ornaments, made generally of brass. Of these bracelets, armlets, necklets, finger-rings and toe rings are the principal ones. Besides brass necklets, strings of China beads and of glass-beads of various colours are worn on the neck. For the ear, the Oraon woman generally wears a roll of toddy-palm-leaf dyed red. This is about three-fourths of an inch in diameter and an inch and a half in length. Nose-ornaments and anklets are conspicuous by their absence. The young man amongst the Oraons is quite as fond

of decorating his person as the young woman is. A number of China-beads and glass-beads on the men, wonderful ear-ornaments consisting of rings, and brass-pins of a peculiar shape inserted into the lower cartilage of the ears,—these are the principal ornaments of the Oraon young man. Over his brow a semicircle of brass passed round the forehead, and his long hair is tied up into a chignon into which a wooden comb or two are inserted and

instrument having three teeth, and a mixture of charcoal and oil is employed.

The House-hold utensils and furniture of the Oraons are practically the same as those of the Mündās. And as these were described in a previous article, we avoid repeating the same thing.

Musical Instruments.—The principal musical instruments in use among the Oraons are the *nagera* or iron-drum with ox-hide face, the *mandal* or *khel* which is an earthen drum with monkey-skin face, long iron trumpets called *bhenr*. The latter is blown in pairs at weddings, the *mandal* at Karam, Jadira, and Sohorai festivals and in dances, and the *nagera*, too, at Jadirā, Jatrā and Sohorāi dances, as well as in weddings and in hunting expeditions.

Occupation.—The principal, almost the only, occupation of the Oraon is agriculture. Food-crops, paddy, pulses, and oil-seeds are the principal crops grown. The same implements plough, harrow, leveller, and spade and the same methods (transplantation and



Oil mill of the Oraon, which is also employed in pressing sugar-cane.

sometimes a small circular looking-glass is placed over the chignon. In these days, young Oraons, particularly those living in the vicinity of the towns, are giving up the practice of wearing long hair.

Tattooing.—An Oraon girl at about seven years of age is tattooed by having three parallel lines pricked on her forehead, and three on each of her two temples. At twelve years of age, again, her wrists, back, legs, and chest are tattooed, with quaint figures of flowers, etc. The operation is performed by *Malar* women with an iron in-



Boiling sugar-cane juice for gur.

sowing) are employed by them as by their Mündā neighbours. Of special crops grown by the Oraons, cotton is the most important, while tobacco is cultivated only by some Oraons and in small patches for their own consumption alone. The cultivation of sugarcane is limited only to parts of the

Rānchi district, namely the five Parganas পাঁচ পরগণা and to portions of the Palamau district. Sugar-cane when harvested is pressed either in the *Kalhu* or mortar and pestle with which oil-seeds are pressed, or in the *Chake Ghani* which is a machine consisting of two vertical wooden rollers turning one against another by means of a screw arrangement. The juice extracted

with the help of either of these machines is boiled in large oval-shaped earthen vessels over a furnace with four or more holes, on top of which these boiling-pans are placed. The scum coming up to the surface is skimmed off with a perforated iron-strainer or *jhanjri*.

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

NOTES ON THE EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA

BY KUMAR NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L.

Chapter III. (Continued).

The Slave Dynasty.

THE next Sultan, Kaikobad, ruled only for two years, but during this short period, he undid much of the high tone that had been introduced into the society of the day by Sultan Balban and his worthy son Prince Mahomed. He vitiated the literary tastes of those people who came within his influence by setting a bad example of loose life which they imitated.* As was the Sultan, so were his subjects. The day of literary societies was gone, and wine and women reigned supreme. It does not take a long time to destroy that which occupies some decades to build.

The progress of education was set back during the reign of this profligate Sultan. In spite of his early education under strict tutors in the polite arts and manly exercises and in spite of his literary bent and wide reading, he succumbed to the temptations of wealth, when he ascended the throne. In his time, his ministers as well as the young nobles of his court, his companions and friends, all gave themselves up to pleasure, the example spread and all ranks high and low, learned and unlearned acquired a taste for wine-drinking and amusements.†

* Ferishta Vol I, p. 274 and Tarikhi Firoze Shahi, Elliot III. p. 125.

† Tarikhi Firoze Shahi, Elliot III. p. 125 and Ferishta Vol. I. p. 273.

Chapter IV.

The Khilji Dynasty.

The establishment of a new dynasty inaugurated a new and better order of things. Sultan Jalaluddin was of a marked literary taste. He used to pay learned men their due honour; and a literary atmosphere was created about the royal court which did not exist in the previous reign. His companions were distinguished as well for their sense and courage as for their wit and good humour, and renowned literary men of the time were frequently admitted to his private parties. Among these may be mentioned the following, famous for their erudition and for the works of poetry, history, or science that they composed:—

Amir Khusru, Tajuddin Iraky, Khwaja Hasan, Moveid Diwana, Amir-Arslan Kulamy, Yakhtiyar-uddin Taghy, and Baky Khuteer.

The parties were enlivened not only by the feast of reason but also by the flow of music. The best singers Amir Khassa and Hamid Raja in unison with the best instrumental performers such as Mahomed Shah Hutky, Futto Shah, Nussir Khan, and Behroze, usually cheered up the august assembly.*

Amir Khusru seldom allowed a party to take place without having prepared some new poem or song for the occasion, for

* Ferishta Vol. I. pp. 292, 293, and Tarikhi Firoze-Shahi, Elliot III. p. 144 ff.

which he was usually rewarded on the spot.*

One feature of special interest of Jalaluddin's reign was that he chose the right person to fill up the office of the Librarian for the Imperial Library at Delhi. This was a high post carrying with it both honour and remuneration, and it was Amir Khusru upon whom it was conferred. The poet who had been a special favourite of Prince Mohamed, was also held in high regard by Sultan Jalaluddin. During the reign of Kaikobad, he was patronized by Jalaluddin Khilji, who settled on him a pension and rewarded him with 1200 tankās on his being appointed Arizi-Mamalik. Now that Jalaluddin rose to be a Sultan, he was in a position to show higher honours to the poet who was accordingly appointed Royal Librarian and Keeper of the Koran, was raised to the peerage and was permitted to wear white garments, a distinction confined to the blood-royal and the nobles of the court.†

The record of Jalaluddin's work was soiled by the assassination of the great literary man of the age, Siddy Mowla, who first established an academy at Delhi in the time of Balban. Mowla was a very pious man and was very learned. His charity found expression in his almshouse for the entertainment of fakeers, travellers and poor men of all denominations, turning none away from its door. His charities were fabulously large; and among his disciples and followers were many nobles and princes. The Sultan's eldest son Khan-i-Khanan used to visit him and call himself the Siddy's son. He was however suspected of plotting with his disciples against the Sultan and done away with.

Jalaluddin's successor Alauddin was however a man of a different stamp. He was so illiterate that he could not read or write, and so arrogant and self-willed that men of learning tried to avoid his court,‡ or had to remain tongue-tied in his presence. As the Emperor did not appreciate the value of education, he neglected that of his sons. He did not appoint any wise and experienced governors over his heir-apparent Khizr Khan

as well as over his other sons, and moreover, he brought them out of their nursery long before their intelligence was mature, and entrusted them at that stage with wealth and power which they abused for their base purposes. Buffoons and strumpets obtained mastery over them and their residences were often scenes of riotous parties given up to drunken merriments.*

In the case of Alauddin, however, we find that he keenly felt within a short time the disadvantages of his illiteracy, and applied himself privately to study and soon acquired a knowledge of Persian which enabled him to read all addresses and made him acquainted with the best authors in the language.†

When he made such progress in his studies as to be able to follow learned discourses, he began to encourage discussions of literary subjects and show favour to "all the eminent men of that age", particularly to Kazy Mowlana Kahrany and Kazy Moghisuddin. The latter of these two men was appointed to explain the law to the Sultan, and he often had to quake when his explanations contradicted the Emperor's pre-conceived notions.‡ The Sultan was always of an arbitrary temper, and the best informed men in his court were careful to keep down their knowledge to the level of his acquirements.§ When the illuminating rays of learning penetrated his dark mind, we find him a little changed from what he had been before, and he relented a bit towards the literary world; and we hear of at least one occasion on which his hardened mind could be softened by literary favour expressing itself in a reward of 1000 tankās and a gold embroidered vest to Kazy Moghisuddin,|| contrary to his expectations.

But if he showed any favours to literary men, they were the select few who temporarily rose in the good graces of the whimsical Sultan; and we can take the above description of Ferishta, viz., that he showed favours to "all the eminent men of that age" in the sense that most of the men favoured, had made themselves eminent by

* Ferishta Vol. I. pp. 292, 293, and Tarikhi Firoze-Shahi, Elliot III. p. 144 ff.

† Ferishta Vol. I, p. 293 and Tarikhi Feroze Shahi, Elliot III, p. 144.

‡ Ferishta vol. I, p. 333; also Tarikhi Firoze Shahi, Elliot III, P. 168.

* Tarikhi Firoze Shahi, Elliot III, p. 207.

† Ferishta vol. I, p. 348.

‡ Ferishta vol. I, p. 348.

§ Elphinstone, vol. II, p. 50.

|| Ferishta, vol. I, p. 353.

military prowess or administrative ability, and not by learning simply. As Barni has said:

"He (Alauddin) was a man of no learning and never associated with men of learning."*

Though this statement may be a little too strong, yet in the light of what another writer tells us on this point, it is perhaps not difficult to get at the truth. He says.

"During the time of Sultan Alauddin, Delhi was the greatest rendezvous for all the most learned and erudite personages, for notwithstanding the pride and hauteur, the neglect and superciliousness, and the want of kindness and cordiality with which that monarch treated this class of people, the spirit of the age remained the same."†

Indeed this aggressive monarch did not confine himself to a merely passive superciliousness, but did positive harm to the cause of education and letters. A few months after the capture of Rintambor in 1299 A. D., the Sultan, we are told, directed his attention to the means of preventing rebellion, and with a view to this, he attacked the properties of his subjects.

"He ordered that wherever there was a village held by a proprietary right (milk, in free gift (inam), or as a religious endowment (wakf), it should by one stroke of the pen be brought under the exchequer. So rigorous was the confiscation that beyond a few thousand tankas, all the pensions, grants of land (inam wa mafruz) and endowments in the country were appropriated."‡

However, in spite of this high-handed tyranny of the monarch, we learn from Ferishta that

"Palaces, mosques, *Universities*, baths, mausaba, forts and all kinds of public and private buildings seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. *Forty-five doctors, skilled in the sciences, were professors in the universities.*"§

Before mentioning the names of the learned men who poured into Delhi or flourished at the time, but who did not come within the range of royal patronage, I shall name a few poets, most of whom according to Ferishta were recipients of pensions from the court. These were—

Amir Khusru, the prince of poets, our old acquaintance through several reigns;

Amir Hasan, called the Sadi of Hindustan;

* Tarikhi Firoze Shahi, Elliot III p. 168.

† Abdul Hakk Hakki Dehlawi, Elliot VI, p. 485.

‡ Tarikhi Firoze Shahi, Elliot III, p. 179.

§ Ferishta vol. I, p. 376.

Sudruddin Aly; Fakhruddin Khowass; Hamiduddin Raja; Mawlane Arif; Abdul Hakim; Sahabuddin Sudr Nisheen; and several historians and compilers of memoirs of the times.

Shams-ul-Mulk,* the Prime Minister of Sultan Alauddin, was a very learned man, who counted among his pupils a great many of the scholars of the day. Had Alauddin accepted all his advice, it would have been better for him and India alike.

Of the scores of poets, philosophers and scientists who flourished without the fostering care of the sovereign, the more famous only can be enumerated here. These were: Shaikh Nizamuddin Awlia, Syed Tajuddin, Syed Ruknuddin, the two brothers Syed Maghies-uddin and Mountajib-uddin—all famous for their piety and learning.† There were also Maulana Muaiyyan-uddin, a great philosopher of Delhi, and Umrani, the author of many commentaries on the works of learned jurists.‡

The study of theology and philosophy was fervidly carried on under the care of the religious men, some of whom have been mentioned. Consequently, the following books on the subjects, viz., Kota-al-Klub; the Ahia Alalum and its translation, the Auraf and the Kashf-al-Mahajub, the Sharh Tarf, the Rasalah Kashiri, the Mursad-al-Abad, &c., were in great demand.

There was a number of nobles who upheld the cause of learning by their extensive liberality. There were the nobles of Nahita who extended their patronage to a great many learned men as also to students who came to study at Delhi. There were again the noblemen of Kardiz, viz., Syed Jahju and Syed Ali who were also famous for their patronage of learning. The noble descendants of the Tanjar family, viz., May-uddin, Tajuddin, Jalal, Jamal and Ali should also be mentioned for their acts of liberality. The lords of Biana were equally famous for their love of learning.

In Delhi at this time lived a large number of learned men some of whom surpassed, according to Barni, the most erudite of Bokhara, Samarkand, Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, Ispahan or Tabriz. There were men learned in all the departments of know-

* Abdul Hakk Hakki Dehlawi, Elliot VI, 484.

† Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 377.

‡ Abdul Hakk Hakki Dehlawi, Elliot VI, 486.

ledge such as history (Badi and Bian), jurisprudence (Fiquah), logic (Asul-i-Fiquah), theology (Asul-i-din), Grammar (Nuh), commentaries on the Koran (Tafsir), &c. Barni mentions also the following other names of learned men of Delhi :—

* (1) K. Fukhruddin Naqala, (2) K. Shurfuddin Sarbahi, (3) M. Nasiruddin Ghani, (4) M. Tajuddin Moqdam, (5) M. Zahiruddin Lang, (6) K. Maghisuddin Bianah, (7) M. Rukunuddin Sannami, (8) M. Tajuddin Kalahi, (9) M. Zahiruddin Bhakri, (10) K. Mahiuddin Kashni, (11) M. Kamaluddin Kuli, (12) M. Jiauddin Paili, (13) M. Munajuddin Quabni, (14) M. Nizamuddin Kalahi, (15) M. Nasiruddin Karah, (16) M. Nasiruddin Sabali, (17) M. Alaaddin Tajr, (18) M. Karimuddin Janhary, (19) M. Hajat Multani Quadim, (20) M. Hamiduddin Mukhlas, (21) M. Barhanuddin Bhakri, (22) M. Aftakharuddin Barni, (23) M. Hasamuddin Surkh, (24) M. Ohiuddin Mulha, (25) M. Alaaddin Kark, (26) M. Hasamuddin Ibn Shadi, (27) M. Hamiduddin Baniani, (28) M. Sahabuddin Multani, (29) M. Fukhruddin Hansni, (30) M. Fukhruddin Shaquaquil, (31) M. Sulahuddin Satrki, (32) K. Zinuddin Naqala, (33) Ujjiuddin Razi, (34) M. Alaaddin Sudr-ul-Sharia, (35) M. Miran Marikla, (36) M. Najibuddin Sawi, (37) M. Shamsuddin Tum, (38) M. Sadruddin Gandhak, (39) M. Alaaddin Lahori, (40) M. Shamsuddin Bahi, (41) K. Shamsuddin Gazruni, (42) M. Sadruddin Tawi, (43) M. Mainuddin Luni, (44) Aftakharuddin Pazi, (45) M. Maziuddin Andehni, (46) M. Nazmuddin Intashar.

There were also M. Alimuddin, Jamaluddin Shatibi, Alaaddin Makri, Khoja Ziky, the latter three being specialists in the Koran.

At this time in Delhi there were many famous *Muzakkaramis* (like Hindu Kathaks) such as, M. Imaduddin Hasan. They performed their *Tasikirs* once a week and people flocked to hear them. M. Hamid and M. Lafif, and their sons, M. Ziauddin Sunami and M. Shahabuddin Khalili were also noted for their ability in this sphere.

Amir Arsalan was a great historian, while Kabiruddin was noted for his eloquence and proficiency in belles lettres in general.

His Fatehnamah is spoken of by Barni

* K=Kazi.

‡ M=Moulana.

as an excellent work, with this defect that the darker aspects of Alaaddin were not touched at all in the book.

In the healing art, M. Badruddin Damasqui, M. Sadruddin, Yewani Tadib, Alimuddin, etc. made themselves famous.

Barni mentions also a few noted astrologers, minstrels and musicians of the time.

Though there were so many famous learned men, Alaaddin, as the historian says, did not appreciate their merit.*

It is indeed an irony of fate that the reign of an Emperor who did not like learned men and did so many things alike harmful and reprehensible, should form an important chapter in the literary history of Muhammadan India: but there are paradoxes in national as also in individual life.

One fact important for our purpose should be noticed, before we leave Alaaddin's reign. Now that more than a century had elapsed since Muhammad Ghore's arrival in India, there had already begun a racial intermixture which was no doubt small, and a linguistic mingling and intercourse between the Hindus and the Muhammadans brought about by the pressure of natural laws that operate in these circumstances. The marriage of Dewal Devi, the daughter of the Raja of Guzrat, with Prince Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Alaaddin, which inspired a poem of Amir Khasru, shows that there had already been a breach in the social partition separating the Hindus from the Muhammadans; and it is superfluous to point out that linguistic interchanges had long preceded it.

The reign of Mobarik Khilji, the successor of Sultan Alaaddin, is another period of retrogression in literary history. We notice in many of his actions a repetition of the loathsome deeds of Kaikobad. In Delhi, Mobarik gave himself up to a course of the most degrading and odious debauchery." From such a ruler it is futile to expect any great attention to educational matters. There was however one bright feature of his reign. The Emperor restored the lands that had been confiscated by his predecessor, which no doubt meant the resuscitation of many a dead or moribund educational institution.

* For the above information vide Tarikhi Firoze-Shahi of Ziauddin Barni (Bibliotheca Indica), Pp. 341—367.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE DESTINY OF INDIA

THE temper of this article will appear to most of those who may read it to be visionary in the extreme and to talk wildly of apocalypse and crisis. It suffers from these faults of set purpose. Our times cry aloud of crisis, and where there is no vision and no unveiling of the truth the people perish. Now and then there have been periods in the world's history when, in the course of a few short decades, deep-going transformations have been effected whose influence has been sufficient to mark off the age that followed as wholly and radically different from that which preceded, and to justify the saying that a nation or an empire of nations or a whole civilization was at that time born into the world. There are many indications that we live at present in the midst of such a creative epoch; an epoch the scope of whose influence must be vastly wider than that of any similar era of the past. East and West we see movements on foot amongst men, of which the result cannot but be the modification for better or worse of the whole state and nature of human society. It is a time of universal change and travail, an age calling, as perhaps no other age has ever called, for a strong statement of eternal truth, which shall mould the future that it may be better than the past; an age demanding as its deepest need strong men to make that statement.

The Roman world of the first century after Christ was outwardly marvellously prosperous: she was crowned with thriving towns and fertile provinces; she was blessed with peace and a strong government; her civilization was cultured and even benevolent. Yet for all her outward well-being she was inwardly as a sepulchre full of dead men's bones. Juvenal and Tacitus tell us, in polished phrases, but with a black undercurrent of hopelessness, of criminal luxury linked with crushing poverty and abject slavery; they tell us of a society enervated by materialism and nauseated with its own

prosperity; they tell of a continual hectic striving after the good things of this world, and of the due issue of such striving in the suicide of despair. We read in their histories and poems of a civilization founded ultimately on force and greed and cruelty, in whose midst are already sown those seeds of dissolution and disaster which must ever find congenial soil in such an environment. The noblest spirits of those times, such men as Seneca or Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius, though their courage could never be mastered, yet were wholly helpless in their attempts to stave off the impending ruin; even a benevolent humanitarian like Pliny shows to us nothing but a melancholy figure of well-meaning ineptitude in an age that needed strong men with prophetic insight. The world cried out in despair for a new evangel and a wholly new era springing therefrom. At length the message came, not from stoic or patrician philosopher, not from the Imperial City; but from a group of peasants and from a people weak, despised and hated. The Christian Church was launched from Judaea upon the dark waters of that sad world; like a miracle the hatred and despair gave place to love and hope, and the engine was forged that lifted Europe safe across a thousand years of barbarism.

How was this achieved? It was achieved because a body of men arose who had complete confidence in the omnipotence and the good-will of the spiritual power behind the universe. They gazed out of the pit in which they and their age lay to a bright land where love reigned; and they knew that it was their lives' purpose to make the governing principles of that land the rules of life in this earth also. In proportion as they trusted the eternal behind the temporal they were lifted clear out of their environment and were able to naturalize heaven on earth. To such men persecution and contempt mattered nothing. They were pioneers of a new era; they walked in

another world where sin and greed and materialism had no place; their life was already eternal; the cross or the stake could have no terrors for the citizens of that kingdom which they both inhabited and proclaimed. If their ideal has been clouded, if the picture has grown dark again, the failure must not be laid at the door of those early heroes, but of their successors whose dreams were baser and whose faith was less.

Historical analogies are notoriously misleading; but at times they may serve to point useful lessons. There is perhaps something to be learnt from the comparison of the Roman world of the first two centuries after Christ with our modern world of to-day. Running through our own literature there is an undercurrent of criticism and indictment comparable with the bitterest passages of Tacitus or Juvenal; appearing now in such a writer as Edward Carpenter, now in the satires of Punch, now in the average society novel, we may mark again that weariness of satiated materialism; that violent disgust at the unreality, wickedness and cruelty of the whole organization of social life, that impotent unconscious crying for salvation and relief, which is branded on every page of the old Roman writers.

There are many who, though themselves of the West, have turned away sick at heart from the spectacle of Western civilization, from the mad haste to be rich, from the furious folly of speculation, from the headlong exploitation of resources inanimate and human, from the indolent luxury of the wealthy, from the insipid ennui of those who need do no honest work. They have felt acutely the hideous shame of our slums, with their unemployment, their destitution, their stunting of childrens' lives and blasting of childrens' souls by the sheer pressure of a poisonous environment. They have been appalled perhaps most of all by the dark crime of international enmity, by the armaments piled up in fruitless rivalry, each addition nullified as soon as made by a corresponding sacrifice on the part of the possible enemy, but each fresh increment paid for by the blood and the sweat and the tears of the poor. These things and many more like them may well cause us to believe that Europe is indeed "rattling into barbarism." Like that of the Roman world, our modern civilization yields many evidences

that it is rotten at root, falsely founded on a basis of greed and selfishness; and if this be so there can be nothing ahead of it but disaster.

It is true enough that there are in the West many signs of a new hope. There is a deeper conception of social duty amongst those who believe that in the last analysis salvation comes only through religious faith. There is a wide-spreading conviction of the sterling value of free institutions and a free education. There is a new and potent school of thinkers who oppose war from the economic standpoint, and who thus adopt the only type of argument calculated to appeal effectively to the minds of their contemporaries. Above all there is throughout the west a growing consolidation of Labour, and a belief amongst the people themselves that the time is swiftly coming when they shall be able to say to selfish capitalist and reactionary militarist "Stop this fooling," and to enforce the command.

Yet it may well be doubted whether, *mutatis mutandis*, these hopeful signs amount to more than did those in the Roman World of the first century after Christ. The ideals of the new movements in the Christian Church are in many respects lofty; but in many respects also they are opportunistic. There is a tendency to rely on temporary palliatives of deep social wrongs; to use the arm of the flesh, in the shape of Charity Organizations, and to forget the arm of the Spirit, which is Love; to dilute true religion with art and ceremonial and impressive preaching; and forget that the true vocation of the Church is to tread the way of the cross. Unless conditions change swiftly and radically we shall continue to look in vain from the Western Church for a prophetic message of life and power such as our time needs—a message that shall bring amongst us in actual fact a new age; a message and a transformation such as was brought to the Roman world by the early Church.

There is great hope, but great danger also in the uprising of Labour; there is danger of casting out Beelzebub by Beelzebub, of establishing in place of the dominance of the capitalist a new dominance of the Trade Unions or of a wholly materialistic socialism.

Where, as in Australia, Labour has be-

come politically supreme the realization of its dreams—or their partial realization—has only brought greater evils, such as militarism and Asiatic exclusion. The ideals of the new labour are too often crassly material, and disregard the fundamental necessity of character as the basis and ground-work of all social prosperity.

As was the case in ancient Rome there is hope and prosperity amongst us; but beneath it all there is an undercurrent of despair, which is the real meaning of our age, because that age is founded awry. We have our voices of courage and consolation, as they had their Seneca, their Pliny and their Marcus Aurelius; but nowhere is there a prophet, nowhere any man or group of men who speak the Truth of God to men's inmost souls with authority and irresistible power, as the first apostles spoke it to their world.

From such considerations and a thousand others there are many who have cried aloud to God for a new apocalypse, for a wholly new revelation of Himself and His will for the world, that shall sum up for our age all His other revelations of all the ages, and shall lift us clear of our makeshift shackled present into a new world of life and light and brotherhood.

We need a Messenger, a nation of Messengers, a new Israel, from whom shall come to the whole earth that salvation which God is for ever longing to pour forth upon mankind.

Many who look for this new dawn have turned to the East, in despair at the replete materialism of the west. They have turned to India, India with her immemorial traditions of the supremacy of the spiritual over the material, India too often despised by the rich and mighty peoples of the earth, India weak perhaps and poor in the good things of this world, but through all ages rich in the things of God. They have dreamed that from India may come the new Message of salvation for which the world waits; and they have dared to hope and to pray that this may be so indeed. They have sought earnestly among the new life now awakening in India for the signs of this dawn. In the search many good and noble ambitions have come to light, the desire that India may be self-sufficing economically, that she may enjoy the blessings of universal

education, free institutions, immunity from famine and pestilence, and many similar ideals. All such aspirations are good, and yet they are not the highest and the best; they are in a sense but a following of the example of the West when we of the West have been turning to India to seek from her for a new example for ourselves.

Is there anywhere any sign that India has in her the capacity to realize that her destiny may be higher than the following of the West, may extend even to the guidance of the West into a new way of life, and to the foundation amongst men of a new social order—a new phase of the eternal Kingdom of God upon earth? At times it seems as though even her noblest sons were but striving to drag their motherland into the morass of self-seeking materialism in which we of the West now wallow. Is there the faintest justification for the hope that India may yet, under the hand of God, be the medium of a new revelation to the whole world of the true meaning of human life and of the supremacy of the spiritual over the material?

Those who incline to answer such questions in the negative should follow the example of two Westerners who visited the Gurukula at Hardwar of late. There they will see much that seems too reactionary and retrospective, and much that provokes criticism on other grounds; but they will realize that here at least there are signs of the coming dawn, signs that India has still burning at her heart the capacity to launch out unreservedly upon the sufficiency of God. Here are three hundred boys and young men, committed to spend sixteen years of their life in this one place, under austere discipline, with the common object that when their time comes they may go forth to proclaim to their fellows that the things of the spirit are greater than the things of the flesh, that a pure selfless life is the foundation of individual and national happiness, that the highest good of all is the character that is framed on communion with the Eternal. That this institution is not merely the fruit of any single enthusiast, whose work will perish with him is shewn by the fact that it is supported by a great and growing body of men and women in all parts of the country, a body which gives both its money and its sons

gladly that the work may prosper. This year only twenty new students could be admitted out of two hundred applicants, and the annual conference of supporters of the Gurukula, though held in this remote spot, last March attracted thirty thousand visitors who contributed on the spot three quarters of a lakh of money. That such a wide-spread interest should exist in an institution with such ideals is surely proof that the dawn is at hand and that India has the ability to rise and to embrace a nobler destiny than can be imagined even by those who love her most.

We of the West must thank God, our

brothers at Hardwar, for you and your work, because there is at the Gurukula a Hope, not for India alone, but for the whole earth. You are labouring for greater things than you know. Your efforts are for all mankind and for all eternity. Those who look for the dawn, for the new apocalypse of the love and power of God, must call upon Him to grant to you and to all who are of your spirit, whatever their faith may be, His own wisdom and grace for a task that is beyond your strength or the strength of any man.

JOHN S. HOYLAND.

OTHMAN

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. WEIL'S ISLAMITISCHE VOLKER, BY S. KHUDA-
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THE deliberation, which ended with the election of Othman, lasted three days, for, with the exception of Abdur Rahman Ibn Auf the rest of the nominees of Omar were men, fond of power, who urged their own claims to the Caliphate. When Abdur Rahman saw that, he asked the claimants, one after another, whom they would nominate were they themselves excluded from the competition. Opinion was equally divided between Othman and Ali. Abdur Rahman thereupon gave his vote to Othman, since Othman promised to govern unconditionally, not only according to the Qur'an and the Hadith but also according to the example and precept of his two predecessors, while Ali would not pledge himself to accept the first two Caliphs as his absolute guide. Othman, however, showed himself pliant and accommodating only till the homage was over. It was soon discovered that not only in many points did he depart from the example of Omar, but he even disregarded the divine Law. This, to be sure, provoked a lively discontent among the true believers. The avowed partiality shown by him to his kinsmen in the shape of high appointments

and immense donations from the state treasury, did more damage to the Caliph in public estimation than even deviations from the traditions and practices of the earlier days. These kinsmen were mostly men who either personally or whose parents had vigorously opposed Islam and who, by their immoral conduct, had caused public scandal and had provoked public indignation. Thus gradually passed into the family of Othman immense wealth and complete political power—a family which, like that of Abu Sufyan, the arch-enemy of Mohamed, traced its descent from Omayya, while the descendants of Hashim (and the Prophet belonged to this family) were robbed of all influence in the government. This state of affairs embittered both Ali and his party and the power-loving Talha Zubair. No less indignant was the party of the orthodox because of the redaction of the Qur'an—their grievance being that it was carried through without their consultation and advice and that the Caliph had decreed the destruction of all older copies whereby no correction or criticism was possible.

The complaint against Othman grew

louder and louder. The discontent became more and more stridently vocal on account of the administration of his unpopular governors and the feeling of resentment was fed and fanned into flame by Ali, Talha and Zubair, who had a large following in Egypt, Bassora and Kufa.

Only Syria (where Moawiah ruled as governor) was free from mutinous revolutions; since he alone was capable of discharging the duties entrusted to him by Othman. In Egypt, where the party of Ali was strongly represented, it was already taught that Mohamed would some day rise from the dead, and that until then Ali had been appointed his *vazir*. Thus was laid the foundation for the later extravagant doctrines of the *Shi'ites* which even went the length of declaring the *Imams* descended from him as representatives of God on earth; nay, as a part of the divinity itself. Probably under the secret guidance of Ali, Talha and Zubair and assisted by their gold the malcontents agreed and resolved to march together to Medina to force Othman to depose his governors. In Egypt Abdullah Ibn Abi Sarh, the foster-brother of Othman who, after the recapture of Alexandria, was appointed governor of the entire province in the place of Amr, was to make room for Mohamed, a son of Abu Bakr and a trusted friend of Ali. In Kufa the Omayyad Said Ibn Aas, who was so unwise as to call his province the Garden of the Quraish, was to resign his place in favour of Abu Musa Al Ashari the deposed Governor of Bassora. And further Abdullah Ibn Amir, another cousin of the Caliph, was to be removed from the Governorship of Bassora.

Othman received information of the design and summoned his Governors to Medina to discuss suitable measures to suppress the insurrection. His council could arrive at no common decision, and the Caliph himself, old and wavering, could not adopt a firm line of policy. It is however said that he decided, in accordance with the view of the Governor of Bassora, to divert the activity of the rebels by means of a foreign war whereby the internal revolution would cease by itself. But Malik-ul-Ashtar, chief of the Kufans and an instrument in the hands of Talha and Zubair who had placed their wealth at his disposal, frustrated this decision. He went ahead of the

Governor* (then proceeding from Medina), occupied with the rebels the approach to Kufa, and compelled him to return to Medina.

To the helpless Caliph no other course was left than to appoint, according to the wishes of Al-Ashtar, Abu Musa as the Governor of Kufa. The Kufans clearly saw that, yielding as Othman was, they would secure their object by making him depose his Governors and setting up in their stead men of their own party. They, therefore, kept up communication with Bassora and Kufa, and before Othman was in a position to oppose them they had carried out the decision formed by them. The overawed Caliph hushed the rebellion into silence by granting all manner of concessions, but scarcely had they withdrawn when he repented of his weakness. The conspiracy extended more and more, and in the following year (35 A. H. 655-6 A. D.) the chiefs of the rebels, with a still larger number, started from Fustat, Kufa and Bassora for Medina. Othman had only a few hundred men at his disposal. He was therefore constrained to give in to the Egyptians who constituted the larger portion of the rebels, and to appoint the hated Mohamed, the son of Abu Bakr, as the governor of Egypt. This concession which meant the renunciation of his sovereignty, was not made seriously either by the Caliph or his *vazir* Merwan. They merely desired to get rid of the rebels and hoped, with the aid of troops from Bassora and Kufa, to crush further insurrection.

As soon as the Egyptians had withdrawn, a messenger was sent to Abdullah Ibn Abi Sarh with a letter confirming his appointment afresh, and urging him at the same time to chastise Mohamed and his companions. The messenger, a slave of Othman, was unfortunately taken captive and was searched, and when they found that letter on his person, they decided straight away to return to Medina. Othman threw all the blame on Merwan, but he refused to surrender him to the rebels. Othman was thereupon ill-treated in the mosque, and with difficulty managed to escape to his residence which a handful of men secured from surprise. Now he was called upon to resign, but when he declared his willingness

* The Governor of Bassora.

to die rather than to surrender the sovereignty entrusted to him by God, his house was besieged and all supply of provisions cut off.

The rebels, reluctant to slay a man, gray with years, who like Ali, was the son-in-law of the Prophet, and who had sacrificed much for the success of Islam, had hoped to starve him into surrender. But, after several weeks of siege, when they apprehended the arrival of Moawiah with his Syrians for the protection of the Caliph, they adopted extreme measures. They set fire to the gate of his house, and while Merwan was defending the approach to the house of the Caliph the son of Abu Bakr with his followers from another side burst into the chamber of the Caliph. The Caliph was at once killed (17th June 656). For three days his corpse lay uncared for. None ventured to show the last honours to it. Only on the fourth day some Omayyads secretly and in all haste brought it to the burial ground, and were content with burying him outside the wall which encircled it.

In spite of the civil war which under Othman afflicted the Muslim empire war continued abroad, and many successful military operations were conducted by the much maligned governors. In North Africa Abdullah Ibn Abi Sarh extended the frontier of the empire as far as Kairwan. In Persia, Walid Ibn Uqba, who later, at the instance of Ali, was deposed for drunkenness, reduced the province of Adherbaijan to subjection and also made conquests in Armenia and Asia Minor where he worked in concert with Moawiah. Further, under Othman, Moawiah conquered the island of Cyprus. Abdullah Ibn Amir chastised the rebels in Fars and conquered Persepolis, then he proceeded to Khorasan where Yazdajerd several times, with the help of the Turcomans, tried the fortune of war, but was eventually killed in the flight. The Muslims then advanced victoriously to the Oxus.

ALI, HASAN AND MOAWIAH.

A whole week passed away after the murder of Othman before a successor was appointed. The three leaders of the insurrection, Ali, Talha and Zubair, had hoped that Othman would voluntarily resign, as every one of them had his eye eagerly fixed upon the vacant throne. Either out of faith in

his divinely ordained sovereignty or because of the hope of help that he entertained, or possibly because of the belief that they would not dare to kill him—whatever be the real cause—Othman disappointed them in their expectations. The rebels had to smirch and befoul themselves with the blood of the Caliph, and the successor had to receive the crown from hands soiled with murder and spoliation. This fact accounted for the hesitation on the part of the aspirants to grasp at the throne. Moreover every one of them knew that in the event of success he would expose himself not only to the implacable animosity of the two rivals, but that he would also have to face the opposition of the entire house of Omayya which had secured an increasing influence at Mekka and which, in Syria, where Moawiah ruled as governor, commanded a powerful army. Only after a great deal of reluctance and much insistent pressure on the part of the Medinites to accept the Caliphate and to end anarchy and civil war, was Ali induced to receive the homage. To avoid the oath of allegiance several influential men left Medina. But Talha and Zubair were compelled by the Egyptians to take the oath of fealty to Ali.

Ali's first act as a Caliph could not but be the deposition of the hateful governors if he wanted to show that his opposition to Othman arose not from a desire to obtain power but to remove the existing evils. But such a policy, as might be expected, resulted not only in his own unpopularity but also in the unpopularity of his whole party. Of the governors whoever could resist him did resist him, and refused obedience to him and called for vengeance for Othman. But this request Ali could not possibly accede to, partly because he was a *particeps criminis* in the conspiracy, and partly because that would mean condemnation of those most devoted to him.

Sahl Ibn Hunaif, the governor-elect of Syria, was beaten back from the frontier of Syria by the cavalry of Moawiah. A similar fate befell Ammar Ibn Shihab* who was to take over charge of the governorship of Kufa from Abu Musa. He was told that before everything else Othman's blood must be avenged. The new governors of Fustat and Bassora succeeded in taking

* See Muir's Annals of the Early Caliphate p. 268.

up their posts, but they could hardly give their full support to Ali as their attention was diverted to the anti-Ali parties that were formed here and there.

The province of Yaman submitted to the new governor but the out-going officer had managed to empty the treasury, and thereby to enrich the enemies of Ali, who withdrew to Mekka and there declared him to be the murderer of Othman and preached rebellion. At their head stood Talha and Zubair who had fled from Mekka, as well as Ayasha, the widow of the Prophet, whose hatred of Ali was far more intense than was her love for her brother Mohamed, the leader of the Egyptian rebels and the real murderer of Othman. Ali at first proposed to hasten to Mekka to suppress the insurrection in the holy town, but his enemies had repaired to Bassora where, so strong was the party of Talha and that of the expelled governor, Abdullah Ibn Amir—the two having combined together—that they had hoped to take possession of the town without much serious effort and then to form an alliance with the Kufans against Ali.

The governor Othman Ibn Hunaif could not prevent Ayasha from occupying a portion of the town with her people, but he vigorously resisted her when she openly preached insurrection. Not indeed were people wanting who blamed her unwomanly conduct and set down Talha and Zubair as traitors and leaders of the insurrection against the Caliph Othman.

By deceit and treason these *i.e.*, Talha and Zubair, managed to drive away the governor of Ali, but in doing so they completely forfeited the public esteem and confidence, and none but a few of the people of Bassora joined them when it actually came to a battle with Ali.

Ali left for Bassora when he learnt that Ayasha had gone there with her followers. He had some 900 men with him, and this is an eloquent commentary on the scant sympathy which he found with the Medinites. He halted at the frontier between Arabia and Iraq and sent messengers to Kufa to summon the auxiliaries from there. At first Abu Musa, the dismissed governor, strove to win the Kufans over for Talha, but when he failed in his effort he tried to make them at least indifferent spectators

of the war. In the Mosque where Ali's invitation was read out he declared that the dispute between Ali and his rival was a purely secular dispute which they might settle as best as they could; that the true believers need not worry themselves about it; that only so long as Othman was alive was it their duty to take up arms on his behalf and for his protection.

Not until Ali had sent his son Hasan, the grandson of the Prophet, to Kufa and had promised to make Kufa his home, after victory was won; not until several eloquent and influential men had pointed out on the one hand the right and the claims of Ali and on the other the necessity of rendering him help to put an end to dispute and division; not until then did 3000 men hasten to the camp of Ali. To these, in the meantime, several thousand joined from various parts of Arabia, and Abu Musa was driven out of Kufa by Malik-ul-Ashtar. Strong as Ali was to attack the enemy in Bassora he yet, to prevent further bloodshed, entered into negotiation with them, and was weak enough to exclude from his troops men who had taken part in the murder of Othman, for Ayasha had made this a condition precedent to any negotiations whatever. These rebels now apprehended that for the sake of peace they would be sacrificed or at least shelved.

Before day-break, before any final arrangement had been arrived at between Ali and Ayasha, they attacked the hostile troops. Treason! Treason! was the cry on all sides. And thus when the day dawned there was a formal battle, which is known as the "battle of the camel" because Ayasha, seated on a camel, led the centre of the Bassoran troops and urged them on to fight until Talha and Zubair had fallen, until her camel became lame and she was taken captive.

Ali, however, treated her with every consideration and sent her back to Medina with a strong escort. He did not treat the town of Bassora, when he entered it on the following day, as one conquered by the sword, for he tried to win over the heart of the Iraqians to enable him to conquer with their aid the still remaining dangerous rival Moawiah.

True to his promise he repaired to Kufa and prepared for war.

COMMUNAL LIFE IN INDIA

(From the *Bengali* of Ravindranath Tagore).

IN India war, maintenance of public peace, and administration of justice have been functions of the *king*. But every other task, from education to water supply, has been so naturally discharged by *society* that though new dynasties have swept like the flood over our country with every new century, yet they have failed to brutalise us by destroying our religion, they have failed to ruin us by destroying our society. King may have fought king in endless succession;—but in our murmuring bamboo thickets, in our shady mango groves, temples have raised their heads, hospices for pilgrims have been erected, tanks of water have been dug, the village school master has taught mental arithmetic, the sacred literature has been taught in the Sanskrit Colleges, the *Ramayan* has been read aloud in the assembly-hall of the temple, the village courtyards have resounded with the din of sacred chanting, without a break. Our society has never depended on outside aid, and no outside trouble has ever robbed it of life and vigour.

Today it is a small matter that we have to lament for the scarcity of drinking water in Bengal. A matter of far deeper regret is the root cause of such scarcity: today the heart of our community is no longer turned towards the community; all our attention has been directed outwards....

Our heart's current had hitherto kept the cool shady villages of Bengal sound and happy. But today the heart of Bengal has shifted its course from our villages. Therefore it is that our rural temples are in ruins, with none to repair them,—our rural tanks are impure, with none to cleanse them,—the manor-houses of the rich in our villages are deserted, with no sound of festivity heard in them. Hence today we have to beg at the doors of Government for water-supply, sanitation, public education.

In our country the Government stands for the State. In ancient India the Govern-

ment took the shape of the royal power, but there was an immense difference between the State in England and the royal power in India. England has entrusted to the State all the possible functions of public utility,—India did it only partially.

Not that in ancient India it was outside the king's duty to support and reward those who were the teachers of the country,—those who taught the nation learning and faith without charging fees. But it was his duty in part only: it was normally the duty of every citizen. If the king stopped his aid, if anarchy replaced the royal power, even then the education and religious instruction of the nation did not come to a sudden stop. True, our kings often dug tanks for the public, but they did it just like other rich men, and not because they were kings. If the king neglected to do it, the country did not in consequence suffer from scarcity of water.

In England every individual is free in the pursuit of his own repose, pleasure and self-interest,—he is not burdened with social duties, because he has assigned to the royal power all the great tasks of society. In India the royal power was comparatively free, because the community at large was saddled with the social duties. The king might fight, or hunt, or manage the State, or pass his days in a round of pleasures,—for his actions he would be responsible to God; but the public did not sit down idly, leaving all services for its own good in *his* hands. In our society, the social functions were marvellously, diversely, distributed among all the citizens individually.

Hence it was that *dharma* or duty inspired every limb of our society: every one of us had to cultivate self-control and self-sacrifice. Every one of us was bound to do his duty.

These examples prove that the vital force of different civilisations is planted in different limbs of the body politic. The

spot where the duty of public benefit is concentrated, is the *heart* of the country. If you can strike *that* spot, the whole nation is mortally wounded. In Europe if the Government is overthrown, the whole country is ruined; hence politics is such an important matter there. In our country, on the other hand, the nation reaches a critical stage only when society is crippled. Hence it is that we have not hitherto waged any life and death struggle for political freedom, but we have carefully maintained society's freedom of action. In Europe everything from poor relief to popular education depends on the State, in India on the public sense of duty;—so, Europeans must save the State if they are to live, *we* must save the regulations of *dharma* for our communal life.

In England, as is quite natural, the public are constantly engaged in keeping the State vigilant and active. Taught in English schools, we too have now come to hold that it is the principal duty of the public in all circumstances to prod the Government into attention. We do not realise that however much we may apply blisters to another man's body it cannot cure *our* disease.

In England the State is directly based upon the will of the entire community; it has been evolved naturally there. We cannot gain such a type of State by mere argument: it may be a very desirable thing, but it is beyond our reach.

In India the Government is not related to society; it stands outside. Therefore, if we hope to gain any service from it, such a gain must be paid for by sacrificing the freedom of society in that respect. In getting a work done by Government, our Society loses its own power of doing that work. And yet such helplessness was not formerly natural to India. We may have bowed our necks to different races and different kings in the past, but our Society has always done all its works by its unaided effort; it has never allowed any outside agency to interfere with them. Hence, when our monarchy has decayed, Society has remained intact.

Today we are deliberately going to deliver up one by one all the duties of the community into the hands of a State which is extraneous to our Society. Hitherto when

new sects arose in India and established new rites and customs, they remained in the bosom of Hindu Society, our Society did not expel them. But to-day everything has taken a rigid cast-iron form under the operation of Anglo-Indian legislation,—every innovator is now compelled to declare himself a non-Hindu. This proves that the innermost core of our social life now lies bare and unprotected; it no longer works. *This* is our greatest danger, and not the scarcity of water.

In days of yore, those Hindus whom the Badshahs created *Ray-Rayans*, whose counsel and aid were sought by the Nawabs,—did not deem such royal favours enough; to them social honour was higher than the dignities conferred by kings. They turned to their society for establishing influence. The highest honour they could not get from the king of kings who reigned at Delhi; such honour they had to seek at the cottage doors of the obscure village of their birth. It was a higher glory to them to be called a *benevolent* man by the common people of their land, than to be entitled a Rajah or Maharajah by the Government.... Therefore, there never was any scarcity of water in our pettiest hamlets; every village contained all the elements for the cultivation of manhood.

Today, it does not delight our hearts if we are praised by the *people* of our country. Therefore, our efforts no longer naturally flow towards our country. Today we have to beg or press the Government. Today the Government has to urge the people to remove the water-scarcity, because the natural remedy for this social distress is gone! Our rich men no longer relish public applause.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean to say that everyone of us should cling to the soil of his native village. No; go forth to win knowledge, wealth and fame, enter the broad outer field of action and expand your heart. But do not invert the relation between home and the workshop. Earn abroad, but store at home. Exert your powers outside, but keep your heart at home. Learn abroad, but apply your knowledge at home. But now-a-days we do just the opposite. The result is the strange incongruity of most of our acts. The Provincial Conference is a case in point.

We hold it to give counsel to our country, and yet the language of its debates is foreign! Why so? Because we regard the English-educated section of the population alone as our own people; we do not realise that we are as nothing unless we can link the hearts of the common people with ourselves. We are creating an impassable barrier between the masses and ourselves.

If we had turned our Provincial Conference truly into the deliberative body of the nation, what should have been our method? We should then have held not a public meeting of the regulation European type, but a grand fair (*mela*) of the familiar Indian pattern. There our countrymen would have been attracted from far and near by means of operas, music, amusements and rejoicing. There the country-made industrial and agricultural produce would have been exhibited. There masterly story-tellers, chanters and opera parties would have been rewarded. There the common people would have been vividly taught the lessons of sanitation by means of magic lanterns, and there high and low assembled in common would have discussed together in simple Bengali whatever they had to say, whatever they had to devise about their weal and woe.

Our nation is primarily made up of villagers. A *mela* is the best means of making the village occasionally feel the blood of the great outer world course through its veins. On such a festival the village forgets all its narrowness,—this is the chief occasion for the village to give and take with an open heart. As the monsoons are the time for flushing our tanks with the heavenly rain, so, too, is a *mela* the right opportunity for filling the heart of our villages with universal ideas.

The educated community can very quickly cause a real awakening of the country if they can infuse a new life and new ideas into the *melas* of their native districts, if they pour their hearts into them, if they reconcile the Hindus and Muhammadans on such occasions,—if without having any concern with ineffectual politics they take counsel for removing the special grievances of the district in respect of schools, roads, tanks, pasture-lands, etc.

I am confident that there will be no diffi-

culty in raising the requisite funds, if a band of public men prepare themselves to travel in all parts of Bengal and organise *melas*, if they compose new operas, songs for chanting and pieces for lections, and carry with themselves the property for bioscope, magic lantern, gymnastics, and magic.

It has ever been the way of our country to teach the people literature and religion through the agency of joyous festivals. Nowadays, most of our zamindars have been drawn to the cities. A joyous ceremony like marriage in their family now ends only in giving dances and dramatic performances to their rich town-friends. Hence our villages are daily growing more and more joyless, and the literature that might have refreshed and adorned the minds of old and young is daily passing beyond the reach of the common people. If the organisers of the *melas* proposed by me can cause the stream of poetry and joy to flow once more through our hamlets, then there will be no fear of the heart of our verdant corn-laden Bengal turning into an arid desert....

It has always been the chief endeavour of India to establish a bond of kinship between man and man. We have to recognise our very distant cousins; our grown-up sons do not leave the paternal home; we have to maintain a quasi-kindred relationship with every inhabitant of our village irrespective of his caste and social rank; we are tied to our priests and teachers, our beggars and guests, our land-lords and tenants, with respective social bonds. Such connections are not mere formal moral relations formed in obedience to religious injunctions; they are heart's ties. We are sure to form a kinship with every man whom we meet in life: some we place in the rank of our fathers, some in that of our sons, some we call brothers, others comrades. In no case can we regard a human being as a mere machine for executing our purposes.

Such is our nature. We purify with an infusion of our heart every connection forced on us by necessity, before we can turn it to use. We have, in consequence, to shoulder many needless obligations; whereas the connection of mere necessity is limited; it ends in the office or the workshop....

India cannot forget the charm of human relations, even in the midst of business.

She undertakes all the obligations of such a relation, of her free will. The result is that in India, there is the rule and practice of close connection between the family and strangers, between high and low, between house-holders and travellers. Therefore, in this country, none had ever before to be at a loss about the maintenance of our schools, Sanskrit colleges, tanks, pilgrims' rest-houses, and temples or about poor relief.

The Hindu religion has pointed out the path by which each individual can be made to transcend his petty home or village and feel his affinity to the universe. Every Hindu is bound to perform daily the "five offerings" (*pancha-yajna*) and thus call to mind his beneficent kinship with the gods, the sages, his ancestry, the human race, and beasts and birds.

Is it impossible to utilise the sublime idea of the *pancha-yajna* in forming a daily tie between our whole country and every member of our community? Cannot every one of us daily offer one pice or even a handful of rice in the name of our fatherland? Cannot Hinduism bind every one of us, every day of our lives, with the direct bond of devotion, to India,—to Bhāratabarsha, the haunt of our gods, the hermitage of our ancient Rishis, the nourishing mother of our forefathers? Cannot our relation with our benign fatherland be brought home to every one of us as a particular personal tie? Should we deliver up into the hands of foreigners water-supply, public education and other beneficent duties towards our country, and thus dissociate our endeavour, our thought, our heart itself, from the land of our birth?

The country will naturally yield up all its heart to that source from which it derives all benefits. We complain of the drain of Indian *wealth* to foreign lands; but if the *heart* of India is carried away by foreigners, if every beneficent connection with our country gradually passes into the hands of an alien Government, what then will be left to us? Will not *such* a drain be a more deplorable than the mere loss of wealth?

What! Are foreigners always to give our land food, drink and knowledge, and we are to content ourselves with clamouring when the amount of the Government dole is unsatisfactory? Is that our duty? No; never!

Let each one of us, in every day of our lives, shoulder the task of supplying our country's need. That is our glory, that is our *dharm*! The time has now come, when our society will become one vast *swadeshi* community. The time has come when every one of us will realise that he does not stand alone, that, however humble he may be, others cannot do without him, nor can he discard the meanest of the others.

Few people can mark out their path of duty for themselves. We ought to have a centre for directing individual efforts into the right path. Let no *pa ty* here usurp the position of that centre. If our society wishes to defend itself against that strong, centralised and aggressive external force which is trying to monopolise its functions and assert its control over every part of our life, from education to daily marketing,—then our Society must take a bold stand: The only way to do it is for us to choose a leader, to identify ourselves individually with him, to consider it no disgrace but an element of freedom to obey his command implicitly.

Such a national leader may at one time be a good man, at others a bad one. But if the community is vigilant no individual, not even the leader, can do permanent harm to it. On the other hand, the inauguration of such a leader is the true means of keeping society awake. If society realises its unity as embodied in a particular person, then its power will be invincible.

Under this supreme head will be local leaders in the different parts of the country. They will remove all the wants of society, direct all beneficent acts, and arrange for its regulation and protection, and for this they will be responsible to the national leader. The voluntary contribution of society will supply the necessary funds.

Doubt not the nation's capacity for self-help; know for certain that the time has come. Remember how India has ever kept alive her power of binding together. She has ever established some sort of harmony amidst all kinds of difficulties and conflicts, and hence she has survived till now. I have full faith in that India. Even now that India is slowly building up a marvellous reconciliation of the old order with the new. May each of us consciously join

in that work, may we never be misled by dullness or revolt into resisting it!

This is not the first time that Hindu society has collided with the outer world. At the very entrance of the Aryans into India, they had a tremendous conflict with the aboriginal races already in possession of the land. The Aryans triumphed in that conflict, but they did not exterminate the non-Aryans as the European colonists have done in Australia and America; the non-Aryans were not expelled from the Aryan settlements, in spite of the difference of their manners and customs they got a place in the Aryan social system, which gained complexity through their inclusion.

Once again our society was thrown into disorder for a long period. During the ascendancy of Buddhism the attraction of that religion established a close connection between the Indians and diverse foreign nations. The relation of sympathy is far more effective than the relation of antagonism, because in a state of conflict each party stands vigilantly on guard to save its own manners and ideas, whereas in the carelessness engendered by sympathy all tend to become one. The latter thing happened in Buddhist India. During that Asia-wide religious revolution, the manners and customs, rites and ideas of countless races drifted into India, none offering a check.

But even during this gigantic upheaval India was not deserted by her genius for regulation. She harmonised the foreign infusion with her native system and built up her society anew in orderliness. She was more diversified than before, no doubt; but one thread of unity peculiarly her own ran through all this vast variety.

The common principle of unity that underlies this diversified Hindu society is something mysterious and subtle, because India has assimilated many mutually inconsistent differences. We cannot point out this principle of unity, but it exists none the less, amidst all the seemingly discordant elements of Hindu society.

In the next age came the clash of Islam on this very India. It cannot be denied that this impact struck a blow at Hindu society. But the process of harmonising the new outer force began to work in every province. A common ground was created between the

Hindu and Muslim societies where the boundary-lines of both met together. The sects of Nanak and Kabir and the lower orders of Vaishnavas are instances of it.

Recently another powerful foreign nation has entered India with its own alien faith, manners and knowledge. Thus, the four great communities of the human race,—*viz.*, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Christian,—have all met together in India. It seems as if Providence has constituted India as a vast laboratory for achieving a grand social synthesis.

Here I must admit that the social fusion and convulsion which characterised the Buddhistic age in India, left behind it a sense of fear in Hindu society. Distrust of every kind of novelty and change has ever since become deep-rooted in our society. A community cannot progress when haunted by such an everpresent fear. It cannot conquer in the struggle with the outside. A society whose powers are solely concentrated on conservation, loses the faculty of natural motion. Society must combine the means of progression with the means of conservation, or it will become a cripple; confined within narrow limits, it will lead an existence of living death.

In the post-Buddhistic age, Hindu society has taken a thousand precautions to defend its possessions, and keep out all foreign contact most rigorously. This has made India lose the noble position of the world's teacher that she had once held. There was a time when the Indian mind with boundless courage sent forth all its powers to conquer the unexplored realms of religion, science and philosophy. Today India is no longer a teacher; she has sunk to the position of a pupil. Why? Because fear has entered her mind! We have timidly placed a ban against voyages,—both voyages across the sea of waters and voyages across the ocean of new knowledge! Once we belonged to the universe; today we belong to a village! Society's natural power of conservation and defence is timid, feminine. It has banished from our community the ever-curious, experimenting, action-loving masculine power. Therefore, even in the realm of knowledge we are prejudice-ridden, effeminate.

Know of a verity, that every race is a limb of the universal Man. A race can achieve glory only if it can satisfactorily answer the question "What have you contributed to the possessions of humanity?" When it loses that vital force of original invention, it becomes a useless encumbrance, a palsied limb, on the body of the universal Man. Mere existence is no glory.

India has never fought to win territory or spread commerce. Today China, Tibet and Japan are shutting their doors in fear of European encroachment. But one day these very countries welcomed India fearlessly into their houses as their teacher (*guru*). India has not moved about convulsing the world to the marrow with her troops and merchandise,—everywhere she has won the devotion of mankind by laying down the laws of peace, consolation and religion. Such a glory can be acquired only by ascetic devotions; it transcends the majesty of world-empires.

Just when India, having lost that glory, was huddling in one corner of her room, jealously guarding the bundle of her past acquisitions, the psychological moment for the coming of the English arrived. The strong impact of English civilisation has caused many breaches in the ring fence set up by this timid retiring society round itself... We have now discovered what wonderful power we *once* had, and also how wonderfully helpless we *now* are.

Today we have fully realised that the best means of self-defence does not consist in hiding one's self in a corner far away from others, but rather in awakening all our latent powers to the utmost. Such is the law of Nature. The English influence can overcome our minds only so long as our minds will not shake off their agelong lethargy and display their own endeavour. It is futile to sit dolefully in a corner mourning "It is all up with Hinduism!" It is, again, mere self-deception to disguise ourselves as Englishmen by aping them in every respect. We *cannot* become genuine Englishmen; and we cannot combat the English influence by becoming pseudo-Englishmen.

Let us then try to become deliberately, strongly, actively and completely what we *really* are. The peculiar power, held arrested within us for so many centuries,

will now be set free by the clash with the antagonistic spirit of a foreign civilisation; the world is in sore need of it today. The power amassed by our hermits through austere devotions, is too precious. Providence will not suffer it to be fruitless.

The inherent spirit of India is—the perception of unity amidst a multitude, the establishment of harmony among variety. India does not interpret difference as conflict, she does not regard aliens as enemies. Therefore, she tries to give to each its respective place in a vast and harmonious whole, excluding none, exterminating none. Therefore, she has sanctioned every path; she has recognised the propriety of each in its own place.

Such is the genius of India. Therefore let us not imagine any particular community as incompatible with our society. At every new impact, we shall only look out for our greater expansion as the result. Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Christians, will not *fight* each other on the soil of India;—they will here seek and attain to a *synthesis*. That synthesis will not be un-Hindu; it will be peculiarly Hindu; whatever its external features may be, the resultant harmony will be Indian in spirit.

If we bear in mind this divine ordinance about India, our aim will be steady, we shall cast off our sense of obloquy; we shall discover the deathless power inherent in India. It is the main work of India's peculiar genius to establish unity. India does not stand up for discarding any, or shutting any out,—she will one day point out to this discord-torn barrier-erecting world the way for admitting all, assimilating all, and enabling all to realise each its peculiar greatness when set amidst a vast ONE.

Our country once knew how to despise wealth; it knew how to adorn and glorify poverty. Should we today prostrate ourselves before gold and spurn at our own eternal *dharma*? Shall we fail today to take up once again that pure self-controlled abstemious life in the service of our ascetic mother-land? Shall we today grudge to sacrifice any item of our personal comfort or personal pomp, in order to distribute happiness among all? Will that asceticism which was once so natural for us, be absolutely impossible for us today? No, never!

Amidst the greatest calamities the silent vast power of India is quietly secretly making itself triumphant. Unknown to

ourselves we are gradually advancing towards that India.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE CEREMONIAL RITES OF KASHMIRI MUSALMANS

THE Hanjis (Kashmiri boatmen) by religion are indeed Musalmans but they form a distinct class by themselves which is subdivided into four subsections. They seem to belong to the lowest stratum of the old Hindu population. Therefore, being in a way somewhat different from other Musalmans, whom I would rather call the Musalmans proper, their ceremonies and rites naturally are rather quite different in details. Hence the necessity of describing here, separately, some of the important sacraments (rites) of the Kashmiri Musalmans.

PRELIMINARY RITES OF A CHILD.

Birth:—After the fifth day and again on the 40th day the mother of the new-born child has to take a bath for her purification and cleanliness.

Name giving ceremony नामकरण takes place at any time after the 40th day.

The ceremony of *cutting the hair* चूड़ाकरण is performed on any earliest day after the fifth month.

Circumcision—Khatna-hal.—It takes place at any time between the fifth and the twelfth year. This is a momentous period in a Musalman boy's life. Consequently the ceremony is rather an elaborate affair. The preliminary course occupies seven days and then the circumcision takes place, which can be done on any week-day excepting Thursday and Friday. On the seventh day they put *mehndi*, red pigment, both on his hand (fingers, nails and the palm) and on his feet (nails and soles). Eventually the initiated boy is taken to a Ziyarat to present *Niyaz*, offering. And there the Mulla reads to him some appropriate verses from the Koran and he is made to repeat *Khutam*.

MARRIAGE.

A go-between is almost—at least conven-

tionally—quite indispensable in settling a marriage. The bridegroom's father takes a *mediator* with him to the house in view. The father of the would-be bride welcomes them and entertains them. Then the mediator formally discloses the object of their visit—though the purpose of the visit and preliminary negotiations were already an open secret. Having taken the consent of the girl's father the parent of the boy presents a certain sum of money, according to his means, before him in a dish. After some time the father of the prospective bride comes to the house of his would-be son-in-law with the customary object of seeing the condition (material resources) of the boy—and perhaps not to see the ability or character of the boy. This visit confirms all their previous engagements and after this event he cannot decline to give his daughter on any ground whatsoever. Immediately after an essential ceremony, the *word-giving*, वागदान takes place, which in Kashmiri language is called *गुंडुन* *gandun*. On this occasion the groom's father pays a customary sum of Rs. 25 and presents a lump of salt (from 10 to 15 seers) and silver ornaments (for the bride). And as a matter of conventional reciprocity the bride's people too, present to their would-be son-in-law a shawl or Rs. 5 in cash. Either on this very day or on some nearest future occasion they fix the date for the celebration of the marriage. The principal ceremony takes two days. On the first day,—in their respective houses, he-barber and she-barber put *मेहदी* red pigment on the hands and feet of the groom and the bride respectively. The same day the bridegroom's people send a ram, which must never be a castrated one, to the bride's house. And as long as the food for the occasion, to feed the processionists of the coming procession,

from the groom's house, is in preparation, the man who brings the ram remains there and is supposed to be supervising the preparations. Then the bride's people send a messenger to the camp (house) of the bridegroom to tell them as to how many men they should bring with the groom in the procession. These processionists, the people of the bridegroom, bring with them a box containing one-seer of salt, one pair of shoes, bangles of silver and necklace and apparel for the bride. I cannot say for certain if it is the invariable custom but I have seen one marriage procession in which some processionists were dancing while passing through the town and they particularly halted in the courtyards of influential Hindu Pandits. When the procession reaches the bride's place the father of the bride throws water off the groom's head in a dish; and then puts a rupee in that empty dish (*thali*). When the processionists are feasted they sit to eat, four taking from the same dish. When they have all finished dinner the bride's father demands money payments from the groom's father for menial servants, potters, village watchman, *doms* and the masjid. Finally the real or the essential function, the *Nikah* or the marriage sacrament is solemnised. But before the *Nikah* is read or before the groom and the bride are brought before the *Kazi*, two witnesses and one *vakil* are presented before him. He sends them to take the consent of the girl. Indeed, too early! This is all a farce, the father having already given his word for his daughter's hand. Who knows when these unrealities will vanish and the girls will actually have their voice in deciding their destinies. The *vakil*, who is always a maternal uncle or a brother, asks her, in the presence of the witnesses, if she is willing to be married to so and so. If she keeps silent, her mother says "Yes" for her. The consent is generally given by this form of proxy. But "no" is never expected! Then *Kalma* is read to the bride and the groom. And the *Kazi* questions the groom thrice about the responsibilities of married life and his duty to his spouse. The bridegroom's people give the *Kazi* some cash or presents. On the return journey the conveyance containing the bride precedes the groom. The bride is given money by her people which she places at the

feet of her mother-in-law on her arrival at her husband's house. When the groom reaches his door his sister closes the door against him and admits him after he pays her something (money presents) which they call *Janmbrant*. Their honey-moon period covers seven days.

LIFE—MAN-IN-ACTION.

Thus ends the happy period—from boyhood to adulthood—of the life of man and woman as well. After it the life is all business, and struggle for living, discharging of duties and fulfilling of responsibilities. Man goes out to the world. If he is a peasant—a farmer—he rushes out to the farm and field; if he is a townsman he either goes to the anvil of a blacksmith or silversmith or to weaving halls or to the shop or a-hawking.

WOMAN IN THE HOME.

In the case of upper-class city-women she is at once introduced into the comparative (in most cases complete) freedom of her fatherland. She is welcomed and patted by the old women, particularly the mother-in-law, in the new house. The cooking pots and weaving wheel are introduced to her and she to them. There was a time only a decade ago when she used to do embroidery and other fine work on shawls, cloaks and women's garments. Life is arduous and a very serious affair for her now. The greatest burden of domestic work falls on her shoulders, in which she so cheerfully engages herself firmly believing it to be her spiritual mission—a duty, to discharge which in the service of man she has been sent into the world.

The night comes for her with its charms. She is expecting her lord. He brings with him into her room the world of happiness—a heaven on earth. She feels that he does it but never says anything. She serves him like a bond slave but it is she who enjoys the most in serving. He visits her as a matter of course and to both of them it is all a part of their business to meet and talk and again depart.

When she has to go out (mind I am speaking of the middle and upper classes) she has to wear a dirty veil.

The most enjoyable time for these town-folk is generally Friday or other similar days when men and women all go together

in boats in family groups taking their cooking pots, teapots, etc., with them to the places of worship, where they move about in gardens with much ease and freedom, even removing veils from the faces to let the air of heaven to blow on them freely. As I have remarked elsewhere, the use of dirty veils among Musalmans has brought about a skin disease which is gradually increasing.

But the life in the country and particularly among the lower strata of Musalman society and the peasants is free and open, without the *parda* system, like that of the Hindu Pandits. As to the duties and work their women too are supposed to be born custodians of home and hearth. Cooking and other domestic work and threshing paddy is their chief concern. Women in Kashmir do very little field work unlike other Himālayan hill districts.

DEATH-CEREMONY.

It is a very long leap from marriage to death. But the gap has been filled by work and struggle for living. By this time he and she have created

other human beings to replace them and to help them on the path of heaven. The ruthless hand of death takes away the father or mother. The son buries the parent and puts a rough stone over the mound—the stone in most cases comes from the ruins of some old Hindu temple, or generally the temple and its courtyard itself is changed into a graveyard. Then he asks the Mulla to read *Fatiha* at the tomb. This *garurpuran* reading, which is expected to help the dead on his way to the next world, being over, he (the son) distributes pieces of bread among such of his co-religionists as had come with him. This function of scriptural reading of *Fatiha* and distributing of bread is repeated, fortnightly during the first year. Afterwards it is only once a year that *Fatiha* is read there, flowers strewn on the tomb, water sprinkled about and bread distributed. It is needless to remark that like Hindus perhaps they also hope that the pieces of bread reach the deceased in the *Pitri-lok*—a very cheap *shradh* indeed!

MUKANDI LAL.

DEATH THE REVEALER

(Written at Shantiniketan, Bolpur)

"O thou, the last fulfilment of life, Death,
my death, come and whisper to me.

"One final glance from thine eyes, and my
life shall be ever thine own."

Gitanjali 91 (English Translation).

One night there came to me a dream so rare,
That by its spell the veil of sense was rifted:

All luminous and clear beyond compare
Heaven's canopy was lifted.

Holy and calm the passion of that hour,
When love's full tide, with wave on wave in flowing,
Flooded the soul with unimagined power
Pure, boundless joy bestowing.

Earth's veil rolled back and darkness claimed its own,
And wings too frail to rise were downward driven;
But I have seen His Face, have seen and known.
This sacrament was given.

And I can wait for dawning of the day,
The day-star on my night already gleaming,
The darkness and the veil shall pass away—
Death's vision end life's dreaming.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO HINDU POLITY

[BY MR. KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL, B.A. (OXON), BAR-AT-LAW.]

II.

Hindu Republics (concluded).

BEFORE proceeding to our next topic, *viz.*, the phase of centralisation in our political life, it would be interesting to notice briefly the working system of the assembly of our popular institutions of the differentiated stage. We know from the Buddhist Sutras and Sanskrit references that matters of state were discussed in and by the assembly of the corporate, republican institutions. But the procedure adopted at those deliberations has not yet been presented by any modern writer. We are fortunately in possession of the procedure followed by one of our popular institutions of the time which might be taken as typical. We have seen that the Buddhist Brotherhood*, the Sangha, was copied out from the political Sangha, the republic, in its constitution. We may safely accept the procedure followed at the deliberations of the Buddhist Sangha as identical with that observed by its parent, the political Sangha, in its main features. The very rules, as we will see later, show that the rules had existed before the rise of Buddhism.

Now the procedure of the Buddhist Sangha was as follows. All Seats. the members who had the right to be present, were present in the assembly on seats, placed in order of seniority, under the direction of a special officer for the purpose.

"Now at the time a Bhikkhu named Agita, of ten years' standing, was the reciter of the Patimokkha to

* The constitution of the Jaina brotherhood also seems to have been modelled on political institutions, *viz.*, that of the Ganas and Kulas. A Jaina community was either a *Gana* or a *Kula* with its theological division into *Sakhas*. Our interpretation of the terms *gana* and *kula* throws light on these Jaina terms, which have been obscure up to this time,

the Sangha. Him did the Sangha appoint as seat-regulator [asana-prajinapaka] to the Thera Bhikkhus." Account of the Congress of Vesali, *Chullavagga*, XII, 2, 73. *Vinaya*, S.B.E., XX., p. 498.

Deliberations were initiated with a Motion. motion in these terms: "May the venerable Sangha hear me." "If the time seems meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha do—..... This is the motion (*natti*, or *jnapti*, notice)." After this the mover moved the Resolution. matter in the form of a resolution (*pratijna*) to be adopted by the Sangha. All those who approved of the resolution were asked to remain silent, and those who would not approve were required to speak. In some cases the resolution was repeated thrice and then, if the assembly remained silent, it was declared as carried, and the party affected was formally informed of the resolution. I give below some instances from the Vinaya Pitaka to illustrate the above description.

Here is a resolution moved at the instance of the Buddha himself:

"Let the venerable Sangha hear me. This Bhikkhu Vuala, being examined in the midst of the Sangha with an offence, when he has denied it then confesses it, when he has confessed it then denies it, makes counter charges, and speaks lies which he knows to be such. If the time seems meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha carry out the Tassa papiyyasika-kamma against the Bhikkhu Vuala: This is the motion.

"Let the venerable Sangha hear me. This Bhikkhu Vuala (&c, as before). The Sangha carries out the Tassa-papiyyasikakamma against Vuala the Bhikkhu, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. A second time I say the same thing. This Bhikkhu Vuala (&c, as before, down to) let him speak. A third time I say the same thing (&c, as before, down to) let him speak.

"The Tassa papiyyasika Kamma has been carried out by the Sangha against Vuala the Bhikkhu. Therefore it is silent. Thus do I understand."†

The following is taken from the account

† Chulla-vagga, 4, 11, 2, Trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, XX, 29.

of the congress of Rajagriha, held after the death of the Buddha :

"Then the venerable Maha Kassapa laid the resolution before the Sangha: 'Let the venerable Sangha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha appoint that these five hundred Bhikkhus take up their residence during the rainy season at Rajagaha, to chant over together the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and that no other Bhikkhus go up to Rajagaha for the rainy season. This is the resolution. Let the venerable Sangha hear. The Sangha appoints accordingly. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Sangha has appointed accordingly. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand.'"

"And the venerable Maha Kassapa laid the resolution before the Sangha: 'If the time seems meet to the Sangha, I will question Upali concerning the Vinaya.' And the venerable Upali laid a resolution before the Sangha: 'Let the venerable Sangha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Sangha, I, when questioned by the venerable Maha Kassapa, will give reply.'"

A rule of quorum was strictly observed.

In small local societies of the Buddhist monks a number of twenty formed the quorum to transact all kinds of formal acts.† If a business was transacted without the required number of members being present, the act was regarded as invalid and inoperative.

"If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed unlawfully by an incomplete congregation, it is no real act and ought not to be performed."§

To gather the minimum number of members was undertaken by one of the members :—

गणपूरको वा भविस्सानीति । Mahavagga, III. 6. 6.

"Or, I will act as the securer-of-the—number' (at the next meeting)."

Rhys Davids and Oldenberg have translated the passage (Sacred Books of the East, XIII, p. 307) as follows :

'Or, I will help to complete the quorum.' The *ganapuraka* thus, was the 'whip' to the assembly for a particular sitting.

The procedure of moving the *Natti* (jnapti) once and the *Prati-jna* once was called *Natti-dutiya*, the Two-Natti-procedure; and when they had to be moved thrice, it was called

* Chullavagga, II.1.4.

† Ibid II.1.7.

‡ Mahavagga, IX, 4, 1.

§ Vinaya, Mahavagga, IX, 3, 2.

Nattichatuttha (the Four-Natti-procedure). Putting the resolution or *prati-jna* to the assembly was called *kammavacha* (karmavacha). Now if the *Natti* was moved and no *Prati-jna* formally put, or if the resolution was proclaimed and no *natti* had been moved, the act would have been considered as invalid. Similarly an act requiring a *Natti-chatuttha* could not be lawful if the motion or the resolution was not moved or put for the prescribed number of times. Again, the order of the motion and resolution had not to be subverted.

"If one performs, O Bhikkhu, a *Nattidutiya* act with one *natti* and does not proclaim a *kammavacha*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhu, a *Natti-dutiya* act with two *nattis* and does not proclaim a *kammavacha*....., with one *kammavacha* and does not propose a *Natti*....., with two *kammavacha*, and does not propose a *Natti*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhu, a *Nattichatuttha* act with one *Natti* and does not proclaim a *kammavacha*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhu, a *Natti-chatuttha* act with two (etc.)"—*

If the Sangha adopted a resolution unanimously, the question of voting did not arise; but if a matter entailed a division in the opinion of

the members, speeches were made and the *Proceduce-of-Majority* was observed. The opinion of the greater number (*bahutara*) decided the matter. The procedure is called *Ye-bhuyyasikam* in Pāli. The Sanskrit restoration would be *Ye-bhuyasiyakam*, 'Those-(who were)-more-procedure.' The voting was carried on with the help of voting-tickets which were coloured. The tickets were called *Salakas* or pins† and the voting was called the *pin-taking* (*salaka-grahana*). There was a teller, *Salaka-grahaka*—'taker-of-the-pins,' appointed by the whole Sangha who explained the significance of the colours and took the vote either secretly or openly.

"A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as taker of the voting tickets—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear, one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

And thus shall he be appointed.

First the Bhikkhu is to be requested (whether he will

* Vinaya, Mahavagga, IX, 3, 2, 3, 4, 7; 8. Trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg.

† We gather from a Chinese record that these tickets were of wood.

undertake the office). Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the Sangha saying :

"Let the venerable Sangha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha appoint a Bikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the voting-tickets." (Etc.)—*

"By that Bhikkhu, the taker of the voting tickets, are the votes to be collected. And according as the larger number† of the Bhikkhus who are guided by the Dhamma shall speak, so shall the case be decided‡.

"I enjoin upon you, Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes, in order to appease such Bhikkhus—the secret method, the whispering method and the open method. "And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting-tickets of different colours and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him he is to say to him thus. 'This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion, this the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like.' When he has chosen (he is to add), 'Do not show it to anybody.'§

Votes of the members, who were entitled to be present in the meeting

Votes of Absentees.

but who owing to some illness or like disability could

not attend, were scrupulously collected. An omission to do this vitiated the proceedings. The absentee votes were called *chhanda* ('free') votes.

"If, O Bhikkhus, at a nattidutiya act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, but if the *chhanda* of those who have to declare their *chhanda* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation."||

Sometimes to escape many "pointless" 'Pointless speeches, the right of deliberation on a matter was delegated to an appointed committee who decided the question amongst themselves and then communicated their decision to the Sangha. If the committee

* Chulla-vagga, 4, 9, 5, B, E, XX, P. 25.

† The odd number (3) of the *Sabha* (jury or assessor) who are required to sit with the judge under Manu, VIII, 10, points to the rule of majority. It is clearly laid down in the Artha-Shastra, with regard to the decision of land disputes by a jury of neighbours. 'Land disputes are to be decided by village-elders of the neighbourhood. If there be a division of opinion among them, decision is to be given in favour of the opinion which is of the honest majority.'

चित्रविवादं सामन्त-यामद्वयः कुर्युः । तेषां द्वेषीभावो यतः बहवश्चक्षु-
ऽनुमता वा ततो नियच्छेयुः । Compare also the jury of 7, 5 or 3 of the Shukra-niti, IV. 26.

‡ Challa-vagga, IV. 14. 24. S. B. E. XX p. 54.

§ Chulla-vagga, IV. 14. 26.

|| Mahavagga, IX, 3-5. S. B. 17.266.

could not come to a decision, 'the custody of the case' remained in the hands of the Sangha who decided it according to the Procedure of Majority.

"If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being enquired into by those Bhikkhus, pointless speeches are brought forth, and the sense of any single utterance is not clear, I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle the case by referring it (to a jury or commission).*

"And thus, O Bhikkhus, is he to be appointed. First the Bhikkhu asked (whether he be willing to undertake the office). Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should address the Sangha thus :

"May the venerable Sangha hear me. Whilst this case was being enquired into, pointless speeches were brought forth amongst us, and the sense of no single utterance was clear. If the time seems meet to the venerable Sangha, let it appoint Bhikkhus of such and such a name on a committee. This is the motion." Etc.†

"If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are not able by the committee to settle that case, those Bhikkhus, ought to hand over the case to the Sangha, saying, 'We, Sirs, are not able by a committee to settle this case, let the Sangha settle it.'

"I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a case by the vote of the majority."‡

The same principle operated when a matter was referred to a larger body :

"But if you, Sirs, should not be able to do so, then will we ourselves retain the custody of the case."§

Again : 'Then the Sangha met together with the intention of enquiring into this legal question. But while they were enquiring into it, both was much pointless speaking brought forth and also the sense in no single speech was clear. Then the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Sangha :

".....If it seems meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha settle this question by referring it (to a jury)."

"And, he chose four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West. "Let the venerable Sangha hear me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been much pointless talk among us. If it seems meet to the Sangha let the Sangha delegate four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by reference. The Sangha delegates four Bhikkhus of the East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by reference. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The delegation is made accordingly. The Sangha approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand."||

If once a question was decided in accordance with any of the valid procedures of the assembly, it could not be reopened.¶ "Hav-

* Chulla-vagga, IV. 14.19.

† Chulla-vagga, IV. 14.20.

‡ Chulla-vagga, V. 14.24.

§ Chulla-vagga, IV. 14. 18.

|| Chulla-vagga XII, 2, 7-8.

¶ Chulla-vagga, IV. 24. 25.

ing been once settled, it is settled for good."

An act of an assembly, inadequately constituted, could not be indemnified afterwards by a fuller assembly. A contrary opinion seems to have been entertained by some people. But the procedure of indemnity (*anumatikappo*) was altogether rejected by the followers of Buddhism.

"Is the indemnity-licence, Lord, allowable?"

"What, Sir, is this indemnity-licence?"

"Is it allowable, Lord, for a Sangha, which is not legally constituted, to perform an official act on the ground that they will afterwards obtain the sanction of such Bhikkhus who may subsequently arrive?"

"No, Sir, it is not allowable."*

The above picture of the working-system of the assembly of one of our corporate institutions of the fifth (if not also the sixth) and the fourth centuries B. C. throws a considerable light on the developed stage of the organisation of our popular life in the period. The stage, which is marked with technicalities and with formalism in language, which provides for contingencies, and which is based on constitutional and legal conceptions of an advanced type, presupposes a previous career and experience extending over centuries. Most of the institutions of the procedure had existed, on the evidence of the Vinaya Pitaka itself, before the Buddha founded his religious Sangha. The *natti*, the *pratijna*, the *gana* (quorum), the *salaka*, the *procedure-of-majority*, the *reference*, are all mentioned by the Buddha without any definition, that is, as terms already current. The Buddha only adopts them for particular kinds of cases arising in his organization. He himself came from one of the republics and mostly lived amongst republican communities; he was perfectly familiar with their working-system and adapted it to the benefit of his own organisation. His ambition was to found a large state, an empire, of his religious system (*dharma-chakra*), but the organisation he created to realise his aim was merely communal, fit to establish and hold only a city-state of *dharma* and not a *dharma-chakra*. The limitation was the result of early associations. Born in a republic, where political and public spirit was more intense than in contemporary king-

doms, he combined in him the capacity, the enthusiasm and the ambition, not of a quiet ascetic recluse, but of a republican chief and of a conqueror.* Unlike the normal Hindu recluse, he would hold property for his sangha, he would hold meetings and pass resolutions and punish offenders. Throughout his spiritual achievements, he is a republican Shakya and his system is a politicalised spiritual propaganda. We are, therefore, entitled to take the broad features of the working-system of the religious apparatus of the Spiritual Conqueror as affording us a picture of the working-system of the machinery which lent the model.

As we hear a good deal of schisms in the Buddhist community which led to the formation of new Republics. Sanghas, so we read in the Mahabharata and the Arthashastra of breaches in the political Sangha. Each breach would have resulted in the establishment of a new corporate body. In the Jaina Sutras ("The List of the Sihaviras") we find individuals founding new *ganas* and *kulas* which sometimes take the name of the founder and sometimes that of the place; e. g. the Godasa-gana founded by Godasa, the Uttara-Valissaha-gana founded by Uttara and Valissaha conjointly, the Uddeha-gana founded by Rohana, the Indrapuraka-kula founded by Kamardhi.†

The Jaina ganas bearing the names of the founders remind us of the rule 5.3.112 of Panini, according to which the members of a village community, whose leader (*gramani*) bore the name '*Devadatta*', would be called *Devadattakas*. An instance of a republic, named after the place, is the *Patalene* (of Patala) of Alexander's historians.

* In personal matters also, the Buddha showed a conservativeness acquired from his early associations. He was proud of his Ikshvaku lineage even when a recluse. He told the Brahmin Krishnayana, who had insulted him as a Shakya, that he (Krishnayana) descended from one of the slave girls of the Ikshvakus. 'If you do not give a clear reply (to my charge),... then your head will split in pieces on the spot.' Ambatha Sutta, 20, Rh. Davids, Dialogues II, 114—116.

† According to the *Pattavalis* (edited by Dr. Hoernle), the Nandi-Sangha, founded by Maghanandin or probably by Bhadrabahu, was distinct from the *mulasangha* of Mahavira, though treated as a branch of it.

* Chulla-vagga, XII, 1. 10.

I find two instances of old monarchical nations adopting the republican system when their old dynasties disappeared: the *Kurus* and the *Panchalas* had formed themselves into *Sanghas* by the days when the *Arthā-Shastra* was written. A third instance is the case of the *Videhas*, pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids. From a kingdom they had become a republic by the sixth century B.C.

Thus we have about the 6th to 4th centuries B. C. the stage when republics and similar bodies were founded designedly, that is, the primitive "tribal stage" had been long passed over,—a conclusion to which we would be brought also by the principles underlying the procedure and the principle of the separation of functions and powers as noticed above.

[To be continued.]

[SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED TO "THE MODERN REVIEW."]

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT SIMLA.

PART I.

The Bengal Renaissance.

THE Kingdom of Literature has a truly noble franchise: its divine rights of sovereignty belong to genius alone: its aristocracy is drawn from all ages and all climes: its parliament is open to women as well as men: its citizens are citizens of the world. We meet here to-night, away from the noise of politics of a more earthly kind, to do homage to a Bengali poet and musician who has risen to a sovereignty such as great monarchs might envy. If there be any here who have not yet acknowledged his sway, I expect before the lecture is over to have won for him their allegiance.

A short story will explain, most rapidly, the power of the poet in India itself. I was once in the heart of the great Himalayan mountains, not far from the borders of Tibet. A Bengali lad, about ten years old, had wandered up there impelled by that roving instinct which so many Indian boys possess. Late one evening we were sitting in company with the villagers when suddenly the young boy began to sing one of the songs of Rabindranath. The dialect was strange to the mountaineers, but they could gather the drift of the words, and could feel the heart of the young singer going out into his song. They swayed backwards and forwards, seated on the ground, moved by the power of the song

and the spirit of the singer. Such is a typical example of the sovereignty of the poet in his own country. In England I stayed with him last summer and saw the instinctive and immediate homage that was rendered to him, by the greatest names in English and Irish literature. In my own personal experience there was reserved something far deeper than mere homage to literary merit: for the poet gave me his own heart's affection, and if my words to-night about him are enthusiastic, it will be due to the pardonable enthusiasm of love.

In order to explain Rabindranath I must ask your patience while I describe first the Renaissance movement in Bengal of which he is the crown. The course taken by that movement has been more complex than the Renaissance in Europe; there has been a double instead of a single process. The Greek and Latin Classics which caused our own Renaissance were indigenous in Europe: it was no new product which was introduced, but a recovery of our own ancient ideals. The first stage in Bengal was wholly different: it was a foreign culture and a foreign language from the West which were superimposed. But fortunately, this was but the beginning, not the end. The true Renaissance in Bengal began, when the minds of the greatest thinkers went back to the Sanskrit classics of India itself, and recovered the ideals underlying the great Sanskrit civilisation. It is the working out of this second and indigenous

stage of the Renaissance which has given birth to the Bengal literary and artistic movement, and has led up to the poetry and music of Rabindranath.

Early in the Nineteenth Century, the burning question in Bengal was whether the spread of the English language should be encouraged. Macaulay's famous minute written in 1835, fixed English as the medium for higher education. "Never on earth," writes Sir John Seeley, "was a more momentous question discussed,"—and Macaulay won. But his premises were unsound, and his conclusions inaccurate. He poured contempt on the Indian classics: he treated Bengali literature as useless: he cast upon the Bengali people the most cruel and unjust aspersion. Yet strangely enough, in spite of his narrow outlook, Macaulay's practical policy was right. The hour for the indigenous revival had not yet come. A shock from without was needed, and the study of English gave the shock required. Bengal awoke under this English stimulus.

But the new life, which first appeared, was not altogether healthy. It led immediately to a shaking of old customs and an unsettlement of religious convictions, which was often carried to a violent and unthinking extreme. The greatest disturbance of all was in the social sphere. A wholesale imitation of purely Western habits led to a painful confusion of ideas. It was a brilliant and precocious age, bubbling over with a new vitality, but wayward and unregulated, like a rudderless vessel on a stormy sea.

The one outstanding heroic character, whose presence saved Bengal at this crisis, was the great Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Towering above his contemporaries, solitary and majestic, this extraordinary man seems to have measured accurately the force of every new current as it flowed quickly past, and to have steered his own course with an almost unerring accuracy. As practical as Macaulay, he was no mere opportunist. He was a true prophet, and had the prophet's sacred fire of enthusiasm. On the literary side, he was one of the strongest promoters of the new Western learning, and eagerly helped forward Macaulay's programme. But the best energies of his marvellously full life were directed to recreate in the heart of the Bengali people

that true reverence for the Indian past, which should lead to a revival of their own Sanskrit classics. Above all, he did not despise his Bengali mother tongue, but brought it back into full literary use.

The Serampore missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward, rendered invaluable aid at this critical juncture. The part they played has been generously recognised in a fascinating book written by Dinesh Chandra Sen. They were the first actually to print books in Bengali type, and though their style was crude and colloquial, it was freed from archaism and pedantry. Alexander Duff, the brilliant young Scotsman, who came later, worked hand in hand with Raja Ram Mohun Roy in spreading the new English culture. But he was too obsessed by the spirit of Macaulay. He did not share Ram Mohun's wider outlook with regard to the indigenous Sanskrit classics.

Debendranath Tagore, the father of Rabindranath, is the next outstanding figure in the Bengali literary revival. His work and influence lasted over nearly the whole century. If Ram Mohun Roy may be likened to the root of this tree of literature, planted deep in Bengali soil, Debendranath Tagore may be likened to its strong and vigorous stem, and Rabindranath his son may be compared to its flower and fruit. Rarely in the history of literature can such a direct succession be traced.

Debendranath Tagore's character illuminated his age with a kind of prophetic light and grandeur. In his later life he received by universal consent the name of Maharshi, or Great Rishi, so deep was his religious spirit and his moral authority. During the flood tide of English fashion he held fast to the ancient moorings, and strengthened every bond which kept his country close to its own historic past. His autobiography, translated by his son Satyendranath, is one of the most instructive books on the spirit of modern Bengal that I have ever read. Maharshi's own conservative position was taken up when he was quite young, and he never departed from it. The present century will probably show the greatness of his massive strength and his true insight into the future. For a time his eminence was somewhat overshadowed by a younger leader, Keshav Chandra Sen, whose brilliant gifts and

generous personality irresistibly attracted young Bengal. The warm affection cherished by Maharshi for this younger leader, amid great difference of opinion, is one of the most beautiful records of a noble age, and reveals the true greatness of its leading men.

Maharshi himself wrote copiously in the Bengali mother-tongue, and improved it as a vehicle for modern thought. Through his disciple Akhsay Kumar Dutt, whose life was one long martyrdom of physical suffering, he fostered the growth of periodical literature. This has been one of the greatest means of popularising Bengali prose among the rising educated classes.

By the middle of the Nineteenth Century, owing to these initial movements, a great creative period in Bengali literary history had set in. It bears on its surface the marks of conflict between the new Western learning and the revived Sanskrit classics. All the chief writers of the period had studied English. Toru Dutt, the fairest and frailest flower among them, wrote in English itself, though the fragrance of the Sanskrit past pervades all her works and makes them a national possession. Michael Dutt began by writing English verse: but he abandoned this, while his powers were still at their height, and composed his later poems in a wonderfully sonorous and majestic Bengali style. He has been called the Milton of the Bengal revival. Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novels, carry back the mind at every turn to the great 'Waverley' series. We can almost feel behind them the pure joy and zest with which young Bengal explored the new-found English treasure.

But the originality of the period consisted in this, that the writers, amid all their study of English, remained true to the ancient Indian ideal. They remembered the rock from whence they were hewn. They did not despise their own birth-right. They were tempted indeed in two directions, either of which might have been fatal to true progress. On the one hand there was the tendency to import English metres and constructions without assimilation,—to Anglicise Bengali literature. On the other hand there was the temptation to strain after purity of style by introducing Sanskrit words and phrases unmodified and unmo-

dulated,—to Sanskritise Bengali. The latter became the more pressing danger as the full force of the reaction against English took place; and Vidyasagar and Michael Dutt show the pressure of it in their Bengali style. It is only when we come to Bankim that we find the danger practically overcome. What has been called his romantic style (as contrasted with the earlier classical style) pierced its way through all obstacles and produced a form of language in close touch with the living speech of the people, yet having a high literary colour of its own. Not only the language, but also the subjects of this new literature, were brought more in touch with the people. The village life of Bengal, where romance was still unclouded, gained a new appreciation. The mediæval as well as the classical times were laid under contribution for subject matter. The commanding ideal at last rose up before the minds of men, to lay aside the artificial imitation of the West, and build up a truly national literature and art out of the living stones of indigenous poetry, music and song.

Into this rich heritage of the past the young poet Rabindranath entered, and he has done more than any living man to make the ideal mentioned come right home to the hearts of the Bengali people. A friend of mine has described to me the scene that took place, when the aged novelist Bankim was being honoured and garlanded. The old man took the garland from off his own neck, and placed it on that of a young writer, who was seated at his feet,—Rabindranath Tagore. This act of Bankim has now been universally recognised as both generous and just. For what others were struggling to attain amid almost insuperable difficulties, Rabindranath has reached with the quick leap and joyful ease of supreme genius. The ideals of art, which were before only dimly discerned, he has seen with open vision. Moreover, in his later works, he has carried still further the spiritual mission of his father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore; and he has clothed his own deepest spiritual thoughts with a raiment of pure simplicity and beauty. His fame has come to the full in recent years, and his message has taken continually a higher and more prophetic tone. He has passed on from the period of sheer, unbound-

ed delight in nature and physical beauty, to enter into the mystery of the sorrow and the suffering of the world; to share the burden of the poor; to face death itself unmoved; to look for and attain the supreme vision of God. In all this he has remained close to the heart of his own country, his own Bengal. There never was a poet who was more wholly wrapt up in his own motherland. Every day that I was with him last summer in England, his eyes were straining across the sea, as he spoke of his boys at Bolpur, of the village people among whom he was a father and friend, of his fellow-workers and his companions. "Oh! my boys, my boys at Bolpur," he would say to me, "I cannot bear the separation." In every letter that I have received from him since, he has spoken eagerly of his return. He told me a strange thing. Ever since he left Bengal, up to the time when I went away from him last October, the fountain of his poetry had dried up in the foreign land. He could write prose, lucid and tender, full of humour and pathos, with brilliant character study. The letters that he has sent home are each of them literary gems. But the Muse of Poetry has departed for a season.

It is not wonderful therefore that Bengal to whose very soil he seems to belong, and from whose very soil he seems to draw his deepest inspiration, should have been inspired in turn by his music and song with a high intensity of purpose and a sublime consciousness of its own destiny. What Shakespeare did for England in the days of Queen Elizabeth, Rabindranath has done for modern Bengal. He has given vital expression, at a supreme moment of history, to the rising hopes of his own people. In that country of music and art and song

The prophetic soul of the wide world
Dreaming of things to come

has found, at last, its vision in and through his poems. The dreams, which

Bengal is now dreaming, may not all come true:

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart

in the pageant of literature, as well as that of empire. When the great literary period is over, the glamour will surely pass away. But song and music are mighty instruments, when the spirit of an emotional people is beating high with hope; and to-day, men, women, and even little children, are seeing through the eyes of Rabindranath the vision of their country's progress. That vision is radiant and luminous. There is something in it which inspires religious fervour; and there is not unmixed with it also a sacred sense of awe, that God has visited his people.

This power of music and literature to create a new spirit in a whole people may sound unreal to modern ears. But it must be remembered, that India still retains, deep below the surface of life, its supreme faith in the unseen. That faith can work wonders by ways that are scarcely understood in the grey and sober West. In Bengal, especially, that faith is still winning its victories, in spite of a growth of materialism which at times retards the course of higher spiritual advance. I have learnt to believe whole-heartedly in the great qualities of the Bengali people, and I am not ashamed to confess openly my belief. I have learnt to love them also, and that love has been returned in overflowing measure. Above all, I have had the inestimable privilege of friendship with Rabindranath himself. It is with this outlook, the outlook of faith, and love, and friendship,—that I have written, and I am confident that it is true to the facts. I wish that these facts could be fully understood, and their significance realized, by my fellow-countrymen, for they have no slight bearing on that which we all long so earnestly to foster and retain,—the growth of cordial sympathy and mutual good-will.

DELHI.

C. F. ANDREWS.

(To be concluded in next month's issue).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

I. India and the Indians: by Edward F. Elwin. London. John Murray. 1913. Price 10/6d net. Illustrated. Pp. 346.

The author is a Roman Catholic father, of the society of St. John the Evangelist, and dates his book from the Mission House at Yerandawana, near Poona. We had thought that as a member of the Catholic Church he would have shown some insight into and sympathy with Indian religious customs and ceremonies but we are sorry to find that he is a fanatic out and out. Extremely narrow and prejudiced in his views, his book is taken up with denouncing all that appertains to 'heathen India'—an expression of which he seems to be rather fond—and the chronicling of small beer. The chapter on Indian unrest, for instance, is nothing more than an account of the change in the attitude of some schoolboys, who ceased to come to the mission to ask for pictures. Similarly the subject of the Indian Dussarah is introduced only as a peg on which to hang a homily on the inadvisability of Christian missionaries countenancing Hinduism by attending their religious festivals. The mission servants, the farmers of Yerandawana, the schoolboys who came to the Mission for pictures or to the church to see what was going on within—this is the environment from which he draws the materials for his inferences and generalisations. He says: "People with missionary aspirations have hesitated to volunteer for Indian work because they felt that they were not competent to grapple with the acute intellects and subtle philosophy of Indian thinkers." These would-be missionaries were certainly wise in their generation, but according to our author their fears were groundless, though the quality of the work turned out by him shows that he at any rate would have done well to pay greater heed to these fears. His outlook is distorted by the particular angle of vision from which he looks on men and things. In his preface he says that he has taken care to see that when India fully wakes up, she may not have any cause to utter against Englishmen the reproach, 'you never told me.' No one will deny that he has discharged this self-imposed task with a zeal and an enthusiasm, worthy of a better cause. For he has seen defects where none exist, characterised as peculiarly Indian the failings which are common to humanity, and exaggerated those which undoubtedly exist as fundamental and ineradicable vices. The catalogue of evils to which the Indian character has been depicted in this book as being subject is almost endless—almost every chapter bristles with them. Sometimes he has followed the more insidious course of damning with faint praise. No better example of the rarity of Christian charity could be found than this book by a Christian father. He has evidently mistaken his

vocation, and would have shone better in the company of the Kiplings and the Stracheys. A chapter headed 'Hindu Philosophy' contains absolutely nothing either of Hinduism or of philosophy. The book is written in a gossipy, commonplace vein and nowhere is there any attempt to be serious. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is described as a true poet, but her poetry, according to the author, is incapable of the highest flights because she is handicapped by Hinduism. In fact, Hinduism sits as a nightmare on his bosom, and he is simply obsessed by it. Whatever is good, true, and beautiful has the epithet 'Christian' prefaced to it. We know the extent of self-deception of which Christianity is capable, for the memory of Giordano Bruno and Galileo does not prevent the society for the propagation of 'Christian' knowledge from unblushingly stamping its name on volumes on astronomy. So keen is the analytical faculty of the worthy father that while denouncing Hindu mythology in round terms he has at the same time no hesitation to look forward to the day when 'beautiful saints and angels will take the place of the dethroned gods.'

The author once saw his village raided by the Police to detect the theft of a clock from the mission school, and was able to learn at first hand some of the devious methods of the Indian Police, and the conclusion at which he arrives is: "In the tracking of culprits and the gathering of evidence, and in all the preparatory works in which the police are engaged, it is to be feared that unlawful methods are still practised, specially in the more remote country districts. Some of the European police do not seem to take much trouble to stamp out these abuses. ... The apparent tendency of some English officials to make light of complaints does not give much room for hope that the evil system will be quickly eradicated."

The remarks on the rudeness of Englishmen to Indian gentlemen on Indian railways and the diminishing reputation of the Englishman for honesty and fair dealing show that the author's militant Christianity has not altogether succeeded in killing his native kindness of heart. We should have liked to see more of this kind of writing in the book, for it is through sympathy, and sympathy alone, that a foreigner can hope to understand and improve 'heathen India.'

On the whole, the book is one which might very well have been left unwritten. If it is meant for home consumption and the promotion of missionary charity, we have nothing to say. But the fact that even such books as these, which serve no useful purpose, can be priced so high, shows how rich is the reading public of England.

II. To Whom? by Sovana Devi. Translated from the original Bengali of Srimati Swarna Kumari

Devi. S. K. Lahiri & Co., 56, College Street, Calcutta.

This is a translation of Mrs. Ghosal's Bengali novel, *Kahake?* The story is one of her latest and best, and somewhat introspective and psychological in character. The English rendering is excellent; it is racy, idiomatic, eloquent, and never halting. Except for the Bengali expressions which occur here and there many would not know it to be a translation at all and yet it closely follows the original. The binding is excellent, but the letter-press leaves room for improvement.

III. *The Question of Judicial and Executive Separation: by Provas Chandra Mitter, Vakil, High Court. Bee Press, 1, Uckoor Dutt's Lane, Wellington Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8-0.*

This is a very timely publication. So far as we remember, the author was publicly complimented by Lord Islington for the scheme propounded by him. The essence of that scheme is (1) the recruitment of 40 per cent., of the superior judicial service from the bar and the subordinate judiciary; (2) the investment of the subordinate judiciary with power to try criminal cases as well as civil suits; (3) the placing of the whole judicial administration under the High Court. The author incorporates in this volume the late Mr. Monmohan Ghose's pamphlet on the evils of the combination of judicial and executive functions in the same officer and adds some recent cases to Mr. Ghose's collection. Mr. R. C. Dutt's scheme, the memorial submitted to the Secretary of State by Lord Hobhouse and others, and Sir Harvey Adamson's speech in the Imperial Council have also been given. We trust in the next edition Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee's speech in the Supreme Council and the proceedings of the recent Calcutta Town Hall meeting will be added. It is worthy of note that Babu Provas Chandra Mitter has shown, district by district, how under his scheme of separation the cost of administration will be less than what it is at present. The book, which is well bound and printed, is a very useful addition to our Library and is not dear at the price.

IV. *The Way of Contentment: Translated from the Japanese by Ken Hoshino. (Wisdom of the East Series, edited by L. Cranmer Byng and Dr. S. A. Kapadia.) London, John Murray, 1913. Price 2 Shillings.*

The series of which the above forms one of the volumes deserves to be widely known. The volumes are nicely got up, small and handy, and the price ranges from one to two shillings. English literature is being enriched by such gleanings from all quarters of the globe, and one wonders when in the oriental languages similar collections will find a prominent place. The book under review deals with such subjects as the philosophy of pleasure, social intercourse, learning, meditation, health, speech, &c. Glancing through its pages we find that the ideas and sentiments, though not very deep, have been finely expressed in popular form, and are calculated to help the growth of the moral life. Books like the present bring philosophy, which is caviare to the general, within easy reach of the busy man of the world, and thus perform a very useful function. We welcome the series, and have no doubt that it will command an extensive sale.

POL.

"On the Relative Affinities for Cotton of the tannins of nutgalls, *devi-devi*, myrobalans, and sumach." By J. P. Srivastava, M. Sc. Tech. (Assistant Chemist, Govt. Technological Institute, Cawnpore.) Pp. 33. Crown Oct. Reprinted from the Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colorists, September 1912.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that the Indian is forcing himself ahead even in the realm of Chemical Research. A glance across the Year Book of the Indian Guild of Science and Technology would show the magnitude and importance of the work of Indian Chemists in this field. The little piece of research work noticed here was directed towards finding out the suitability of the several types of tannins for dyeing purposes.

The preliminary experiments in the first part show that temperature, time, and concentration of the bath as well as additions of various reagents play (as may be expected) a very important part in the amount of the absorption of the tannic acid by cotton. The experiments in the second part refer to the absorption of tannin by a definite quantity of cotton from samples of Tannic Acid Leviss., Galls, Sumach, and Myrobalans; these, however, being limited in number and range do not permit the author to make any generalisations about the affinity of these tannins for cotton. It would seem however from the table on p. 29 that the purer the sample of the tannin and the higher the temperature of the bath, the larger is the percentage of the tannin absorbed. The third part of the paper contains a description of the experiments to determine the fastness to washing and to light of the yarn dyed with the help of the different tannins. No definite general statement is made as to fastness to washing, beyond that "very striking results were obtained and these are best seen in the patterns." The maximum fastness to light seems to be given by basic colours fixed with Sumach.

One wishes that the experiments in part II and III were more thorough and numerous to be of any definite practical value.

P. G. S.

The Brotherhood of Religions, by Prof. T. L. Vaswani, M.A. Pp. 32. Price not known.

A well-written pamphlet.

The Church and Challenge, by Mr. Jamini Kanta Koer. Pp. 15. Price not known.

This essay was read at the All-India Thiestic Conference held at Bankipore in 1912.

The author speaks of "a new program and a new emphasis!"—of the "*Faith in the divinity of humanity, in national solidarity and international righteousness.*" The following sentence is very significant:—"Too long have we wallowed in the glorious past, too long have we loitered amidst the ruins of the old, too long have we waited on God's Grace!"

Italics ours.

The Second Annual Report of the Depressed Classes Mission Society, Madras. Pp. 14.

It is the report of the work done by the Depressed Classes Mission Society of Madras during the fourteen months ending 31st December 1911. During this period the Society maintained five schools with a total number of 169 pupils on the rolls. Of these 169, 119

pupils are *Pariahs* or *Panchamas*, 31 *Chucklers* or shoemakers and 15 Barbers. The schools are managed by seven teachers and the Society has also two whole-time workers. "The Society has now to incur an expense of Rs. 75 per mensem for the pay of the school teachers and allowance paid to whole-time workers, rent and other charges, and unless this amount could be raised by regular membership subscriptions, it will be difficult to carry on the work already undertaken, not to speak of extending the work by opening more schools in response to applications received from other localities and in training and securing the services of some more whole-time workers. Moreover with the exception of the Vyasa-pady School which is held in a temporary tiled shed built by the Committee, all the other schools are accommodated in rented buildings which is not at all a satisfactory arrangement and the society is anxious to construct decent school houses for them which in themselves would be attractive to these poor people. These and other demands on the Society's resources could be met only by the hearty co-operation of the public and it is earnestly hoped that such co-operation will be forthcoming."

All contributions will be received by Mr. H. Balakrishna Rao, B.A., B.L., 97 Anna Pillai Street, G. T. Madras.

MAHESH CH. GHOSH.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

Makuta-Bandha with an English translation, by T. N. Narasimha Chariar, *Sanskrit Pandit*, Presidency College, Madras. Pp. 38+38. Price not known.

The book is written partly in verse and partly in prose in the style of *Champu Kavyas* in Sanskrit, the subject being the coronation of the Emperor at the city of Delhi.

MAHESH CH. GHOSH.

BENGALI.

I. *Arab Jati Itihas (History of the Arabs): Vol. II.* by Shaikh Reajuddin Ahmed. *Brahmo Mission Press*, 211 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-12-0 Pp. 389.

We sincerely welcome this attempt to popularise Amir Ali's 'A short history of the Saracens' of which the book under review is a translation. The style is chaste and simple, and we congratulate the translator on the performance. The episode of the Saracens forms a glorious chapter in Mahomedan history, of which all oriental nations may well be proud. It is very desirable that the history of the Abbasside and Ommeyade Caliphs and the grand achievements of the Arab race in Bagdad, Cordova, Granada and Cairo should be widely known among the people of India. The present book will supply that want, so far as Bengal is concerned. We wish it every success.

II. *Sadhu Bhasa banam Chalita Bhasa (classical versus colloquial style): by Professor Lalit Kumar Banerjee.* 1319 B. S. Price annas two.

This is a reprint of a paper read in the Calcutta University Institute. In it the author gives a lucid and at times, humorous exposition of the relative claims of Sanskrit and common Bengali words, and incidentally dwells on the necessity of importing foreign words in the Bengali language. The conclu-

sion to which he arrives is one to which every reasonable man is sure to subscribe, viz, that a judicious admixture of both the classical and colloquial styles is necessary to make the language forceful and expressive, but that the degree of success which is likely to attend the attempt must depend on the individuality of the writer.

III. *Khukuranir Diary (The diary of my little girl): Binodini Devi.* Price annas twelve. Kuntaline Press, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

The handsome cover, the beautiful letterpress, and the excellent illustrations, arrest the eye, but the contents are as novel as the get up is attractive. The authoress gives herein an unvarnished account of the daily life of her little daughter—her work and play, her thoughts and ideas, her feelings and sentiments, passions and jealousies, in a word, the evolution of her mind. Judging from the photographs, the subject of the study seems to have been brought up in a luxurious Bengali household in the United Provinces, and the mother must have had ample leisure, besides ability and aptitude, to study the life of her child in the way she has done. Appropriately enough, Babu Abinash Chandra Bose, Secretary to the Calcutta Froebel Society, writes the foreword. The little book is a pioneer in the field of vernacular kindergarten literature, and we hope it will open the way to a better knowledge of the scientific method of child study now in vogue in the West.

POL.

GUJARATI.

Hind nun Rajya Bardharan, by Harlal Madhaoji Bhatt, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Bahareddin College, Junagadh. Printed at the Rajkot Printing Press, pp. 274. Thick Cardboard. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1913).

This book is the first fruit of the action contemplated by the third Gujarati Sahitya Parishad held at Rajkot. Prof. Bhatt's name is a sufficient guarantee of the work being accurate, interesting, and informative. There is no such book at present existing in Gujarati: it is an original production based on standard works in English and supplemented by the author's own views, on the Constitution of the present Government of India, as formulated and regularised by statistics. Each and every department of the Government of India, from the Council of the Secretary of State to the Sanitary and Medical Departments, has in a separate chapter received such popular treatment that it is a pleasure to peruse it. Statistics and figures are not neglected, but they are used so sparingly, although not inopportunately, that they never come in the way of the reader's enjoyment of the subject in hand, even to those persons, to whom the source of studying this matter in English is open. We would recommend the reading of this book, as the information collected from many authoritative sources is placed in a small compass and made available in one place, thus obviating the necessity and trouble of reference in numerous directions.

Bharat na Vir Purusho, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Gujarati Literature, and compiled by Bhikshu Akhandanand, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press. Cloth bound pp. 432. Price Re. 0-10-0 and 0-15-0 according to style of binding. (1913)

Bengali, Marathi and Hindi sources have been

utilised in this compilation, which is a collection of the lives of Indian Heroes. Rana Pratap, Maharaja Shivaji, Prithiraj, Rajasinha, and other well-known kings, ministers and generals,—forty-four in number—have their lives recorded here, by a loving hand, in simple language. It is the first part of what one might call an Indian Book of Golden Deeds. The preface is indeed thoughtfully written, and the suggestion made there, that the rising generation of boys should be fed on such tales of heroism instead of on the stories of wild birds and animals, is well worth consideration.

(1) *A life of the King Emperor and Queen Empress*, by Amrat Lal Sundarji Padhiar, published by the same Society. Pp. 114, cloth-bound, price Re. 0-4-0 (1913).

(2) *Chhotulal Pad bodhini*, published by Ditto. Pp. 103, cloth bound, price Re. 0-4-0 (1913).

(3) *Vairagya Bodh Kavya*, published by ditto. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 0-4-0. (1913).

(4) *Naval Katha Sangraha*, published by ditto. Pp. 120, Cloth-bound. Price Re. 0-4-0. (1911).

All these four publications are useful. The first is very attractively written in the author's usually happy style, which never fails to interest the reader. The second is a reprint of sacred poems of a Gujarati poet who died only three years ago, and who had acquired some reputation as one who wrote on the lines of the old Gujarati poets. The third is a reprint of a poem by Ratneshwar, a well-known pupil of Purnanand, one of the best classical poets of old Gujarat. The last is a translation of several short stories—Manoranjak Vartavali—in Marathi and the easy style of the translator furnishes entertaining reading, specially as the stories deal with the domestic side of a Hindu's life. In all these publications we have seen one objectionable feature: it is that of interspersing reading matter—the text of the book—with advertisements of other books. This greatly detracts from the merit of the book as the attention of the reader becomes otherwise occupied, and he misses either the point of the story or the point of the advertisement.

K. M. J.

NOTES

The political condition of Bombay in the latter end of the last century.

In the seventies and eighties of the last century no other province of India was so conspicuous for political activities as the Presidency of Bombay. The galaxy of brilliant men who then created and controlled public opinion in that presidency had not many equals in other parts of this vast country. The Parsis, Marathas, Guzeratis and even Sindhis, all joined hands together for the political welfare of their common mother-land. It was this state of affairs which made Major Evans Bell write:—

"Western India is more decided and more ready than Bengal to appropriate Liberal principles and methods, and much more likely to initiate a serious and well-organised movement against inequalities of race. There are geographical and, above all, historical conditions that place the centre of political thought and action nearer to the cities of Bombay and Poona than to Calcutta or any place in the north of India.

"The last chapters of self-development and self-dependence in India belong to the Western region. The Mahratta Confederation emancipated the Hindus and extinguished Mussulman domination, destroyed the Mogul Empire, and set up religious and social tolerance. Even the battle of Paniput was a triumph and a glory for the Mahrattas. They fought in the

cause of "India for the Indians," while the Great Mohammedan Princes of Delhi, of Oude and the Deccan stood aside, intriguing and trimming. And though the Mahrattas were defeated, the victorious Afghans retired, and never again interfered in the affairs of India. The Mahrattas did more,—they lifted the cold shade of aristocracy and caste from the ranks of the people. They opened a career to talent, irrespective of birth and creed. High commands, the first places in council, great estates, even sovereignties, fell to men of humble origin. Moslems were welcomed to comradeship on equal terms. Brahmins were preferred for their capacity, not merely for their caste, and had to prove their capacity, in defiance of tradition and scripture, by leading armies to the field. Mahratta campaigns and conquests brought the more distant parts of the continent closer together, and made their tribes and their languages mutually known.

"From the very fact of its comparative prosperity under the Permanent Settlement, and the large influence of its wealthy landlords, political activity in Bengal, especially in Calcutta, has hitherto been chiefly concentrated on its local affairs and interests. General criticism of British rule, on an extended field, and from Imperial points of view, has occupied far more attention in Western India. In Poona, the capital of the Peishwas, and in Bombay, the great centre of commerce and finance for the Deccan, Guzerat, Malwa, and the Central States, the interrupted work of the Mahratta Confederation is carried on by men like Dadabhai Naoroji and his disciples. In the proceedings of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, and of the several Associations in Bombay, Indians are called to united and concerted action in politics, and

strictures are constantly published in general agreement with those of General Briggs' work on the Land Tax, * * proving to a demonstration the inordinately expensive and exhaustive nature of British administration. Nor is the more delicate question of its exclusive and scornful character kept quite out of sight." *Memoir of General John Briggs, by Major Evans Bell, London, Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1885. Pp: 274-276.*

It was in the fitness of things that the Indian National Congress saw the light of the day in that presidency.

Bombay evidence before the Public Service Commission of 1886-87.

Under these circumstances, the evidence of witnesses from the Bombay Presidency who appeared before the Public Service Commission of 1886-87 was more thorough than that tendered in other provinces of India. Even the Anglo-Indians of Bombay of those days were not so hostile to the aspirations of young India as they are now. Extracts from the evidence of a few representative Bombayites of those days show how they understood the necessity of the wider employment of their countrymen in the higher posts of trust and responsibility. Most of the witnesses were opposed to the Statutory Civil Service. The most notable instance of a witness favoring it was Mirza Abbas Ali Beg, C.S.I., at present one of the members of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India's council—but at that time holding the post of Karbhari of the Janjira State. According to him, the Mahomedans approved of the Statutory Civil Service on the following grounds:—

(a) "That it safeguards the interests of all sections of the community by checking the undue preponderance of any one caste in the public service.

(b) That aptitude to pass a competitive examination is not necessarily an exhaustive test of fitness for the public service.

(c) That some of those sections of the Indian community who have developed a peculiar aptitude for passing examinations have not, to any considerable extent, given proofs of such high qualities as breadth and liberality of view, force and firmness of character, freedom from caste prejudices and social restraints, moral and physical courage, etc., which are requisite in filling with efficiency and impartiality high administrative posts.

(d) That if the discretion of Government be fairly exercised, the existing system provides for the selection of the fittest persons of all nationalities.

(e) That experience would lead the Mahomedans to view with distrust and alarm any scheme of recruitment for the covenanted civil service calculated to give unfair advantages to any particular sections of the

community, so long as conflicting interests and caste prejudices continue to exist in India, and that in the interest of equal justice to all races and creeds it is desirable and politic to impose adequate checks on the monopoly of the Civil administration of the country by any one section of British subjects."

Sir M. Bhownagree's evidence.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree had not then entered Parliament in the Conservative interest or even been knighted. As a protegee of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, his political views were identical with those of the grand old man of India and his evidence before the Commission strongly supported the claims of the educated Indians to high posts in the service of the country. He said:—

"It is felt that the limit of age up to which the candidates are allowed to go in for the competition is much too low. * * I can speak from experience and say that in some cases while they are going through their probational course they fail to realise to what important sphere they have been admitted, * *. Another reason for which dissatisfaction is felt with the existing system of recruitment is that the fresh Civilian from England is absolutely given no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the character, modes of thought, and the customs of the people over whom he has to rule and among whom he has to live all through his active life. From the first day of his putting foot on Indian soil, he enjoys an isolation which is ill-calculated to make up for this want of knowledge of the people, and it is not until he has finished half his service, and in some cases not even then, that he learns enough of their feelings and thoughts to establish a healthy understanding between his own views and theirs. They do not understand one another for many years, and it is to this circumstance could be often traced the unpopularity of many officers and the discontent of people in many cases."

The question was pointedly put to him by Mr. Crosthwaite:—

"Do you think an open competition would lead to the preponderance of certain classes in the Service?"

In reply he said:—

"Possibly, in the present state of education in the country; but I am clearly not opposed to such a preponderance, because I think that those who have not taken advantage of the educational facilities offered them have only themselves to thank for their exclusion. There is absolutely no reason why a system which is suited to one class of Indians is not suited to other classes; and to my mind the objections taken to the system of education, as reasons for not taking advantage of it, are certainly frivolous."

This answer did not satisfy Mr. Crosthwaite. He held up before the witness the bogie of a Bengali ruling in the Panjab. He asked him:—

"Have you looked at the matter from the provincial

point of view, and considered whether it would be wise to place Bengalis or Madrasis in charge of Punjab districts, for instance?"

Mr. Mancherjee's reply so much non-plussed Mr. Crosthwaite, that the latter had no more courage to put any more questions to him. The witness said:—

"Certainly, and, more, it will have a very salutary effect on India by awakening all classes, to the benefits of education and disabusing their minds of the idea that the Government is prepared to accord them certain privileges to which they have no fair claim."

So Mr. Crosthwaite did not succeed in arousing in the breast of Mr. Mancherjee feelings of interprovincial jealousy against Bengalis and Madrasis.

The late Mr. Telang's evidence.

The late Honble K. T. Telang was an important witness before the Commission. He was very searchingly examined by Mr. Crosthwaite. He was in favour of Simultaneous examinations. So Mr. Crosthwaite put him the question:—

"3541. In 1854 Lord Macaulay's Committee were of opinion that the best, the most liberal, and the most finished education to be procured in England was a necessary qualification for admission to the Civil Service. Do Indian Schools and Colleges at present supply an education of so high a standard?"

In answer, Mr. Telang said:—

"I do not think that Indian Schools and Colleges can at present supply the best, the most liberal, and the most finished education to be procured in England. But is such an education now insisted on as a necessary qualification for admission to the Civil Service? It seems to me impossible to say that it is, having regard to the class of persons whom the competition in England is now sending out to India. And we have only got to read the recent Blue-books on the 'age question', and especially the opinion of Professor Jowett therein stated, to see that at all events under the operation of the last change of rules, now especially objected to, and, I would add, even of the previous changes in the limit fixed by Lord Macaulay's Committee, such an education as is referred to in the question has not been 'a necessary qualification for admission to the Civil Service,' and has in fact not been acquired by many of those who have entered that Service."

Then he was asked:—

"3542. Do you consider that Indian Schools at present develop the force of character and other qualities required for English administration?"

Mr. Telang's answer was:—

"Yes, I do. There are two or three instances of a remarkable character within my own knowledge of such qualities being displayed when the occasion arose."

In reply to the question if there were

"any objections on political or administrative grounds to open competition in India," Mr. Telang said:—

As regards administrative objections, I can see none except this, which I have heard made, that the people of certain provinces would not like to be governed by people of certain other provinces, and such a result may arise under the operation of the competitive system. I have not seen any evidence to satisfy me that this objection comes really from the people supposed to harbour the feeling here indicated. The objection itself, and others of a kindred nature, when they have come to my notice, have emanated frequently from men who believe in the old principle of 'Divide and rule.' I am not, therefore, inclined, on the information available to me, to attach much weight to this objection. The Bengalis are supposed to be despised by people of other Provinces than their own. But we have not had many officers in Western India who have obtained the genuine friendship of the people amongst whom they have lived and worked in a greater degree than Mr. Satyendranath Tagore. When many years ago, he was supposed to have incurred the displeasure of the Government of the day in the discharge of his duty, great sympathy was felt and publicly expressed for him in all quarters. I grant at once that it will be an evil, both political and administrative, if in any Province the people of it come to be excluded; or practically excluded from its administration. But it appears to me, that the true remedy for this result, in so far as an open Competition in India tends to produce it, is to be looked for, not in withholding that measure of general justice, but in removing any extraneous obstacles or disadvantages which may render its operation in special instances undesirable or productive of evil. * * If this is done, the evil is minimised by being confined within narrow limits of time; while on the other hand the operation of the general rule will tend to weld together the various Provinces of the Empire—an advantage, in my judgment, alike to the rulers and the ruled."

The evidence of Professor Naegamwala.

The evidence of Professor Kavaji Dadabhai Naegamwala of the College of Science, Poona, was also very important. He said:—

"I think it will not be difficult to understand and to appreciate the dissatisfaction which is felt with the existing system of recruitment for the Covenanted Civil Service. * * The Indian lad commences his English alphabet at an age when the English boy begins to conjugate his first set of Latin nouns. The Indian is thus practically put behind his English competitor by some eight years in the acquisition and use of the most essential weapon of offence and defence at the Competition, and at the same time his chances of acquiring a sufficient knowledge of an extra language, viz., Latin, by the age of nineteen are greatly reduced. At the Competition, therefore, with the maximum age at nineteen, the native youth is so severely handicapped by the necessary conditions of the examination that it is a marvel if he succeeds. * * *

"To make the programme one of equal difficulty both for English and Indian candidates it will be fur-

ther necessary to raise the total number of marks in Sanskrit and Arabic to that assigned for Latin and Greek. In making this recommendation I think it necessary to refer to the objections which have been taken to it as infringing the principle of competition.

"It will, I think, be sufficient to state that the opinion expressed by the Earl of Kimberley is against the weight of authority of some of the most learned Oriental *savants* in Europe, who hold that the study of Sanskrit and Arabic as instruments of mental training and culture is in no way inferior to that of either Latin or Greek, and this has lately met with a practical recognition from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London. But Lord Kimberley has also remarked :—

"For mathematics several Native races have great capacity, and if Arabic and Sanskrit have given to them the marks now allotted to Greek and Latin, the Examination would be very favorable to Natives of India."

"If the noble ex-Secretary of State means by this that some of the races of India have a greater aptitude and capacity for mathematics than the English, and that an equalisation of marks in the Oriental and European classics would put them on a more favorable basis than Englishmen, I for one would most humbly beg leave to express my dissent from such an opinion."

The late Mr. A. T. Crawford's evidence.

The notorious Civilian bribe-taker, the late Mr. A. T. Crawford, was also a witness before the Commission. He was after all sympathetic towards the people of this country. He advocated the raising of age for the Indian Civil Service candidates. He said :—

"As to age, I believe it is to the interest of the administration and to English and Native youths alike that the minimum and maximum ages should be raised to from twenty to twenty-three, so that successful competitors may complete their education at Oxford or Cambridge. I attach the greatest importance to this.* * The Civil Service Examination is so severe that the preparation commonly breaks down even the strong English lads competing at the present reduced age and the reduction for oft-stated reasons is felt as a real grievance by Native parents. I myself have sent three sons to compete and speak with some experience.

"As to subjects the Indian classics, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, should, I think, as do most Natives, rank as high as Latin and Greek."

Mr. Justice Jardine's evidence.

The "dynamic force of the gate-keepers of India" was not recognised by the civilians of the eighties as it is now for reasons of political expediency. The Hon'ble J. Jardine, C. S., Judge, High Court, Bombay said :—

"There is a cry that the Hindus are ousting the Mussalmans from employment; but under the Government of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao, I believe the service was generally Hindu. In a report of Captain

Pottinger, Collector of Ahmednagar, dated 1822, I find it stated, that when that Prince came to Nasik the Mussalmans had to keep in their own quarter; even the Kazi shut himself up with his family. In other parts of India the opposite conditions seem to have existed in 1852, the year in which an Act was passed to allow Un-covenanted Deputy Collectors to be employed in the presidency of Bombay. In Chapter 7, page 291, of 'Modern India,' Sir G. Campbell writes :—

"There are many highly respectable Mahomedan families whose only profession is service, and who are very willing to serve us; and as they are the most educated Natives, and the most gentlemanly and well-mannered according to our ideas, they have in the first instance been most frequently employed. But, on the other hand, there is a very rising class of Hindus, principally of the writer and mercantile classes, who have sprung from the lowest grades in our offices, have acquired great official talent and skill, have no reminiscences of former greatness, and are exclusively devoted to our service. They are not such respectable, gentlemanly looking men as the Mahomedans, but are in fact very often the best men of business, when there is serious hard work to be done; and if they conduct themselves well in their prosperity, they may in the end have the best of it."

A "Jungly Saheb's" evidence.

There was one *Jungly Saheb*, that is, a Forest officer, a man of hardly much education, who wanted to exclude the natives of this country from all posts of honor, trust and responsibility. The president, Sir Charles Aitchison, asked him :—

"I suppose you know, that your scheme of excluding Natives from the Public Service could not be carried out without repealing the Act of 1853."

In answer he said :—"I am aware of that." Then he was asked :—

"Do you think any Government of the present day would propose to repeal that Act? Would Parliament agree?"

His reply was :—

"No; that is why I say the existing arrangements should continue. That arrangement satisfies the provisions of the law."

Enough has been said to show the important evidence of a few of the Bombay witnesses. Space does not permit us to give extracts from the evidence of Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mancherji Pestonji Khareghat, Vaman Abaji Modak and several others who advanced strong reasons for the wider employment of Indians to the public service of their country.

Rabindra Nath Tagore on Race Conflict.

The following extract from a letter of the poet to the Rev. C. F. Andrews throws

rather light on the remarkable paper on "Race Conflict" which was printed in the pril number of the *Modern Review*.

"...I think this is the greatest of all problems we have been asked to solve, and the time has come when every one of us should devote our best energies towards its solution. Different races and nations on the earth have come nearer to each other than ever they did before, but we have not yet been ready to accept the responsibilities of this wider humanity; men are still under the thralldom of the spirit of antagonism which has been associated with a narrow sentiment of nationality. But when difficulties are the hardest then comes the time for the best power of man to rouse itself up and come to our help. And I feel that time has come, and after all kinds of patchwork of superficial experiments the spiritual nature of man is getting ready to take up the task and to open the path of reconciliation of all differences of races and creeds. This is the one problem of this age, and we must go through the martyrdom of sufferings and humiliations till the victory of God in man is achieved. As you say, our best hope lies in education, and we must unite our efforts in helping the young minds to reach the highest truth which leads to the harmony of love."

Rabindranath Tagore.

At the close of Rev. C. F. Andrews' lecture at Simla on Rabindranath Tagore, which we publish *in extenso*, the Viceroy spoke of him as the poet laureate of Asia.

At a lecture in Dublin delivered in March last, Mr. W. B. Yeats, the poet of the Celtic Revival, said: "Tagore was not only a great poet—if not the greatest poet at the present time in the world—but he was a great saint, and his religious lyrics were known and sung all over Bengal."

Mr. Under-Secretary Montagu has said that Rabindranath is doing incalculable good to India by teaching beauty, love, religion and patriotism.

Every newspaper and review in England of any note has published an appreciation of "Gitanjali." To collect and publish them all would require a volume. Reviewing in the *Hibbert Journal* the English translation of the *Gitanjali* of Rabindranath, Mr. T. W. Rolleston remarks:

Few works of poetry published in English during recent years have made so deep an impression on the minds of thoughtful readers as this collection of translations from the Bengali, made by the author from his own published writings.

It would not be surprising if this book becomes a kind of landmark in our literature, because it is one of the first and finest expressions of pure religious fervour which has not needed for its passion and its inspiration the attachment to some intermediate object, some

physical incarnation of deity, some human or semi-human personality, some definite historical or national channel of access to the divine. It shows us that these avenues lie everywhere. After this book it can never again be said that a religion has need of superstitions to keep it from being bloodless and coldly intellectual.

Mr. Earnest Rhys commenting on these songs says in the *Nineteenth Century and After*:—

Their imagination and melody, touched with human feeling and spiritually fired, are of a quality unlike anything we have had in this or the last generation. Indeed one is tempted to go further and to say they are among the few really important things that have happened in poetry within the over-lapping terms of the two centuries, the nineteenth and the twentieth; while the message they bear to the Western world amounts to a spiritual revelation.

The Daily Express calls *Gitanjali* a 'book of supreme beauty, a rare and a wondrous thing.'

The Observer quotes the following, saying, "we cannot deny ourselves the delight of quoting the finest patriot song that we can ever remember to have read":—

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms to perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost the way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

The Globe says:

This is the real thing. Of course, in the translation, even though done by the author himself, we lose almost all the rhythm and the delicate allusiveness which those who can read them in the original assure us mark out these "Song Offerings" as attaining the highest literary workmanship yet known in India, but much remains. It is the thought rather than the vehicle in which it is conveyed that stamps the work of Mr. Tagore as something altogether out of the common, something which has upon it the imprint of the gods. Here is a Saint who is not afraid to live, a Saint who dares to mingle with common things of the world, fearing no defilement from their touch, and a poet, the very closeness of whose contact with Earth lifts him ever nearer to Heaven. Within this man's grasp are the Eternal Verities, the Everlasting Yea, and the grasp is never relaxed. He makes the most of what we strive for seem so small, and yet he makes life itself seem so large. He has the outlook of the great Saints of the Middle Ages, of Thomas a Kempis and of Francis of Assisi and withal that

tender love of Nature in herself which is the gift of the Renaissance.

"*Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*" writes:—

It may be that alien hands will uncover the new treasure, that in this twentieth century welter of nations the beauty of the English language must be re-discovered by some Russian immigrant or some traveler from Turkestan. Today it is not a poet of Anglo-Saxon race but a Hindoo with divinatory power in English, who has the keenest vision of the new beauty, and the richest modern message, not only for the millions who speak his mother tongue but also for those far-scattered millions who carry Shakespeare's mother-tongue over the world. If the great achievement of the twentieth century is to be its making friends of East and West, it may be that the one most important episode of England's rule over India will be the teaching of her language to Rabindranath Tagore.

It may be premature to express an opinion founded largely upon still unpublished translations from the Bengali. But this Hindoo shows us how provincial we are; England and America are little recently annexed corners of the ancient earth, and their poets should peer out over sea-walls and race-walls and pride-walls, and learn their own littleness and the bigness of the world.

India and Ireland.

In the course of the lecture on Rabindranath Tagore, referred to above, Mr. W. B. Yeats said:—

There was a curious resemblance between the condition of India to-day and the condition of Ireland, and he thought the movement in India, controlled by its intellectual spirits, should point a moral for Ireland. Beautiful native crafts had given way to English, and the language to a great extent had been destroyed. In India, as in Ireland, English was more the vehicle of teaching in the schools, with strange results upon the boys. There was a great political struggle going on in India, as there had been in Ireland. This movement had its good and its bad sides. Mr. Yeats having referred to the work of the Gaelic League methods, said that they should endeavour to make Irishmen give expression to their own opinions without thinking of ulterior objects. That was what the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore was doing amongst the people of India. The leading motives of Tagore's poetry and the manner in which he turned away from politics was something of the same impulse which actuated the Gaelic League and their work in the Abbey Theatre. He found that when they were attempting to speak high things, and sincere things, and at the same time carry on a political life, sooner or later they gave up the sincere things and high things and they spoke expedient things. At the same time, he was not condemning politics, which had been necessary to Ireland, as well as to India. (Hear, hear).

China's Future: the Optimism of Sun Yat-Sen.

Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, — the well-known Chinese leader, has communicated an interest-

ing forecast of the future of his country to the *New York Outlook*. He says:—

The general state of affairs in China to-day is much better than under the old regime; the country is more united than formerly. Under the old regime China was always in disorder; now communication is better between the different parts of the country and between China and other countries, and this has resulted, greatly unifying our country. Now if there is fighting in one part of the country, it is known all over China; the whole country knows what is going on.

INCREASE OF NEWSPAPERS.

Since the Revolution there have sprung up something like 1,000 daily newspapers, as against 40 or 50 previously, and some years ago there were even fewer, and those only in seaport towns. The telegraph system is spread over a much greater territory, and news is carried all over the country to every village as blood is carried to the parts of the body.

That there is a greater unity in China is proved by the strength of the anti-opium movement, a movement which could not have been carried on to anywhere near the present extent of co-operation and effectiveness in former days. The Chinese all seem to respond to the general national movements of the country.

EDUCATION AND PROGRESS.

The Chinese are very eager to get an education, and every child that has any chance at all to go to school does so. There is no need for compulsory education. The progress of education is very rapid, and we are now considering and planning a public school system for the country. The prospects of Christianity are much better now than under the old order. There are a good many Christian men in the Government.

The Chinese people to-day are prospering financially; they understand agriculture better, and are introducing new means of development of industry. There is a greater freedom for development than before. During the past two years the wealth of the people has increased, though the Government itself is poor.

I would say that political progress in China is going on as rapidly as is wise. I think that China will become a great nation through the development of her people under popular institutions. We expect to remain peaceful unless forced to war by the Powers. The Yellow Peril is created by the Western nations; and there will be no Yellow Peril unless the West creates it. We do not believe in the partition of China.

RELATION WITH JAPAN.

I am working for friendly relations between Japan and China. It is fortunate that many Japanese realise that the true Japanese policy is one of friendship with China. It is best for both countries as well as for the world in general. China wishes to be left alone to develop herself.

In regard to the recognition of China by the other nations, I would say that it can come only when all the Powers agree. The cause of the delay in recognition is due to the unwillingness of some of the Powers to recognise the new Government. The reason for this is that some of the Powers wish to take the opportunity to seize more territory, like Russia, who has recognised Mongolia instead of China. She wishes to persuade the other Powers to recognise Mon-

fore China. As long as China is not recognised, no Power can say anything about Mongolia, and the aggressive Powers are now free to do anything they like in China, and are aiming at the partition of the country. When the Powers agree among themselves to recognise China, they will do so together; but at the same time some of them are doing their best to delay such recognition. England seems to be looking to the element of the status of Tibet. France will follow the lead of Russia; Germany is favourable to recognition, I think, and will act with the United States and Japan.

I do not expect that the popular movement will have any serious set-back; I expect it to make rapid progress towards a complete reorganisation of the arts of China.

The Napoleonic ideal of Education.

The following extract affords materials for a comparison between the Napoleonic ideal of education and the education which has been given under official control in India:—

Having undertaken the task of policing the state did not shrink from the duty of fashioning the mind.....In every *lycée* [school] there is the same programme of studies, the same hours, the same books in the library, the same military discipline. 'There will never,' said Napoleon, 'be a changed political state of things in this country until we have a body of teachers instructed on established principles. So long as the people are not taught from their earliest years whether they ought to be republicans or royalists, Christians or infidels, the state cannot properly be called a nation.' The political and moral sciences were the alcohol which went to the brains of rhetoricians and journalists, the cause of disorder and inconvenient curiosity. History, too, unless properly written under Government direction, was a dangerous instrument of education. Mathematics, on the other hand, were safe and useful, medicine indispensable; the physical sciences.....The University of France created [by Napoleon] on March 17, 1808.....was to create and administer the public, and to authorize and supervise the private schools. The programme of university studies being designed to train citizens of a particular type, was much a matter of state concern as the sanitation of the barracks or the inspection of ammunition and gun mountings. But this educational control was limited to the needs of the upper classes. The whole field of primary education was still left to voluntary effort, for 'as a sound instinct of despotism to neglect the education of the masses.'—*Bonapartism* by Professor A. L. Fisher, Lecture II, pages 35-36.

A Hindu Citizen of the U. S. A.

In the British colonies Indians are denied entrance except as indentured laborers. But a Hindu young man named Akshay Kumar Mazumdar has been allowed to become a naturalized citizen of the United States of America appears like a streak of light in the darkness. But even this little will not give unalloyed pleasure to

friends of humanity. For this young Hindu has been naturalised as a "white" man, because the Hindus claim to be Aryans; the implication being that "coloured" and non-Aryan people are not fit to be citizens of the United States.

California and the Japanese.

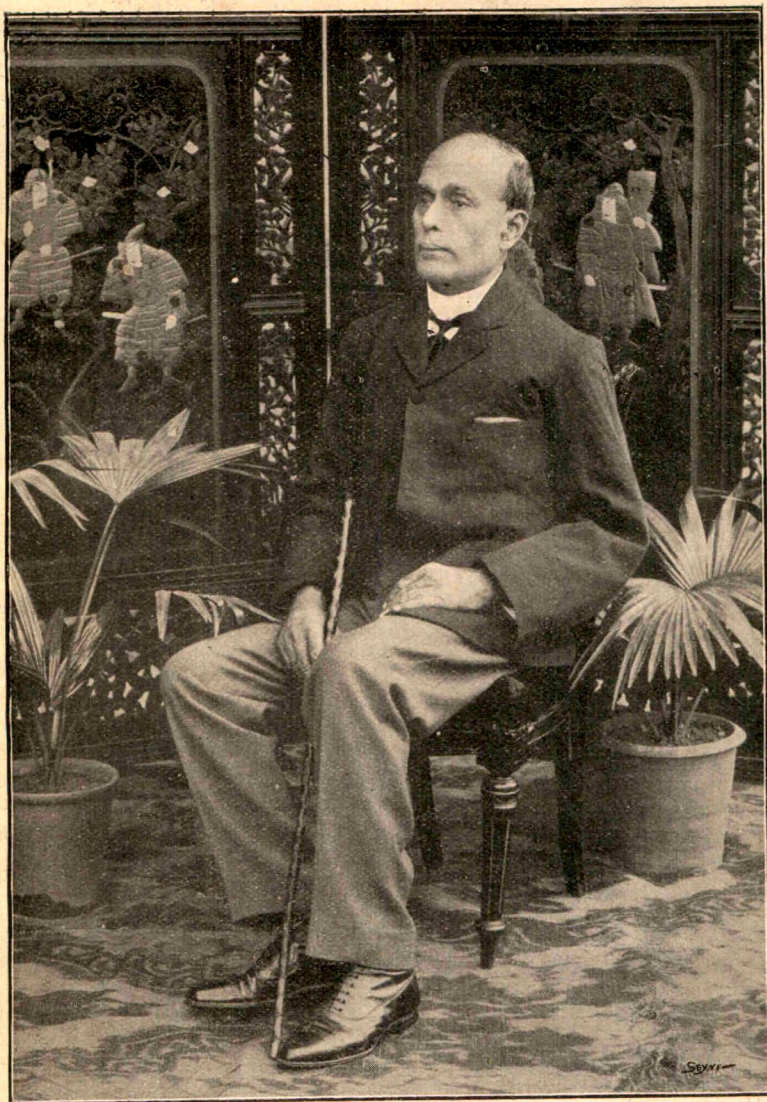
It is this prejudiced view which lies at the bottom of the anti-alien legislation in California, where the Japanese settlers number 60,000. *The Tribune* states on the authority of the *Japan Times* that in the whole of the United States there are only 95,000 Japanese, so that nearly 60 per cent. of them are in California, whose agriculture owes everything to Japanese labour and enterprise. As many as 13,000 Japanese have died during the last ten years owing to excessive heat and fevers in the grape-growing tracts. The grape-gathering can not be done by the whites as they have to work under the scorching sun at a temperature of 140 degrees Fahrenheit. The Japanese have risked their lives in developing the grape industry and to-day the law says that they can not own lands if they are aliens. In spite of the fact that the Japanese in California have been steadily decreasing in number since 1909, the area of the farms under Japanese cultivation has been increasing. At present the total area they have in the U. S. A. is 325,462 acres, of which over three-fourths are in California.

As Japan is a powerful country and as the Californian Act has greatly exasperated Japan the President of the United States is anxious that the Act should not become law.

There cannot be mutual love between nations unless there is mutual respect. As things go, people do not respect one whom they may not have occasion to fear. "White" men, therefore, will not agree to recognise "coloured" persons as full human beings until there are several "coloured" nations fully their equals in the arts of peace and war. And when that time comes, as come it must, "coloured" nations will not care a straw for the recognition of white nations;—they will be self-recognised.

Indians in South Africa.

That where a weaker party is concerned politicians and statesmen may tell lies and



From the] THE LATE MR. J. GHOSHAL. [Bharati.

break their promises, is once more illustrated by the conduct of the ministry in power in South Africa. They are not likely to abolish the £ 3 poll tax in Natal and their New South African Bill does not at all give any relief to Indians in South Africa in the directions informally agreed upon between Mr. Smuts and Mr. Gokhale.

The remedy lies in the Government of India becoming strong and showing their strength effectively.

The Late Mr. J. Ghoshal.

It was only at the last session of the Indian National Congress that the familiar

figure of Mr. J. Ghoshal was not seen; he had attended every previous session. He was thoroughly acquainted with the manner in which the Congress had to be run, and with the details of its organisation and procedure. His services were at the disposal of the Reception Committee every place where the Congress was held.

Early in life under the influence of Babu Tanu Lahiri, the Tea he had shown great courage and firmness in the cause of social reform. He was an enthusiastic advocate of the education and emancipation of women. That Srima Swarna Kumari Debi, editor of the *Bharati* and the gifted authoress of many Bengali novels and other works, is known in and outside Bengal for her literary powers, is not little due to the education which her husband Mr. J. Ghoshal helped to give her in youth. Both his daughters are well-known. Srimati Hiranmayi Debi conducts with zeal and ability the Mahila Shilpa Asram for giving technical education to widow

Srimati Sarala Debi has now made the Punjab her home by marriage. In Bengal she is known not only for her literary and musical gifts, not only for her patriotism but as the cause of patriotism in others.

The late Mr. D. L. Roy.

In the late Mr. D. L. Roy Bengal has lost one of her foremost authors and patriots. In recent years no song has roused the patriotic fervour of Bengal more than Mr. Roy's "Amar Desh." There are other patriotic songs of his which, too, are sung whenever Bengali is spoken. Many of his com-



THE LATE MR. D. L. ROY.

songs, which are the best of their kind in Bengali, have a serious patriotic motive. He excelled also in lyric poetry. Latterly he had devoted himself almost entirely to the production of plays, in which he attained far greater success than any of his contemporaries who wrote for the stage.

Bengal's sorrow is all the keener as Mr. Roy's death is premature;—he was not probably more than 50 at the time of his decease.

"Free the schoolmaster."

The Review of Reviews says:—

The nation's real progress is bound up in Education, and an immediate duty is to secure an entire reversal of our educational policy. Why in the name of reason should the vital concerns of education be trammelled by the veto of the Church? With our Universities paralysed by the "classic" tradition, our public schools directed by the Establishment, and our elementary schools the battle-ground of warring sects, it is impossible to make headway. In how many schools is the teacher permitted any liberty to train the intelligence of the scholar? How is it possible to secure clear-thinking citizens when no attempt is made to teach our youth the basis of commercial life or the powers and duties of citizenship in a modern state?

A start has been made by teaching girls the economics of the kitchen, but the youth is crammed with a mass of immaterial information which is of questionable use when he is faced with the battle of life. The late Arnold Forster made an excellent beginning with "The Citizen Reader," but the plan must be applied to all departments of learning until the pedant has been excluded from every school.

If in England schools require to be freed from subjection to the Church, here they require to be set free from the excessive control of officialdom. Without freedom, there can be no true education.

Indian Engineering students in Great Britain.

There are nearly a hundred and twenty Indian engineering students in Great Britain. They have certain grievances in the matter of practical training, which they have brought to the notice of Lord Crewe in the form of a memorial. The position of Indian students belonging to the Scottish Universities—and they are about seventy in number—is even worse than that of their confreres in the English Universities, for, in the former the engineering departments are closed for six months to enable the students to gain practical experience in firms and workshops, so that the theoretical training at the colleges may go side by side with practical training, and should the students be unable to obtain admittance into firms and workshops by reason of their poverty or otherwise, they are forced to live in idleness, and of course forego the advantage of practical training. The Indian students suggest that, following the Japanese example in this respect, a rule must be made that every engineering firm having contracts with the Indian Government should take a number of Indians as apprentice engineers so that facilities may be provided for their undergoing practical training. The suggestion is quite reasonable. "Indeed, it is the declared policy of the Government to connect its own educational institutions in this country with business firms, railways, etc., and all that the Memorialists seek is an extension of this principle to students undergoing instruction in British educational institutions. The Memorialists also urge that the large employment of Indians in the Imperial Public Works Department should be provided for. In 1909, the

Secretary of State ruled that 10 per cent. of these appointments should be given to Indians. The immediate effect of the promulgation of the rule was to increase the number of students in England four-fold, accentuating both the difficulties arising out of the absence of facilities for practical training and the inadequacy of the number of appointments open to Indians in the P. W. D."

The Medical Services.

The suggestions made by the Independent Medical Profession of Calcutta for the reform of the medical services in India are very important. They are as follows:—

I. The members of the Indian Medical Service should be reserved only for the Indian Army. Their employment in the Civil Department should be absolutely discontinued and the Service to be organized on the same lines as the Royal Army Medical Corps. There should be nothing however to prevent well qualified I. M. S. officers to compete for the Civil appointments. But they must resign their Commission on entering the Civil department.

II. The Civil Medical Department is to be divided into the following branches. 1. Medical Education, 2. Research, 3. Medical relief, 4. Sanitation, 5. Jail Department, 6. Medical administration.

I. Medical Education (a) Professors in the Medical College are to be recruited by public advertisement in India and Great Britain; salary to be fixed at Rs. 1,000 to 1,500; term of appointment 10 years but renewable. Professors of professional subjects should be allowed consultation practice only. Non-practising professors should have a higher scale of pay than the practising professors. (b) Assistant Professors to be recruited similarly by public advertisement in India and Great Britain; salary Rs. 500 to 1,000 and the conditions of practice the same as the full Professors. (c) Demonstrators to be recruited by public advertisement. Salary Rs. 300 to 500 and term 5 to 10 years. Conditions regarding private practice similar to Professors and Assistant Professors.

(d) Superintendents of Vernacular Medical Schools should be one of the teaching staff with knowledge of Vernacular of the Province. To be recruited by public advertisement in India and Great Britain, salary Rs. 1,000 to 1,500. No private practice of any kind should be allowed. (e) Teachers of Medical Schools:—Should be recruited by public advertisement in India and Great Britain, salary to be Rs. 250 to 500. They should have thorough knowledge of the vernacular of the province. Private practice being allowed to those holding clinical appointments. (f) Demonstrators of Medical Schools should be recruited from the graduates of Indian Universities; salary Rs. 150 to 250. No practice allowed.

2. Research and other special appointments such as Bacteriologist, Superintendents of Lunatic Asylums, Superintendents of X. Ray Department etc. should be recruited by public advertisement in India and

Great Britain. Salary 1,000 to 1,500. No practice allowed.

3. Medical relief:—(a) District Medical officers (at present styled Civil Surgeons) to be recruited by public advertisement in India and Great Britain, selection to rest with the Local Bodies as is at present followed in the case of District Engineer. Salary Rs. 350 to 750. Private practice allowed. Sub-Divisional Medical Officers, District and other Junior Officers (at present styled Asst. Surgeons) should be recruited by public advertisement. Salary Rs. 150 to 250. Private practice allowed.

4. Sanitation:—(a) Sanitary Commissioner: Salary Rs. 1000 to 1500. (b) Deputy Sanitary Commissioners: Salary Rs. 500 to 1000. (c) District Health Officers:—Salary Rs. 300 to 500.

All these appointments to be recruited by public advertisement in India and Great Britain and men with a special qualification and training being appointed. In case of District Health Officers, the selection to rest with Local Bodies.

5. Jail department:—

The District and Sub-divisional Medical Officers should be in charge of local jails for an extra allowance. Superintendents of Central jails should be recruited by advertisement on Rs. 500 to 1000; term 10 years. Inspector General of Prisons should be appointed for 10 years on Rs. 1000 to 1500.

6. Medical Administration:—

The Medical Administration of the Province to be vested in an officer of experience helped by an advisory Committee consisting of both official and non-official members. The selection of professorial and other special appointments should be done by the Advisory Committee and the Administrative Officer who may be styled Director of Medical Administration. This appointment should be recruited by public advertisement in India and Great Britain. Salary 1500 to 2000.

The above scheme, it is hoped, will be both economical and efficient. It will improve the medical education of the country, turn out better and more efficient medical practitioners, encourage research work and will raise the status of the profession in general. The special features of the above scheme are that there will be no continuity of service and no cadre, there will be no permanent tenure of appointments, so that whenever found necessary experienced young men may be employed, which will infuse fresh blood in the system. The medical profession has this peculiarity that it allows a large number of private practitioners consequently there will be no difficulty in filling vacancies either temporary or permanent.

In conclusion, it is suggested that to give great facilities to Indians to enter the Indian Medical Service, examinations should be held simultaneously in India and in England.

Mr. Bryce on the faults and virtues of nations.

Mr. James Bryce in his address as president of the Congress of Historical Studies expressed the opinion that "as historians they knew that every great people had had its characteristic merits along with its characteristic faults. None was specially

meless, each had rendered its special services to humanity at large. They had the best reason for knowing how great was the debt each one owed to the other, how essential not only to the material development of each, but also to its intellectual and spiritual advance, was the greatness of the welfare of the others and the comradely friendship of all." If this reasonable view of the merits and faults of the peoples of the earth were accepted by those who are engaged in the making of peace and war in the world, the cause of peace and civilisation would make very rapid progress indeed.

The Horrors Perpetrated by the Balkan Allies.

The Comrade says that the Balkan War had long ceased to be even nominally a war of liberation.

For in Albania and Thrace the majority of the population was not Christian, but Moslem; while even in Macedonia, where the Moslem element is two-fifths of the whole population, the Christians are so much divided among themselves that, while Macedonian unity, which was so often preached from European political pulpits, has always been impracticable, the Allies cannot peacefully settle among themselves in their Salonica and the neighbouring country is to be "liberated" by Bulgar or by Greek. But if the war had ceased to be a "war of liberation," it had even then become a mere "war of conquest." It has been the most terrible modern instance of a "war of extermination"; and when the statistician comes to the numbers of the population of what was once an Ottoman Turkey grouped according to religions, he comes close on what colossal scale the extermination has been carried out. The population of European Turkey before the war was a little over six millions, of which nearly three millions were Mussalmans. After the war, European Turkey reconstituted after the war, the population left under the rule of the Turk is not expected to exceed a million and a half.

The Comrade then goes on to quote Lieutenant Wagner, war correspondent of the *Reichpost*.

The assistance which was afforded to the Allies by the bands in Macedonia and Thrace was all the more valuable in that they were not an improvised force; on the contrary they were organised in every detail and had been in activity for years.....

The warfare waged by them for so many years in Macedonia and Thrace has always been carried on with cruelty and barbarity—characters which it has been tried to show in the present circumstances..... The komitadjis have shown themselves pitiless in the extermination against the Turks.

For years a terrible war has been waged in which gun and bomb have played their part and of the victims were all who were not of Bulgarian

Not only Turks trembled before these hell-fiends; Albanians, Greeks and Servians were equally persecuted. It is with such men that students, doctors, lawyers, merchants have fought side by side employing the same methods.

The Turks attempted to combat these bands by similar organisations of Bashi-Bazouks, but the attempt had no great success. The Turks were wanting in energy, in organisation and above all in the sentiment of hate.

Sir Adam Block, President of the Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt is then quoted.

To the horrors of a war in which hundreds of thousands of men have perished, has been added the practical annihilation of the Moslem population in Macedonia. The present war has been carried on with little regard for the recognized rules of modern civilized warfare. It would not be easy to find a parallel in the modern wars of civilized States.

The inability of the victors to prevent murder, outrage and pillage cannot redound to their credit, and whilst I would not attribute to them a deliberate policy of extermination of the Moslem element, that is what it has practically come to.

The allies will regret that, owing in large measure to their own fault, Macedonia is now but "an empty egg-shell," a land desolated by fire and sword, from which the Moslem population, the tillers of the soil, have been driven forth in misery and tribulation.

After this are given a few quotations only from the Turks themselves. The Ottoman Governor-General wrote in his report of the 22nd December last about the Province of Salonica:—

It is clear that the policy pursued is the extinction of the Mussalmans to an insignificant minority. The agents employed for this purpose are the Bulgarian bands.

As I have already reported, one of the Consuls (the British) said: "It makes one ashamed to be a European and a Christian."

This evening, after I had completed this report, the Austrian Consul called and, referring to the atrocities committed in the province of Salonica, expressed the same sentiments as his English colleague, that he was ashamed of Europe and Christianity. He stated that he had forwarded to his Government reports with documents in proof. He said:—

" The Consuls of England, France, Germany and Austria have written to their Governments full details of those abominable outrages and have demanded the appointment of a mixed commission. The plan of the Allies is evidently the extermination of the Mussalman element in Macedonia. Nothing but a report from an International Commission will suffice to persuade Europe of the reality of these barbarities."

The following quotation from a pamphlet just received from Turkey throws still further light on the situation as a whole.

Estimates as to the number of the victims vary enormously. A distinguished European diplomat at

Constantinople, writing to Rome, places the probable figure, including Albanians and murdered prisoners of war at 230,000. Another European diplomat in high position at the Turkish Capital informed M. Boeglin (French) that at least 200,000 had been massacred. Others place the figure much higher and there is no doubt that in many districts the Mussulman population has been wiped out. One author, upon a view of official reports, estimates the number at over half a million. It is significant that in the official Bulgarian memorandum "justifying" the demand for a war indemnity, a strong point is made of the fact that the *Mussalman population*—the tillers of the soil and the most valuable element in the country—has *practically disappeared*, leaving the province "an empty egg-shell" as Sir Adam Block aptly says.

The Library Movement in Baroda.

We learn from the *Bombay Chronicle* that the "Library movement" in Baroda is taking some interesting turns, all aiming to bring the light of knowledge within the reach of all classes of people, high and low, young and old, male and female. In the Central Library located in the capital of the State, there is a Ladies' section as well as a juvenile section, with hundreds of books likely to appeal to and instruct these particular classes of readers. Mr. Gould, the well-known lecturer and author of children's story books, who was in India recently in connection with the Moral Education movement,—visited Baroda and found "ample evidences of up-to-date appreciation of the importance of literature to young citizenship." In the latest number of the "Library Miscellany" issued from the Central Library, Mr. Gould gives some interesting hints on the organisation and popularisation of

children's libraries by such means as storytelling, supply of illustrated books, periodicals, lantern lectures and public sale of books of the type of Mr. Stead's "Boys for the Bairns," in the vernaculars. None of the public libraries in Bombay, and for the matter of that, very few in India, were afraid, yet possess a juvenile department such as this. The children's library is distinctly an American invention, but, as in everything Uncle Sam has invented, he has gone forward with such enthusiasm that the country may be said to be literally dotted with such institutions. The importance of juvenile departments in connection with public libraries is being slowly but steadily appreciated in Great Britain too, though not to the same extent as in the new world. It redounds highly to the credit of Baroda that it should have been the first in India to realise the important part children's libraries play in stimulating the national intellect.

Sakchi's Triumph.

The conquest of a portion of the American market by Indian pig iron within a few months of the establishment of the iron smelting industry in this country is a great triumph for the Tata Iron Works at Sakchi. For of course the pig iron being sent to San Francisco and laid down in that city at something like half the price at which it could be sold if produced by an American firm is being exported from the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchi.